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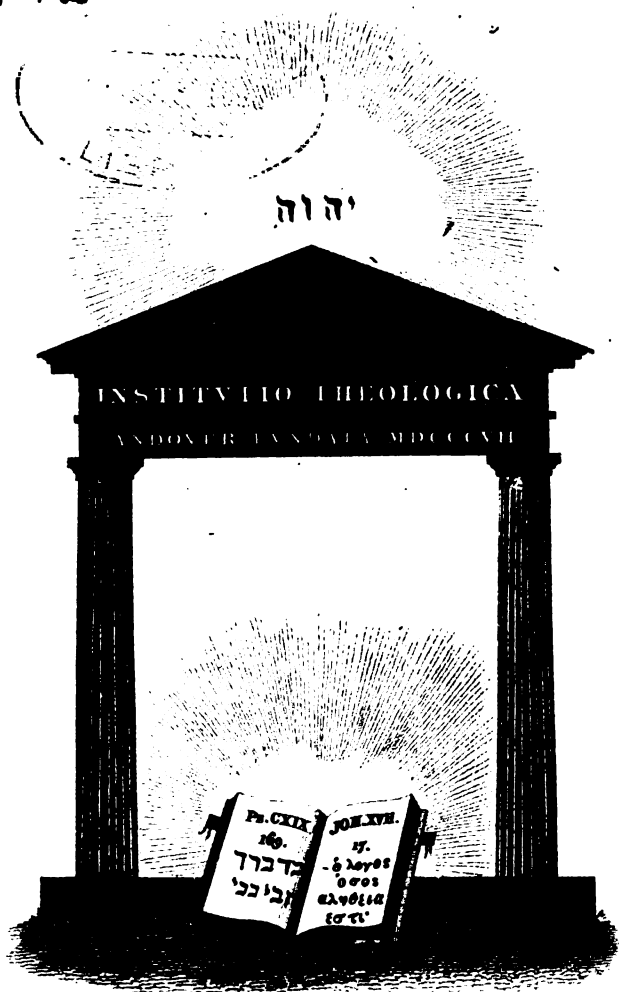
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ISAIAH XXXIV. AND XXXV.¹

THE Hebraists of the hypercritical school are fond of acting like a literary jury, whose duty it is to pronounce sentence upon any offence committed by the Press. They eagerly seize upon any unusual words of an author in the hope of discovering whether his work is original or plagiarised. From the mere appearance of single words, this class of critics is able to fix the age of a Biblical book, just as geologists determine the age of certain strata by the appearance of stones or metals. They, however, frequently overlook the passages that are unmistakably connected with kindred sections elsewhere, and are of a different character to their immediate surroundings. This is what has happened to two chapters in the Book of Isaiah—xxxiv. and xxxv. The most recent expositors of this prophet, from Ewald to Dillmann (in his *Commentary*, 1890), take it for granted that these two chapters form a single whole, and they consequently conclude that both belong to the Exilic period, though not to the Second Isaiah. They try to fix their exact date, and discuss without reference to the Second Isaiah at what less or greater interval before the fall of Babylon they were composed.

And yet the deutero-Isaianic character of chap. xxxv. is so obvious that it is only the erroneous notion of its

¹ The lamented death of Prof. Graetz has deprived this article of the advantage of the author's revision.

connection with the preceding chapter that has prevented this fact from being recognised. Not only is the last verse in chap. xxxv. word for word identical with II. Isaiah li. 11; but, what is more significant, the entire diction, the elevated style, and the picture of an ideal age are all characteristic of deutero-Isaiah. That vein of irony which the Babylonian Isaiah is so fond of introducing among other trains of thought is also perceptible in chap. xxxv. Thus, for example, when summoning the four corners of the earth to give up the sons and daughters of God, he interweaves the phrase, "Bring forth the blind people that have eyes and the deaf that have ears"¹ (xliii. 8). In speaking of the revolutions that were to take place in the joyful days after the redemption from Babylon, he does not fail to observe ironically, "And I will bring the blind by a way that they know not" (xlii. 16). Now the same ironical manner is also noticeable in chap. xxxv. 4. In the midst of his assurance that God will bring help to the weak and feeble, the author adds: "Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped." If this is not a genuine verse of II. Isaiah, there is no such thing as critical recognition of authorship in literature. He who ignores this parallelism, and ascribes this phrase to another prophet, may indeed be well acquainted with grammar and lexicon, but is sadly wanting in literary taste and judgment.

I will not lay stress upon single points in this passage which also remind one of II. Isaiah, not even upon the word שרב, which some commentators explain to mean the mirage, and which occurs only in chap. xxxv., and in xlix. 9; nor upon the phrase נמחררי לב, that clearly points to the deutero-Isaianic period, and here possesses a peculiar signification.

¹ The main passage to which this verse refers is of course xlii. 18, 19, where the reading כמשלתו, instead of the unintelligible כמשלם, is adopted by Cheyne, but not the further emendation of reading, instead of both times עזר, once חזק, although Jona Ibn Janach had already called attention to this *lapsus calami*.

Whilst, however, chap. xxxv. has an unmistakable deutero-Isaianic colouring, the preceding chapter shows no trace of it, but resembles rather Jeremiah chap. li. and lii., and the Exilic passage, Isaiah chap. xiii. and xiv. To unite these two accidentally juxtaposed chapters is an arbitrary act of exegetical violence. Chap. xxxiv. merely consists of an extravagant prophecy against Edom, and has no word of comfort for suffering Israel, which is the sole subject of chap. xxxv. It will afterwards be shown what period it really seems to indicate. For the present, let this be admitted, that chap. xxxv. is the genuine production of the Second Isaiah, spirit of his spirit.

The question now arises whether this chapter cannot be included among deutero-Isaiah's prophecies with which it has a whole verse in common. Let us look at the context of this verse in both places, in chap. xxxv. and in chap. li. In the former it runs: "And the ransomed of the Lord shall return, and come to Zion with songs and everlasting joy upon their heads; they shall obtain joy and gladness, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away." It is a word of comfort, assuring the ransomed Jews that an ideal time is about to be begun for them which shall contrast with the dark sorrow that now fills their minds. The preceding verses also aim at arousing a confident hope in the near advent of happiness (verses 7 to 9). "And a highway shall be levelled for them in the wilderness—a holy way—upon which no ravenous beast shall go, but the redeemed shall walk there."¹ The Exodus from Babylon is predicted to take place under the most favourable auspices.

Chap. li., where the same verse occurs, is written in a very different tone. Here we find, not words of consolation, but anxious forebodings which dominate men's minds in

¹ The words *והלכו נאִוְלִים* of verse 10 are joined to *ה' יִשְׁבֹּן* of verse 9. This should be compared with li. 10, 11, where the parallel words *והלכו נאִוְלִים* and the then following *ה' יִשְׁבֹּן* do not refer to the Babylonian Exodus of the future, but to the Egyptian Exodus as an historical reminiscence.

spite of the glad tidings of salvation previously announced. This downcast attitude is portrayed in an imaginary prayer. May God reveal his wondrous power now as at the departure from Egypt. The beginning of this prayer runs: "Awake, awake, put on strength, O arm of the Lord; awake as in the ancient days." Then, still in prayer form, follow the words, "Thou didst divide the sea, and didst make the depths of the sea a way for the ransomed to pass over." The next verse, the counterpart of that in chap. xxxv., must also be read as prayer, "And *may* the redeemed of the Lord return, and *may* they return unto Zion with singing, and *may* sorrow and mourning flee away." With the same words with which, in the former passage, the certainty of the deliverance is *prophesied*, it is here prayed for. After this entreaty, which expresses the despondency of the righteous, the prophet continues (chap. li. 12-13): "I, even I, am he that comforteth you; who art thou that thou shouldst be afraid of a man that shall die and hast feared continually every day because of the fury of the oppressor." The prophet only introduced this prayer in order to represent as strongly as possible the needlessness of despondency. Manifold literary artifices were employed by him to awaken confidence in the hearts of the fearful. One and the same verse is thus used in different senses, once to convey a prophecy of an assured happy change, and then as the supplication of one who anxiously feels that such a prediction is, perhaps, after all, but a vain hope, seeing that the sad outlook of the present, "the fury of the oppressor," does not permit of such confidence in the future. If then, in chap. xxxv., the corresponding verse, with its context, is not merely borrowed from II. Isaiah, but used by him over again but in another sense, the chapter can be fittingly included among this prophet's orations. It belongs to chap. li. At the outset the prophet addresses those who are longing for the imminent salvation; let them remember Abraham and Sarah. Abraham was only one man, but God blessed and increased

his seed; so will he also increase the small band of those who now seek the Lord: "He will comfort Zion and her ruins, will make her wilderness like Eden; joy and gladness shall be found therein, thanksgiving and the voice of melody" (li. 3). This train of thought is continued by chap. xxxv., which is only a highly elaborated picture of the ideal future, so often delineated by II. Isaiah: "The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them; and the desert (Araba) shall rejoice and blossom as the lily. The bank of the Jordan¹ shall also blossom and exult: the glory of the Lebanon, the excellency of Carmel and Sharon shall be given unto it." Then follows an exhortation to the feeble and timorous, with a description of the glorious metamorphoses of outward nature, the whole concluding with the verse under discussion, "And the ransomed of the Lord shall return." Thus, chap. xxxv. is altogether a part of chap. li., and its proper place is between verses 3 and 4. In the following verses, on the other hand, the prophet, with a bold transition, prays for the realisation of the advent which he had already prophesied as certain, "that the ransomed shall come unto Zion," etc. Chap. xxxv. has been taken out of chap. li., and misplaced. A small tablet upon which it was written, or a column of a scroll, strayed into the wrong place, just as an authentic piece from Jeremiah has erroneously become included in the Book of Isaiah (lvi. 9-12; lvii. 1-3).

This accident brought it into proximity with chap. xxxiv.

¹ About the awkward phrase יִשְׁשׁוּם מְדִבָּר, the expositors and grammarians need not have spent such pains to prove its agreement with grammatical rules, as it can easily be explained by the fact of the מְדִבָּר having been repeated, and the simple reading is יִשְׁשׁוּם מְדִבָּר לְצִיָּה. The incorrect passage וְתִגְלַח אֶף גִּילָת וְרֵן can also be made to express a poetical idea by a simple emendation, the clue to which is given by the Greek translation. Thus, the LXX. renders the word וְרֵן by *roû* ἰσπιδάρον, suggesting the reading גִּלְדֵּת הַיַּרְדֵּן instead of גִּילָת וְרֵן. The sense, therefore, is that the banks of the Jordan, which form this prairie (Araba), will flourish at the time of these wondrous changes. No word is superfluous in this verse. The repetition of תִּפְרַח וְתִגְלַח is justified by the adjoining אֶף גִּלְדֵּת הַיַּרְדֵּן, אֶף גִּלְדֵּת הַיַּרְדֵּן.

with which it has not the slightest resemblance in thought, but is rather diametrically opposed to it. Whilst II. Isaiah announces that all nations of the earth will acknowledge Israel's God, and wonder at his miracles, this fragment prophesies the annihilation of all nations. "Their slain shall be cast out, and their stink shall come out of their carcasses." II. Isaiah, the prophet of salvation, hopes for the conversion of the heathen, while the author of chap. xxxv., a prophet of destruction, predicts their ruin. Besides the contents, the diction of the two chapters is entirely different. In chap. xxxiv. the prophet, though speaking of a universal judgment upon all nations, is thinking principally of the sentence against *Edom*. Wherein lay the importance of this petty nation — which, compared to the mighty empires of Assyria, Babylon and Egypt, was so utterly insignificant — that with its dissolution, the hour of salvation should begin? The expositors who defend the coupling together of these two heterogeneous chapters explain that Edom in the eyes of the prophet serves as the representative of all peoples hostile to Israel, and cite its perennial and constant enmity in support of this theory. They quote the short passage (Isaiah chap. lxiii. 1-7), where Edom also stands in the foreground. But the supposed parallel is based upon a false vocalisation of the text; chap. lxiii. 1, cannot mean, "Who is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah;" but the true rendering is, "Who is this that cometh with a *red garment* from the *vintage*:"¹ there is thus nothing about Edom. On the other hand, chap. xxxiv. speaks solely of Edom, not as a type, but with reference to itself, just as in Obadiah.

¹ Instead of *מִי זֶה בָּא מֵעֵדוֹם* we must certainly read *מִי זֶה בָּא מִן הַבְּצָרָה*, and in the phrase *חֲמוֹץ בְּנֵדִים מִבְּצָרָה*, the word *בְּצָרָה* means "the vintage," and is another form for *בָּצָר*, the feminine of *בָּצָר*. The words that follow decidedly support this explanation, *וּבְנֵדִים וּבְנֵדִים (לְ)בֹשֶׁת וּבְנֵדִים*. Although this emendation suggested by Lagarde is quite obvious, most expositors adhere to "Edom."

In truth, the rulers of the people of Judah had ample reasons for execrating Edom. From the time of their wandering in the desert till the destruction of Jerusalem, the Idumæans had pursued the Israelites with an implacable enmity, although the latter regarded them as kinsmen.

Already in the eighth century B.C. the prophet Amos mourned because Edom persecuted his brother Jacob with the sword, and still harboured a fierce hatred against him. At the downfall of Jerusalem this people lent a helping hand to the Chaldeans in their work of devastation, exclaiming: "Destroy, destroy, even unto its foundation!" They fought against the fleeing warriors in the breaches and crossways, and delivered them up to the foe. After the destruction of Jerusalem, Edom looked upon itself as the heir to desolate Judæa, and appropriated a portion of the land. It appears that even during the Babylonian exile the Idumæans kept possession of the ruins of Jerusalem. For these reasons, therefore, the author of chap. xxxiv. threatened Edom with a doom of annihilation much more severe than even Jeremiah and Ezekiel had proclaimed against it. His prophecy is of a later date than either Jer. l. li. or Isaiah xiii., xiv., because he depicts the impending destruction of Edom in much fuller detail. His diction, on the other hand, has neither the symmetry of the latter passage nor the fulness of the former. The 16th verse also seems to allude to Jeremiah's prediction of the judgment of Babylon. The words are: "Seek ye out of the book of the Lord and read; no one of these shall fail." What is the meaning of "the book of the Lord"? This expression does not occur anywhere else in the Bible. We hear, indeed, of "the book of the Law of God," or "the book of the Covenant," but not of any "book of the Lord," in which is to be found the threat of a coming judgment. Unless I am mistaken, the correct reading should be ספר ירמיהו instead of ספר ד', and the author probably intended to summon his contemporaries to con-

vince themselves with their own eyes that the sentence pronounced by Jeremiah against Edom or the nations had been literally fulfilled. The verbs in verses 16 and 17 are preterite, thus implying that the circumstances alluded to were susceptible of ocular confirmation. The passage is certainly not an exhortation to future readers, as if the author were expressing his assurance that in days to come people would be convinced of the fulfilment of his prophecy. According to this interpretation the contents of this passage would themselves be the "book of the Lord" referred to, a very improbable assumption.

Let this be as it may, the fact remains that the two adjoining chapters, xxxiv. and xxxv., do not belong to one and the same prophet; chap. xxxv. is a genuine portion of II. Isaiah, and the preceding chapter is the work of some one who lived at a later period. Chap. xxxv. has by accident been detached from chap. li, of which it forms a component part, and has been subjoined as an appendix to chap. xxxiv.

H. GRAETZ.

ON NON-HEBREW LANGUAGES USED BY
JEWS.

On the Languages used by the Jews with Transcription in Hebrew characters, and the Glossarium Græco-Hebraicum oder der griechische Wörserschatz der jüdischen Midraschwerke, Ein Beitrag zur Kultur- und Alterthumskunde.
Von DR. JULIUS FÜRST, Rabbiner, Strassburg. (Trübner, 1890-91.) 4 fasciculi.

THE Jews, although holding fast to the Hebrew language, and even considering it as holy, easily adapted themselves to the languages spoken by the nations among which they were exiled, or had voluntarily emigrated. First of all they brought from the Babylonian exile the Aramaic language, which was current in Palestine during the period of the Second Temple, together with the modified Hebrew dialect, found in the Mishnah and in the Midrashim. The ruling class, however, understood Aramaic already in the time of Hezekiah (Isaiah xxxvi. 11), since this language was used in the chancelleries throughout the East. Next comes the Greek, which entered Jewish society, not universally however, through the conquest of Palestine by Alexander the Great; it was spread by his successors, it could not be rooted out completely by the jealous Maccabeans, and it was finally revived by the Roman rule. The Jews who settled in Alexandria, Asia Minor, Cyprus, Greece, and Italy seem even to have forgotten their Hebrew in the second or third generation after Alexander to such an extent that the Pentateuch had to be translated for them in a Greek translation which goes under the name of the Septuagint. These Jews composed in Greek,

Apocryphal writings, dramas, apologetical, historical and philosophical works. We shall only mention the second Book of the Maccabees and the Book of Wisdom, *Ezekiëlos*, the Sybilline books, Pseudo-Phokylides, Justus of Tiberias, Josephus, and Philo. As to Asia Minor, we know little concerning the Jews there, but it is certain that St. Paul wrote in Greek, and the Jewish (?) epitaphs found there are also composed in that language. Latin seems not to have been favoured by the Jews in Italy, for we find no Latin writing even mentioned by the Jews, except in some epitaphs in Southern Italy. From recent investigations, mostly made by Dr. Perles, we are certain that Jews assisted in the Syriac translation of many books of the Old Testament, and they transcribed Syriac with Hebrew characters, as, for instance, the history of Bel and the Dragon. (See the Book of Tobit, Oxford, 1881, p. 37.) As to Persian, the numerous Persian words found in the Babylonian Talmud would already prove that the Jews were writing in this language, but the fact is rendered certain by the two translations of the Bible, an old one, now lost, and another of the fourteenth century, which still exists in MS., and in which many old Pahlavi forms are to be found. From glosses in these MSS., where passages are marked, according to the Talmud (for instance, Genesis xxv. 22), which should not be read in translation, we may conclude that the Persian translation was read in the synagogues. Amongst these MSS. are also some Apocrypha in Persian, in Hebrew characters, among which the history of Daniel has been lately published by Prof. James Darmestetter. The British Museum possesses a MS. of Biblical history composed in Firdausi verses, as well as astronomical and medical treatises in Judæo-Persian. In the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg an Hebraico-Talmudic dictionary, with a Persian explanation, is to be found. Some years ago Mr. Sidney Churchill, of the British Embassy at Teheran, was kind enough to present us with a MS. which contains transcripts in

lowed by Joseph Qara, Samuel ben Meir, generally called Rashbam, Eliezer of Beaugency, and the Thosaphists to the Bible and the Talmud, which all employ French glosses. In controversial treatises, for instance, by Joseph the Zelote, French sentences and words occur in abundance. Moses ben Isaac, of England, usually called Moses of London, whom we have now to place towards the end of the twelfth century (see JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, II., pp. 322, 330, and 520; III., p. 778), gives in his Hebrew dictionary, the Book of Onyx (ס' חשוד), not only French glosses, but also French sentences and proverbs. It is not certain whether Hagin, the translator into French of Abraham ibn Ezra's astrological works, made in the year 1273 in the house of the astronomer, Henry Bate, at Malines, in Belgium, was an Englishman, and whether he is also the translator into Hebrew of the *Image du Monde* (see *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, t. xxvii., p. 507, *sqq.*; Mr. Joseph Jacob's essay on the London Jewry, p. 401, and Dr. H. Adler's paper on the Chief Rabbis in England, p. 270, both of which appeared in the *Papers read at the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition*, 1887). Berechiah, the punctator, who lived in England before 1190, or, according to Mr. Jacobs (see JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, II., p. 331), was even a permanent resident at Oxford, has also French glosses in his Hebrew translation of the *Quæstiones Naturales* of Adelhard, of Bath, and in that of the treatise on precious stones (*Lapidarium*). Strangely enough we find no English writings in Hebrew characters, not even glosses, a fact which can only be explained by the reason that Jewish learning was here cultivated by Rabbis who came from France, or by disciples of French Talmudic schools; besides, the court language in England at that time was French. Whether whole treatises were written in French in Hebrew characters cannot be said with certainty. No French translation of the Bible in Hebrew characters is known at present. The fact that French liturgies were recited in the synagogues, is made evident by the elegy on the Auto-da-fé of Troyes in 1288,

by Jacob, son of Judah of Lorraine, so well interpreted by the lamented Arsène Darmestetter (*Romania*, t. iii., p. 443 sqq., and *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, t. xxvii., p. 475 sqq.), which was found in a Mahazor in a MS. of the Vatican Library. We know that the Rabbis in Lorraine were opposed to the reading of romances by the Jews, which seems to have been a universal custom, and probably they were transcribed in Hebrew characters. Possibly some adaptations or imitations were made by the Jews, though no traces of any have been found as yet.

In Germany, where the Jews settled as early as in Spain and Gaul, we find German glosses as far back as the twelfth century by Eliezer ben Nathan, Eleazar of Worms, and others (see *Revue des Etudes Juives*, t. v., p. 142). About the beginning of the thirteenth century we find the Jew Süßkind of Trimberg, one of the Minnesänger. Judaico-German literature abounds in copies in Hebrew characters of romances, popular songs, and original adaptations of them (see Steinschneider's essay *Jüdisch-Deutsche Literatur* in the *Serapeum*, 1848-1849.) In the later period we find Judaico-German treatises of all kinds on the Bible, sermons, ethical treatises, books on medicine and mathematics. Many of them are in the corrupted jargon of the Polish Jews, who settled in Poland when exiled from Germany.

In Italy, where the Jews were the least persecuted, we find, strangely enough, few Judaico-Italian writings. Excepting Emmanuel ben Solomon of Rome (according to recent investigations he was the friend of Dante), who wrote some poetry in Italian under the name of Manuello, we can only mention Azariah de Rossi and some minor poets, who are represented by the literature in the defence or condemnation of women. In Southern Italy we shall see that Greek long prevailed; it was superseded in Sicily by Arabic when Islām conquered that island.

The following languages are omitted among Judaico-vernacular writings:—They are English, the Slavonic

family, the Roumanian dialect, the Hungarian, and the Turkish. Of the first we have already spoken (p. 12). As to the next, the Jews settled comparatively late in Slav-speaking countries, and they kept to German, which they brought with them, and considered holy to such an extent that they continued their casuistic and other writings in German. Besides, they were treated in such a way by the people and the respective Governments that they were utterly excluded from all society, and it was not worth while for them to trouble about the official language. Most likely, also, the scanty amount of literature in the Slavonic dialects, in Roumanian, and in Hungarian, was not to the taste of the Jews, and was, therefore, neglected by them. In Turkey the case was the same; the Spanish immigrants were either Arabic speaking Jews or exiles from Spain, who continued, and still continue, the use of Spanish. We must, however, mention that the Karaites of the Crimea possess a translation of the Bible and liturgies in the Tshagatai dialect written with Hebrew characters. Only after admission to citizenship have the Jews adopted the language of their respective countries. Such was the case in Holland, where Portuguese is entirely forgotten now; in England, where Spanish and Portuguese were still used even in the last century; and in France, before 1789, where Spanish and German were predominant amongst the Jews.

Let us now return to the Greek. It is not yet certain how far the Greek language entered into Jewish life in Jerusalem and other great centres in Palestine. It is most likely that in Jerusalem the three languages, Mishnaic-Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek, were spoken; there was a synagogue of Hellenistic Jews in Jerusalem and in the country. But it is doubtful whether the bulk of the Jews could or did speak Greek (see *Studia Biblica*, Oxford, Vol. I, p. 65, *sqq.*). Certain it is that Greek terms were adopted for certain objects which were newly introduced into Palestine. This we can see from the Mishnah, a part of

which we can trace to the first century before the Christian era. In the Palestinian Gemara Greek words and even sentences are numerous, and in the various Midrashim we meet frequently with Greek locutions. The preacher or interpreter even plays upon words from Greek to Hebrew, and *vice versa*, by which he explains Biblical passages. We shall give one instance only: Genesis xxxv. 8, the words *אלון בכור*, "Oak of Weeping," is explained in the Pesiqta by "a second weeping," meaning that soon after Jacob heard of the death of Deborah, he had another weeping or mourning through the death of his mother. Here the preacher plays upon the word *אלון* "oak," taking it as the Greek word *ἄλλος* "another." To understand such plays upon words, the audience must necessarily have been acquainted with Greek. R. Abahu (third century) freely makes use of such puns at Casarea. Now the date of the Midrashim lay between 200 B.C. to 800 and even 900 C.E., and they were composed or compiled not only in Palestine, but also in Byzantine countries, among which we have to count Southern Italy and Sicily. Naturally, the Greek underwent modifications in different ages and provinces.

And here we have to follow Dr. Fürst's excellent remarks. He says, that from the fact that in Constantinople Latin was spoken whilst the surrounding country at the time of its foundation by Constantine spoke Greek, a mixed dialect necessarily sprang up. The meaning of Latin words taken over into Greek, and *vice versa*, changed through the translation of them. The Midrash, when employing Greek words, does so according to the popular usage, and consequently the dates of the various Midrashim could approximately be given through the meaning of the Greek words the preachers make use of. If, therefore, words have their history, the books in which they are employed have similarly their history. We quote one of Dr. Fürst's instances to show how the Aggadist employed terms of dignity for his purpose of preaching to his audience, terms which have lost their classical meaning, and possess that of the time

when the preacher employed them. We find in the *Midrash Tanhuma*, sectio בחעלותך § 20 (editio Buber, Numbers, p. 55) the following saying: R. Abba said, When I saw a crowd of men, I went in the opposite direction, so that I should not trouble them by making them stand up and greet me. R. Yose said to him, Quite the contrary ought to have been done, for showing their respect to you will teach them the fear of God, as it is written (Lev. xix. 32), "Thou shalt rise before the hoary head and honour the face of an old man, and thou shalt fear thy God." Indeed, pious men ought not to lower their dignity. Esau (Byzantium), however, is always going down, so that to-day he is a prefect (איפרוכס, ἑπαρχος), and to-morrow he will be a common man (פגן, παγανός, which is the right reading; the word stands corrupted in previous editions into סגן); to-day (Dr. Fürst rightly accepts חיום instead of לחור) he is a commander (קומוס, i.e., κόμης), to-morrow he will be a private soldier (סרדיוס, στρατιώτης). פגן is here not a rustic, but a private man; the saying would be more emphatic if we take παγανός in the sense of a degraded soldier.

In the following sentence, which has also a historical ground, the word פגן certainly means a private person. We read in the *Bereshith Rabba*, § 50, the following:—משל לאחד שנשל חבמוניה מן חמלך • עד שלא חגיע למיתורין שלו היה מחלך כפגן כיון שהגיע למיתורין שלו היה מחלך כקלמון. "It resembles one who receives the offices of a prefect of a province (ἡγεμονία), who until he reaches the boundary of his province travels as a private man (παγανός); as soon as he reaches the boundary he travels as a high official (κάλλιμος?)." This reminds us, Dr. Fürst says rightly, of the edict promulgated by Augustus (Dio Cassius, liii. 13), that a prefect should not assume his insignia before he reaches the boundary of his province, a rule which continued most probably under the reign of Augustus' successors. We shall adduce one example in which Dr. Fürst proposes some happy emendations for Greek

words which copyists through their ignorance of the language have corrupted. For instance, the word *איסקריטורי* (*Jer. Tal. Kilaim*, IX., fol. 32c) is the same as *איסקריטורי* in the parallel passage (*Jer. T. Kethuboth*, XII., fol. 35c), for both represent the Greek *σεκρητάριος*, and not the Latin *scriptores* as given by Levy, although explained in *B. T. Sukkah*, fol. 35a, by *סופרים*. A more corrupt, nay, unintelligible form we find in the *Midrash Qoheleth*, ix. 18 (towards the end of the chapter), where we read *סקיווי פטרי* applied to Shebna the scribe (*חסופר*, *Isaiah xxxvi.* 3). However, here we confess the corruption from *סקריפטור* is less than from *איסקריטורי*, and if so the above-mentioned word would probably also represent the Latin *scriptor*, as Levy proposed. In such a case only MSS. readings must decide; therefore, before venturing on emendations, all help from MSS. and early printed texts must be exhausted.

Doubtful, although ingenious, is the emendation proposed by Dr. Fürst, to read *לגיון*, for *לגיון* (*Pesiqtha xxviii.*, fol. 182a). It is said there that once a legion passed to take the taxes of a province. That would be the only passage in which *ληγάτος* would be used in the Midrashic literature. Perhaps it would be better to understand the word "commander of a legion," as Levy does rightly. *לגיון* usually means a legacy, i.e., a will.

Although Dr. Fürst cites but few books, since he had no great libraries at his disposal, his glossary will prove an important contribution to the solution of Greek words in Midrashic literature. Additional help is given in Kohut's excellent edition of the *Arukh* of R. Nathan; Levy's exhaustive dictionary; Professor Bacher's remarkable book, *Die Agadah der Tannaiten*; the late Mosé Lattes's *Saggio*, unfortunately left unfinished by the premature death of this able rabbi; Dr. Jastrow's dictionary, which advances too slowly; and many other attempts. Perhaps the time will soon come when we shall have a complete Judæo-Greek vocabulary, brought up to the present level of philology

by a Talmudic scholar in conjunction with a Greek philologist.

These various dictionaries and monographs show that the Jews in Greek countries and even at Rome knew Greek in the eleventh century. There remains also a Greek translation in the Corfu dialect of the Haftarah of the Day of Atonement, viz., of the Book of Jonah. This was no doubt read publicly in the synagogue, since it is found in a Corfu Mahazor in a Hebrew text, and each verse is followed by the Greek translation, both being provided with vowel points (MSS. in the Bodleian and the Bologna Libraries). A critical edition of the Greek is in preparation by Professor Jean Psichari in Paris. Karaitic writers, and more especially Judah Hadassi in his *משכיל דכופר* (written in the year 1148), constantly use Greek words and sentences. Our friend Dr. Harkavy has lately sent us an elegy of nineteen lines probably used for the ninth of Ab, in Greek, in Hebrew characters also provided with vowel points. It is to be found in a MS. of the fifteenth or sixteenth century, perhaps even older, headed by the following words (folio 45a) מרדכיין רומיקון פרפוניטיקון פולא (*Μυρολόγιον Ῥωμαϊκὸν παραφωνητικὸν πολλὰ* (?), transliteration suggested by Dr. Leopold Cohn, of Breslau), which, we hope, will soon be published.

There are many hymns in Greek in Hebrew characters to be found in MS. (see Catalogue of Hebrew MSS. in the Bodleian Library, Nos. 2,501, 2,503, 2,504, and elsewhere). Some hymns used at Corfu even now have been published lately by M. Sp. Papageorgios in the *Abhandlungen des 5ten internationalen Orientalisten Congresses*, Berlin, 1882, p. 225 sqq.

Finally, we possess a Greek translation of the Pentateuch printed at Constantinople, 1547, and one of Job, ibidem 1576. (See Steinschneider, *Catalogus Librorum Hebr. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, Nos. 122 and 241, and M. Lazare Belléli's article with the title of "Une version grecque du Pentateuque du seizième siècle" in the *Revue des Etudes*

Grecques, iii., p. 289 *sqq.*) The publication of a complete vocabulary of Judæo-Greek from the time of the earliest Mishnah down to our time would be useful not only for the Greek dialects, since it is well-known that the Jews with their natural conservatism kept to old forms, but would also be of some advantage for the study of the Septuagint as well as of the New Testament books written or influenced by Jews.

A. NEUBAUER.

THE PRAYER-BOOK ACCORDING TO THE RITUAL OF ENGLAND BEFORE 1290.

THE Ritual it is which invests the Judaism of the Diaspora, apparently so rigidly uniform and unalterable, with variety and local colour, gives it national delimitations—a kind of political dependence—and within the infinite and eternal endows it with a finite and temporal character. Differences in the selection, arrangement and phraseology of the prayers were the tints and shades that distinguished Jewish communities from each other. Israel's new homes asserted their claims to be represented in the Ritual by the side of the ancient fatherland. And these new homes, Israel's actual fatherlands, left distinct traces of their influence in the Liturgy; and, in contrast with the old, lost home, to which faith fondly clung, proved a source of division and separation. Thus, within the religious brotherhood of the Jewish people, the Ritual became the symbol of a closer and more intimate bond of union, fostered and guarded no less loyally and tenaciously than the grand treasures of the race. Jewish exiles carried their Ritual with them into other lands as a spiritual type and memorial of their old home and as a pledge of their enduring union. As they found it impossible to replant it in its native soil, they sedulously endeavoured to cultivate it in their foreign settlements. What the various mother-tongues of the countries that had accorded the Jews refuge were to the ancient Hebrew—dearly-prized heirlooms, of which even dispersion could not rob them—the Ritual was in relation to the imperishable principles of Judaism—a species of religious dialect which varied with locality, and which communities could not forget or abandon even in

exile. In consequence of this fusion of religious with political elements, the Ritual, of all our religious possessions, is the one most deeply and directly affected by the vicissitudes of communities. Nothing is better calculated to afford us a bird's eye view of the sorrow-laden history of Israel than a Geography of his Ritual.

Rituals have not only been exiled, some of them have also perished. Such was the inevitable fate of liturgies that, remaining in foreign lands, belonged to scattered and waning minorities, for whom the current of altered circumstances proved too strong to allow them to maintain their distinctness and individuality. If the Ritual symbolizes the bond of connection between a community and a country, its disappearance most strikingly expresses the fact that that bond has been completely severed, and the integrity of the community has dissolved. In the North-French Ritual, and in that of the English Jews before the Expulsion, we have illustrations of liturgies killed by exile. Long after they had completely disappeared, new Jewish colonies found their way back and re-settled in the lands where these rituals had formerly flourished. Their literary remains—the memorials that testify to their former existence—have, therefore, a real and tangible interest for the present age. They prove that Jewish life had already penetrated, at a previous period, into those countries, by which they had been sufficiently influenced to produce new religious forms. Of the fact that there existed, besides the North-French, an English Ritual, related to it, but, at the same time, distinct and independent, there can be no reasonable doubt. The notices, scattered in literature, meagre though they are, sufficiently prove this. Abraham b. Nathan ibn Yarchi, who seems to have visited, among other communities,¹ the Jews of England, gives, indeed, no account of any specifically English differences in the text

¹ Pesach, § 62 ed. Berlin, p. 83. See also Reifmann in *Berliner Hofmann Magazin* V., 61 n. 7; D. Cassel in *Zunz Jubel-Schrift*, 127.

or order of the prayers. And this is all the stranger, because he had a keen sight for all peculiarities of ritual and public worship. On the other hand, the German expositors of the Prayer-book towards the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century, possessed such definite information concerning textual variations in the North-French and English Liturgies, which they mention separately, that, on the strength of their notices alone, we are justified in maintaining the independence of the English Ritual.

When, thanks to the labours of Jehuda b. Samuel, of Spiers, and his school, a sort of Massora of the Prayer-book came into existence, and the words, and even letters of the liturgy, were counted; these calculations became the basis of occult and mystical deductions, and every departure from the received text, which was supposed to embody a wealth of deep meaning, was felt to be a denial of the deductions, and to imply scepticism as to their truth. English and French Jews, who, on their travels through Germany,¹ spoke of the variations in their Liturgies, drew down fierce curses upon their communities, which were denounced as abandoned to apostasy. Joseph del Medigo's *Collectanea* (Bâle, 1631) already contains an extract out of a book, by Elazar the Pious, on the Mysteries of the Liturgy, in which the latter quotes the warning of his teacher, Judah the Pious, against the English,² who, he says, incur a heavy responsibility by their additions to the Prayer-book, and omissions from it.

Another liturgical commentator of this school, whom we, at present, only know by his acrostic אבא שלום (which irre-

¹ Moses b. Chisdai, of Tachau, reports, on an Englishman's authority, that, as a punishment for want of faith in evil spirits, Ibn Ezra was met by them in an English forest, under the form of black dogs, and that the fright occasioned his death (*Ozar Neohmad*, iii. 97).

² ואל יצאו בעקבי איי הים שמוסיפין ומחסרין ועתיד [ועתידין] לתן את
 15a) מצרף לחכמה) Del Medigo expressly distinguished this work from the commentary to the Prayer-book. Cp. Neubauer's *Extracts in Israelitische Letterbode*, x. 111, etc.

sistibly suggests Isaiah lvii. 2),¹ gives expression in his own words as well as by excerpts from Judah the Pious and his disciple Elazar, to his deep resentment at the extensive variations in the Prayer-book permitted by French and English Jews. Examples of these readings are given and condemned as arbitrary. The severity of the Liturgical Massorites, when discussing these variations, rises to a climax in the declaration, which, read by the light of past history, is positively cruel, that those who adhere to such readings draw down the judgment of exile upon themselves.²

We may confidently assume that those who are here handled so severely had traditional authority for their text of the same value as that claimed by their critics for theirs. Is there, however, any means of determining the number and extent of these variations which seemed to the Germans so culpably new-fangled? Did the conception which these zealots formed of the impugned English liturgy bear any correspondence to the reality, and can this be

¹ See Perles in Frankel-Graetz *Monatsschrift*, 1876, p. 372, etc., and Graetz, *Jubel-schrift* 17, etc. My MS. (Catalogue Rabinowitz 7, No. 123), which Perles (*ib.* 18) thinks is a MS. liturgical commentary of Samuel b. Baruch of Bamberg, only contains portions of the work extant in the Munich Codex No. 423, and in the Oxford Codex No. 1102. The collations of these MSS. has helped me to correct Perles' quotation, שימו על לב אנשי צרפת ואיי הים ששקר בימינכם ובשמאלכם שאתם בודים מלבכם כמה וכמה תיבות בתפלתכם אשר לא עלתה על לבם של חסידים הראשונים שתקנו לנו התפלה במקום קרבנות וכל ברכי ותפלי שתקנו הכל היה במדה ובמשקל בתיבות ובאותיות דאם לא כן היה חיו תפלתנו כעין זמר של נוימ :

Or again : ולא ישמע אל צרפתי ואיי הים המוסיף כמ וכמ תיבות כי :
אין רוח חכמה נוחה בהן כי לא נמסרו להם טעמי תפילה והסודות :

על כן כל ירא השם יתפלל תמיד ויאמר בכורם אל תבא נפשי ובהלם :
אל תחד כבודי של צרפתים הבו(נ)ד[ים] מלבם ומסיף כמה וכמה תיבות
שלא לצורך וגורמים גלות לבניהם ולהם עד סוף כל הדורות
והמונעי מלהוסיף עליהם אמר החכם בספר משלי ושומע לי ישכון במח
בעולם הזה ובעולם הבא (according to my MS.)

demonstrated? Have we any means of discovering the character and constitution of the English Ritual in the pre-Expulsion period which had disappeared before the date of these attacks, and of deciding whether its deviations from the received text are merely casual and accidental, or are to be regarded as evidence of a radical and thorough-going diversity that did not even spare our national prayers?

Hitherto, the answer to these questions has necessarily been in the negative. Even Leopold Zunz could only *conjecture* [*Ritus*, p. 62] that the English Ritual must at least have borne a strong resemblance to the French, if it was not quite identical with it. Not a single proof or even illustration is advanced in support of this supposition. It has evidently been assumed that the books of the Anglo-Jewish Liturgy perished in 1290, that no literary memorial of the English Ritual has survived, that no manuscript of the Daily or Festival prayers, no Siddur, no Machzor out of old England has been saved which could satisfy our curiosity as to the character of the English Ritual. New Hebrew treasures, it was thought, will have to be rediscovered in the Muniment Rooms of English Cathedrals or in private libraries, of which, however, nothing has so far been heard! And yet, the beneficent influence which has manifestly guarded the sources of Jewish history has here too been at work. The material it has preserved affords us a clearer and more definite knowledge of the English Ritual than we possess of the French. It is not an ordinary English Prayer-book, which was in daily use and escaped destruction by mere chance, that I wish to introduce to the readers' notice; but a collection of the prayers in vogue among the Jews of England, prepared in a literary and scientific spirit. The compiler had the same motive in making his collection, as induced Maimonides to include the Ritual of the Prayers in his Code. The municipal Library at Leipsic possesses, among its store of Hebrew MSS. a *cimelium*, No. 17, which once belonged to Johann Christian Wagenseil, and which was so valued as a

curiosity of the highest order, that visitors specially came to his house in Altorf with the object of inspecting it.

In this small but well-bound parchment volume, covered all over with writing, Jacob b. Jehudah, Chazan of London, wrote, three years before the Expulsion, a Compendium of Ritual Law and the Principles of Jurisprudence, to which he gave the title עץ חיים, "A Tree of Life." In the first part of this work, Chapter II., Section 13, which treats of the Priests' Benediction, the Siddur of the Jews of England is to be found. It has escaped notice, and thus escaped destruction. By a sensible arrangement of the material, as well as by the minuteness of the handwriting, the whole Liturgy has been skilfully compressed within the small bulk of twenty-four pages. Had it been discovered at an earlier date, this MS. would have certainly attracted universal attention at the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition in 1887, which, by a curious coincidence, was the six hundredth anniversary of this work. Facsimiles of this Siddur, multiplied by the printing-press, would have proved appropriate mementoes of this famous exhibition.

Has this treasure, however, been indeed hitherto neglected and unnoticed? Is it credible that Leopold Zunz, who by his supplements enriched Delitzsch's catalogue of the Hebrew MSS. in this very Leipsic Library, actually missed the importance of this MS. for our knowledge of the English Ritual? I believe that a single misread letter in Delitzsch's description of our code is to blame for Zunz's failure to appreciate the true value of this treasure, which Wagenseil so highly valued, and for the consequent delay of half a century in the discovery of the English Ritual. In Delitzsch's catalogue (1838) the book is thus described: "Auctore Jacobo ben Jehuda Lunditiensi." The clear מלכודר in ר being misread as a י, London was transformed into לונדון, a place as yet unidentified. Delitzsch's silence as to the Ritual contained in the Codex left Zunz without a clue to the valuable

ישראל is in the French form which the German Ritualists impugned.

Exclusive of minor variations, the text of the eighteen Benedictions contains, in its eighth paragraph, the reading criticised by Elazar b. Jehuda; in the twelfth, the ancient form; and at the end of the thirteenth a deviation from the French Ritual, which here reads *ובחסדך נשענו*. Especially significant of the extensive character of these changes is the reading in the sixteenth blessing. The prayer before *אלהי נצור*, already found in the Siddur of R. Amram, and mentioned by Ibn Yarchi (p. 18) as in use among the Spanish Jews, appears here, incorporated, with many variations, with the last of the eighteen Blessings.

While the *ידוה*, said on Mondays and Thursdays (Zunz, *ibid.* 10), with all its variations, which are by no means few or unimportant, shows on the whole the traditional form; seven psalms appear instead of *ויאמר דוד*, which, indeed, was unknown even in the times of Jehuda b. Asher (*Tur. O. Ch.*, 131). Then follows—as a prayer manifestly intended for daily devotions—the formula *לפיכך*, which Maimonides gives in his *Mishneh Torah*, and which Zunz assumed (*ibid.* 14) had not been preserved in any ritual. The interpolations in *Tachnun* contain the stanzas which called forth the censure of R. Jehuda the Pious on the French Ritual (*מסד משח*, § 220). The remaining portion of the *Tachnun*, from which *שומר ישראל* is missing, resembles the version in our liturgy.

Psalm xx. is followed by *ובא לציון*, where a deviation from the French Ritual is noticeable. The large addition at the end in that liturgy is here absent. The introduction of Ps. lxxxiii., 1 Kings viii. 57-60, and Micah iv. 5 is common to both Rituals; with this difference, however, that three verses are found at the end of *ובא לציון*, which in the French Prayer-book are introduced after Ps. lxxxiii. Maimuni's second Recension of the Kaddish precedes *Olelu*, which the English Ritual has preserved in a form not elsewhere found, and therefore especially

noteworthy. This proves, by the way, that the English Jews had no occasion to fear a censorship of their prayers and devotional writings.

The Evening Service opens with Ps. lxxviii. 38. Ps. xx. 10, found in modern liturgies, is here absent. The following difference from the French Ritual is noticeable: the English congregation did not respond with Deut. iv. 31 (Zunz, *ibid.* 60), nor is the form שלחנוך ראו בנך dependent on the French one.

The Festival Maariv, preserved in the Siddur, allows us a glance at the Machzor of England. As only poetical pieces to the first two Benedictions are given, it would seem that the longer middle poems and intercalations in the concluding pieces, which according to Zunz (*Literaturgeschichte*, p. 73) are of later origin, had not been adopted in the English Ritual. As in the French and Worms Rituals, the New Year Eves have also a poetical Maariv, which is also to be found in the codex, No. 67, Halberstam. The author of the Maariv for the second eve of the New Year is Joseph Tob-elem of Limoges (Zunz, *ib.* 136), who also composed the Maariv in the English Ritual for the first evening of Tabernacles (*ib.* 137); while the English Maariv for the second day, which is reserved in the Halberstam codex 67 for the first day, was written by Elia b. Zadok (*ib.* 484). Both Rituals have the same compositions for the eighth day of the festival by Daniel or Durbal b. Jacob (*ib.* 484). For the Feast of the Rejoicing of the Law, our MS. has the separate poetical Maariv by Isaac (*ib.* 554). On the first night of Passover, the old anonymous Maariv (*ib.* 73) was recited; on the second, Joseph b. Jacob's (*ib.* 173), on the seventh, Joseph Tob-elem's (*ib.* 131); and on the last night, again, Joseph b. Jacob's (*ib.* 173). For the first eve of Pentecost we have Tob-elem's Maariv (*ib.* 134); and for the second eve, Joseph b. Jacob's (*ib.* 173). The original home of the latter compositions, Zunz remarks, was France.

There is naturally no trace in this Ritual of Psalms or

pointed as Haftara for פנחס; Jer. ii. 4 for מטות; and 1 Kings xviii. 46 for מסעי. The blessings said before and after the reading of the Haftara exhibit unimportant variations, e.g., חמדבר והמקיים, כי אל נאמן, אמת, בפח כל חי. There is no introduction to be recited before the translation of the Haftara, and no concluding piece to follow it. As in the French, so in this Ritual, וברחה is absent and the two יקום פורקן are fused into one. The influence of the French Liturgy is apparent in the order of the verses (צדקתך) said at the close of the Sabbath Afternoon Service (see Zunz, *Ritus* 45); as also in the addition to the service on the Sabbaths before New Moons, which, in the case of Ab, is restricted to the bare announcement of the first day of the month (ib. 61). There is no trace in this Codex of special Sabbath Eve hymns.

The important deviations in the Festival Prayers make the injunctions of R. Jehuda the Pious as to the counting of the words and letters of the Liturgy quite intelligible. The formula שריים חיים, which he condemns, is common to the English and French Rituals. The charge of interpolating words and phrases in *Abinu Malkenu* hits the English as well as the French Ritual. This prayer consists here of forty-two formulas, of which the second half especially shows most astounding deviations both in order and text. Two of the three formulas, which Zunz considered (ib. 119) as belonging to the French Liturgy exclusively, are to be found in the English Rite also. In the Tefilla for the Day of Atonement, what especially force themselves upon one's attention, are the variations in the text of the so-called Minor and Major Confessions. The former is partly arranged as a triple alphabetic acrostic, while the Major Confession in the French Ritual—as given in Codex Halberstam 67—shows a single alphabetic arrangement, identical with that which Baer (p. 47) copied from a MS., except that for the letter ו, the former gives two forms בודוי ונת, בודידת ונת; in our

MS. we have a double alphabet, several of whose phrases are distinct and independent.

The service for Hoshana Rabba, which appears here as an already acknowledged portion of the Siddur, shows a general similarity with the German Ritual. It contains Kalir's seven pieces. The French Ritual also contains the second כחושער, but has a larger number of different pieces for this day.

If my conjecture is correct that the three poems at the end of the Siddur, with the respective acrostic signatures, יעקב, יעקב הוּק וּמִצֵּץ, אֲנִי יעקב הוּק וּמִצֵּץ, which were unknown to Zunz, are by Jacob b. Jehudah, Chazan of London, the compiler of the Etz Chayim; then Anglo-Jewish Liturgical Poetry, hitherto represented through pieces by Meir b. Elias of Norwich, receives an important addition which affords another proof that the Hebrew Muse was once successfully cultivated on English soil; so much the more valuable because there has hitherto been so little room for hope that our knowledge of this branch of Jewish Literature would be enriched.

But a careful review of details will give us a better insight into the special characteristics of the Siddur of England than the general remarks which only exhibit the more important features of our discovery. I have therefore deemed it expedient carefully to collate the complete text of the Liturgy in the MS. with Baer's *textus receptus*, and to note all the differences, even those that are apparently unimportant. If the character of our Codex, which has been recognised in the past as a unique curiosity, makes a scrupulous collation of variations a scientific duty, its decaying condition renders this duty an urgent one, admitting of no delay. In our review thus far we have examined the prayers in groups without regard to their order in the MS. In our present comparison of variants we will follow the text of the MS., the character of which, remarkable even from a graphic point of view, will thus become clear to the reader. This collection of prayers

has found a place, as already stated, at that section of the Etz Chayim which treats of the Priests' Blessings. It begins where the modern Siddur usually ends—with the prayers said before retiring to rest. The form of this prayer deviates so considerably from our text that it may as well be quoted here with its rubric.

ב"א יי אלהינו מיה המפיל חבלי שינה על עיני ומאיר לאישון בת עין
יהי רצון לפניך יי אלהי שתצילני מיצר רע ומפגע רע ואל יבהילוני חלומות
רעים ולא הרהורים רעים ותהא מטתי שלימה לפניך ותעמידני ממנה לחיים
ולשלום והאירה עיני פן אישן המות ב"א יי המאיר לכל העולם : ופיב
דשבותי או' שר יהושע היה או' ויהי נועם ומה רבו צרי וארוממך כי
דליתני : וקורא פרש' ראשוני מקיש וישן ואם אנסתו שינה קורא אפי' פסוק
ראשון או פסוק רחמי ואח' כך ישן :

Then follow rubrics on the Blessings said on waking. These are succeeded by the Morning Prayers, which commence with the Blessing recited on washing the hands. The hymns which precede it in our Liturgy are naturally not in the Codex. Then comes יצ'ר אש'ר, with whose variants we now begin. The notes in a smaller hand are either marginalia or interpolations explanatory of the form, substance, or application of the prayers.¹

In the prayer יצ'ר אש'ר the following variations occur:—חללים חללים, ומפליא After רופא חולי כל בשר, ולעמוד לפניך אפי' שעה אחת ואתה עתיד, ואתה נפחת, טהורה אתה, אלהי נשמה:— follows לעשות מודה אני לפניך יי אלהי ואלהי אבותי, שהנשמה תלויה בקרבי, להחזירה בי [שאינו אני עו פנים וקשי עורף לומ לפניך יי אלהי ואלהי אבותי נקי אני ולא חטאתי כי [מח. m] מועיל שפת שקר ומה יתרון לבעל הלשון לומ לפניך וך לקחי ואון לא פעלתי הלא כחוצב אבן ובונה עיר אשר לא יוכלו גריה להסתיר במחבואיה מפניו כן יי אלקינו לא אוכל להתעלם ממך כי ארחי ורבעי זרית ואת כליותי קנית לכן אמרתי אל לבי טוב להודות ליי ולתת תודה לאלהי ולומ אל נא רפא נא לי את אשר נואלתי ואת אשר אשמתי אכלתי אסור ובלא תפלה. בנדתי בטלתי תורתך. בקלון חבירי נתכבדתי: גליתי עריות גזלתי נגבתי. דברתי דופי ושקר ולשון הרע ודברים בטלים. העויתי והלבנתי פני חברי ברבים. הטיתי משפט וחמאתי והרשעתי. זרתי זניתי. חמדתי חמסתי חללתי שבת ושם קדש. טפלתי שקר טמאתי נפשי. יעצתי רע יקרתי עוברי רצונך יהרתי. כזבתי כניתי שם לחברי כעסתי. לצתי לא הקשבתי למצותיך: מרדתי מאסתי דברך. נאצתי נאפתי נשבעתי לשקר סררתי ספרתי רע. סלפתי דרך טוב עויתי עשיתי עולה פשעתי פעלתי שקר צררתי צדתי רע וצעדתי לרע קשיתי ערף קראתי לרעי בכנוייו: רשעתי רצתי אחר רע רדפתי אחר הבצע

¹ *Taanith*, 20b.

שפכתי דם שחתי תעיתי תעבתי תעתעתי. סרתי סמצותיך וממשפטיך הטובים וישר העייתי ולא שוה לי ואתה צדיק על כל הבא עלי כי אמת עשית ואני הרשעתי מה אומר לפניך יושב מרום ומה אספר לפניך שוכן שחקים הלא כל הנסתרות והנגלות אתה יודע. אתה יודע רוי עולם ותעלומות סתרי כל חי אתה חופש כל חדרי בטן ובוחן כליות ולב אין דבר נסתר ממך ואין נעלם מנגד עיניך. יהי רצון לפניך יי' אלהי ואלהי אבותי שתמחול לי על כל פשעי ותסלח לי על כל חטאותי ותכפר על כל עונותיי אם חטאתי מה אפעל לך נוצר האדם :

במה איכף ואקדם לאלהי מרום אם בתשובה ותודה הנה שבתי לפניך פשעי ואמרת חטאתי עויתי פשעתי וישר העייתי ולא שוה לי ואם בשברון מתנים הנה לבי נשבר בקרבי מרוב התלאה אשר מצאתני והנה בבכי ותחנונים הנה נפשי [מבכה a.] בהדרים על יצרה המרגזה בכל יום ואי אל נא רפא נא לה לעוני שחטאתי ושפשעתי לפניך אם עונות תשמר יה יי' מי יעמוד הלא יאשם אדם ואיך מעושהו יטהר נבר אשר במלאכיו ישים קהלה ושמים לא זכו בעיניו [אם a.] כי באנוש וברימה ובן אדם תולעה אשר מעפר יסודו ולעפר ישוב ותשובתו הרמתה כי שם ביתו לכן יי' אלהי שא עון פשעי ומחק רשעי ויבואוני רחמך להחייני בעת תביא יצודיך למשפט כי מאתך תהלתי ותפלתי יצא ואתה עתיד לקרב עצם אל עצמו ולתת בהם גידים ולהעלות בשר ולקרום עליהם עור ולתת רוח בתוכם ולהחזיר נשמות בתוך פגריהם] רבון כל המעשים אדון כל הגשמות ברוך אתה יי' המחזי' נשמו' לפגרי' מתים :

אם שמע קול תרנגול יאמ' ביא יי' אלהי מיה אשר נתן לשכוי בינה להבחי' בי יי' ובי' ליל :

מי תיבו' נגר מי ששעי' שמבין התרגול יב בלילה וגי' ביום עת כעסו של הקיבה' :

ביא יי' אלהי מיה שלא עשאני נוי :

מ' תיבו' בעבד נגד מ' קבין	שלא עשאני עבד :
זנות שנמלו עבדים	שלא עשאני אישה :
על שלבש בגדיו	מלביש ערומי :
על ששם סרינו בראשו	עומר ישר בתפארה :
על שמעביר ידיו על עינו	פוקח עיורים :
על שישב על סמחו :	מתיר אסורים :
על שהוריד רגליו על הארץ :	רוקע הארץ על המי' :
על שלבש מנעלו :	שעשה לי כל צרכי :
על שהגר חגורו :	אוזר ישר בגבורה :
על שעמד :	זוקף כפופים :
על שהלך לדרכו :	המסי' מצעדי נבר :
על שרחץ פניו :	המעביר שינה

מעיני ותנומה מעפעפי :

יהי רצו' לפניך יי' אלהי ואלהי אבותי שתרגילני לדבר מצוה ואל תרגילני לדבר עבירה ואל תביאני לידי נסיון ולא לידי בזיון ותשלום בי יצר טוב ואל ישלום בי יצר רע ותחזיקני במצותיך וכוף יצרי להשתעבר לך ודחקני מאדם רע [ומפגע רע ומעין רע a] ודבקני ביצר טוב ובמעשים טובי' ותנני לחן ולחסד ולרחמים בעיניך ובעיני כל רואי ותגמילני חסדים טובים מלפניך ביי' גומל חסדים טובים: נהנו רוב העולם להתפלל ברכות אלו בבי' הכנסת בין נתחייבו שעשו עניין הברכה בין לא נתחייבו וטועים שאין טוב לברך שום ברכה לבטלה ואם לא שמע תרגול אין מברך ברכתו ולא שם סדינו בראשו לא יברך ברכתו לא לבש מעלו שהלך יחף במ' באב וביו' הכפורי' ואם לא רחץ ידיו לא יברך ברכתם לן בכסותו לא יברך ברכתו וכן כולם :

יהי רצו' לפניך יי' אלהי ואלהי אבותי שתתן לי חיים ארוכים חיים של שלו' חיים של טובה חיים של פרנסה וכלכל' חיים של רווחה חיים של ברכה חיים של עושר וכבוד חיים של יראת חמא חיים שאין בהם בושה וכלימה חיים שתמלא כל משאלות לבי לטובה חיי' שדעתך נהנית בהם : יהי רצו' לפני' אלהי ואלהי אבותי שתצילני מעוי פני' ומעוות פנים ומאדם רע ומפגע רע ומיצר רע ומשכן רע ומשטן המשיחית מדין קשה ומבעל דין קשה בין בן ברית בין שאינו בן ברית :

יהי רצו' לפני' יי' אלהי ואלהי אבותי שתשי' שלום בפמליא של מעלה ובפמליא של מטה ובין התלמידים חפיצי תורתך בין עוסקין לשמה בין עוסקי' שלא לשמה וכל העוסקי' שלא לשמה יהא רצון שיהיו עוסקי' לשמה :

יהי רצו' לפני' [יי' אלהי] ואלהי אבותי שתהיה תורתך אוסנותי ותעמידנה בידי ולא תהא הנאתי על אחרים ולא הנאת אחרים עלי' ואל ידוה לבי ואל יחשכו עיני ותעמידני בקרן אורה ואל תעמידני בקרן חשיכה ואל אברש ולא אכלם מאבותי : יי' אלהי ואלהי אבותי שתצוץ בבושתי ותביט בדוכי' ותתלבש ברחמיך ותתכסה בעוץ ותתעטם בחסידותך ותבא מדת סוכך וענוותנותיך . רבן העולמי' גלוי וידוע לפניך שרצוני לעשו' רצונך ומי מעכב שאור שבעסה ושעבוד מלכויות . יי' אלהי ואלהי אבותי שתשכין בינינו ובפֿוריינו אהבה ואח' ושלום וריעות ותרבה גבולנו בתלמי' ותצליח בסופנו אחרית טוב ותקו' טוב ותשים חלקינו בגן עדן ותצנינו [ב]חבר טוב ויצר טוב בעולמך ונשכים ונמצא ייחול לבבינו לדאה את שמך ותבא לפניך קורת נפשינו לטובה : יי' אלהי ואלהי אבותי שלא אחמא עוד ומה שחמאתי לפניך מרק ברחמיך הרבים אבל לא על ידי יסורין וחלאים רעים ויהיו לרצון אמרי פי והגיון לבי לפניך יי' צורי וגואלי :

ירושלמי השכים לשנות קודם קיש צריך לברך אחר קיש אין צריך לברך והוא ששנה על אתר ואי' רי' מי שבירך לעסוק בתורה והלך לעסוק או לצרכיו וחזור לעסוק בתורה גר' מתוך ירושלמי' זה שאין צריך לחזור ולברך אבל נוהגין העולם לברך מתוך כך גר' שהירושל' לא א' והוא ששנה על אתר

אלא כנפטר באהבה רבה ולא אתחויא אהבה בברכת התורה אלא בששנה מיד ואז לא יצטרך לחזור ולברך כל היום ואפי' יפסוק ויחזור ויעסוק דכלל המברך על התורה אין צריך לחזור בשביל הפסק שבאמצע העסק אבל כל המברך ברכת התורה אין כך הדין דוראי לא בענו שישנה מיד אחר ברכתו ורבי שמעי' כתב רש"י כשמשיכים ר' לעסוק בתורה מברך בברכת התורה וכשהולך אחרי כן בבי' חכנסת ואז ברכו' ופסוקי דזמרה חוזר ומברך ברכ' התורה ולא חשיב' ברכה לבטלה איעפ' שכבר בירך קודם שקרא פרש' קרבנות ואינוהו מקומן וה"ה נמי דלא חשיב' הכא ברכה לבטלה אם חוזר (cf. שבלי הלקט השלם, ed. Baber, p. 4).

ביא יי' אלהי' מ"ה אקייב' לעסוק בדברי תור' : פסרית' דכל ברכה אפי' סמוכה לקצר פותחת בברוך' צריך לגרוס והערב להודיע כי הוא סוף ברכה לעסוק בו' ויש כיט תיבות בוהערב נא נגד כיט חיים וחייך וחיי דכת' בחומש ויש כיט מוסר במשל' ומוסר וחיים לש' תורה הן :

כלם וצאצאי עמך ישראל, ובפיפיות : read ; את is wanting והערב In פסרית' דכל ברכה אפי' סמוכה לקצר פותחת בברוך' צריך לגרוס והערב להודיע כי הוא סוף ברכה לעסוק בו' ויש כיט תיבות בוהערב נא נגד כיט חיים וחייך וחיי דכת' בחומש ויש כיט מוסר במשל' ומוסר וחיים לש' תורה הן :
 In is wanting ; read : את ; ובפיפיות : read ; את is wanting והערב
 ושוני' במש' ; Numb. vi. 22-27, the Priestly Benediction ; וידבר יי' אל משה
 שאדם עושה אותם אוכל' : with the readings : אל דברים especially
 ושונה הלכות מר' זירא בנו' ישר החמירו is wanting. והשכמתזעיון תפלה
 על עצמן שאפי' רואו' ספרת דם כחרדל יושבות עליה ז' נקיים תנ' רבי
 אליהו כל השונה הלכות מובטח לו שהוא בן העולם הבא איז אליעזר
 אמר' ר' חנינ' תלמידי חכמי' מרבי' שלי' בעולם שצ' וכל בניך למודי יי' ורב
 שלי' בניך :

Then follows Lev. vi. 1-6, and Num. xxviii. 1-15, with the rubric :—
 Mal. iii. 4 ; וקורא בנביאים ; then ובראש חדש מוסיף, ובשבת מוסיף ;
 after ; שונה בקרבנות ומעלה עליו הכת' כאלו הקריבן ... איזה מקומן
 לעולם יהא אדם וכו' follows ויכריע ביניהם.

רבון העולמי' הטה אלהי אונך ושמע פקח עיניך וראה את שוממותינו
 והעיר אשר נקרא שמך עליה כי לא על צדקותינו וכ' על רחמך הרבים יי'
 שמעה יי' סלחה יי' הקשיבה ועשה אל תאח' למענך אלהי כי שמך נקרא
 כי כל is wanting, מה חסדנו-מה ישועתנו, על עירך ועל עמך מה אנחנו וכו'
 ולפאך ולרוממך וליתן שבת והודיה לשמך, מעשינו וימי חיינו הבל וזותר
 ומעריב' בבתי, וחייבין אנו לומ' לפניך שירה בכל יום [תמיד s.] אשרינו וכ'
 כנסיות ובבתי מדר' ואומרי' בכל יום פעמים וכ'.

אתה הוא, אתה הוא אל קודם שגברא העולם ואתה הוא אל אחר ש'
 וקדש את שמך בעולמך, ושנותיך לא יתמו קדש יי' ... הוא יי' בעולם הבא
 וידעו כל שבי תבל, כל הארץ שמך, בשמים ממעל ובשמי ; is wanting ;
 are wanting ; שנקרא עלינו חסד, בכל ממל' קבץ [נפוצות s.] קווין ;
 מה שאמרת על ידי צפניה חוץ בעת ההיא.

ושמט את שמו אברהם:—occurs the reading ויברך דוד In

ענה אכתוב השירה בשמיה ובדקדוקיה:—Before אז ישיר it is observed: כאשר העתקתיה מס"ת שכתב רבי יוסף טוב עלם

ואם שבת או י"ט והושענא רבא ויום חתן מתחיל בנשמט אחר ויושע:

כי בא סוס פרעה:—comes the observation: י"י ימלך לעולם ועד After וכופל י"י ימלך לעולם ועד כי מתחלת הנם—is wanting בתוך הים until ויהי באשמרת הבקר עד פה יש י"ח שמות כל אחד מד' אותיות הרי ע"ב אותיות נגד ע"ב שמות של הק' וחסר לנו ד' שמות שיש מן ויהי באשמרת עד תחלת השירה ולכן כופל י"י ימלך

והשמות מיהיה י"י אחר אינן מן:—Before ישתבח occurs the remark: המניין: ולא ידבר עד חותמו ברכת הזמיר' שהיא ישתבח ועומד שליח צבור לפני התיבה ואומ' הברכה:

מעולם ועד, שיר ושבח:—the readings present themselves In מלך חי, (אל, without) מלך גדול, עולם אתה אל

לחול טוב ליחיד לומ' מיד:—Here the direction is given:

till האדרת והאמונה לחע (see Zuns, *Literaturgeschichte*, p. 109).

Variations: המכוס והמורה, החן והחסד, הזכות והזוהר, הגדולה והנבירה, הסוד והשכל, המלכו' והממשלה, הלבוב והלקח

לשליח צבור נודע:—As a superscription to יתגדל

ה' כריעות, מד' נחשון:—After אמן אמן the following rubric occurs: (Ibn Yaroehi, 11). —נאון כנגד ה' שמות הפסוק כי ממזרח שמש כו' כשיתחיל קרי' הציבור יענו ועתה יגדל נא כה י"י כאשר דברת לאמור זכור רחמיך וחסדיך כי מעולם חמה וכשמגיע ש"צ לאמן יהא שמה רבא יענו בכל כחם ויפתחו להם שערי גן עדן וכאלו נעשו שותפות למעשה בראשית ולתורה שיש ביהא עד עלמאי ז' תיבות וכ"ח אותיות וכן יש בבראשית וכן יש בוידבר אלהים ויש מגיהים לעלמי בלא ויו שלא יהיו כיט אותיות ואין צריך כי שמה הוא בלא יוד בדניא' שמה רבא פ"י שם יה כי נאצל ממנו חציו ותרי ואצלתי ואחרבי (Num. xi. 17) ועל כן תקנו קריש בין ישתבת לברכו כדי להודיע כי ברכת ישתבח היא על הזמירות ואעפ" שתקניהו להפסיק מימ' אסור לספר בין ישתבח ליוצר אם לא לצורך צבור Cf. או צורך מי שבא להתפרנס מן הצדקה והמספר חוזר מצרכי מלחמה (Ibn Yaroehi, p. 10).

Thereupon follows the Boraitha of R. José (*Berach.*, 3a) with the superscription: and the following variations: ליחיד שהוא במקו' שלא שמע קרי' יאמ' זה:—is wanting; והמתין לי: always without conjunction, e.g., אוי לי שחרב' את ביתי ושרפתי; יפסיקוני, אסרתי לו, אסר לי, לא שעה"יום ויום, והיי ראשי, את היכלי והגליתי בני לבין אומות העולם is wanting, מה לו-את בניו, ולא עוד אלא בשעה, בכל יום או כך, ששלש, is wanting, אוי לבנים.

המהלל, וצוקה אלא אתה, אין מלך גואל, אתה יי:— *it reads* בשמח המעורר ישנים ונרדמים ומשנים, ויי שומר ישראל ער לא ינום, בתשכחות, ובשבע גדול, *is wanting* שעשית, רב ריבי רבבות פעמים, פה לאלמים, וכל, ואל תכלימנו לנצח, חסדיך יי אלהינו נא אל תמשינו, ומחלאים, כדבר הכתוב, יי אלהינו ואלהי אבותי, קומה לפניך לך לבד תשתחוה הנבור לנצח, בחילי נוראותיך, יי עליון קונה שמים וארץ האל בתעצום עוזך מרום וקדוש שמו נהללך ונשבחך ונברך, המלך היושב, נצחים והנורא את שם קדשך כדוד אמר ברכי נפשי את יי וכל קרבי את שם קדשו וכתוב רננרתהילה.

[נרמז כאן יצחק ורבקה m.] בפי ישרים תתרומו'
ובדברי צדיקי' תתברך
ובלשון חסידים תתקדש
ובקרב קדושים תתהלל

לקדושתו תתברך מושיענו על שבת:— *occur the readings* המאיר, במתירה, רצון קוניה' ; *is wanting* ; ונולד.

ואם יחיד הוא יאמר:— *the remark is introduced* לאל ברוך נעים' *Before* ואו' ביראה קדוש ק' ק' והאופני' ברוך ויאמ' הבריית' מקדשה.

is wanting. אור חדש—לאור.

deleted, בן, אבינו מלכנו אב הרחמן *occur the readings* אהבה רבה, והאר עינינו במצותיך ודבק לבנו בתורתך, את שמך, *is wanting*, המרחם, והבא עלינו ברכה ושלום מארבע כנפות הבינו ותוליכנו קוממיות, וביראתך, בשמך הגדול.

וקורא קיש בדקדוק ובנגון:— *occurs the remark* אל מלך נאמן *Before* ובדבקים ויאמ' ברוך שם כבוד מלכותו לעלם ועד רק ביום הכפרים שיאמ' בקול רם ולא יפסיק רק בין הפרקים ומפני הכבוד וכל שכן מפני היראה כדאית' בברכות.

לעולמי עולמים משוך חשד ליודעיו וצדקתו, ונאמנים:— *read* אמת *In* לישרי לב על אבותינו תל בנינו על כל דעות.

and הוא *are wanting*. ויצרנו, ואלהי אבותינו: על הראש.

וידידים, סבעת ויבשה עשית, מלך נכור:— *are the readings* עזרת *In* נתנו, שבת אהובים רוממות ליי, עד אחר, עברו ים.

עניים, למלך לאל. *is wanting* ברכות והודאות. *is wanting* שירות.

וישר גואלינו יי צבאו' שמו קדוש ישר; צור ישראל קם לעזרת ישראל.

ומיד סומך גאולה לתפלה ויאמ':— *the direction is given* נאל ישראל *After*.

Before the *gloss*:— *which begins on p. 66, column 4*, יוצר משבת, עומד באמצע הרק:— *occurs the* לברכו ליחיד איד עקיבא בכל יום ויום מלאך עומד באמצע הרק:— *gloss*:— ואומ' יי מלך יי מלך יי מלך לעולם ועד וכל גודדי מעלה עתין ארציו עד שמגיע לברכו ויהי אחת ששמה ישר ונושאת כסא הכבוד ועומדת באמצע

¹ Joseph Ibn Kimchi (זכרון) 'D, p. 68) condemns the reading "שִׁשִּׁיחַ".

הרקיע ואומר בקול רם ברכו את יי המבורך וכל נדודי מעלה ענין אחריה ברוך יי המבורך לעולם ועד.

ליום קרוב יאמר אור עולם באוצר:— After is the remark: ובורא את הכל חיים אודות מאפל אמר ויהי: ויתחיל קרובוך.

אין קודש ביי כי אין:— the following variations occur: הכל יודוך אין ערוך לך, אין ערוך לך ואין זולתך ואין דומה לך, יי אלהי עולם, בל תך חסד ורחמים בכסא כבודו, בכבוד בכס המרכבה, בפה כל נשמה, יי אלהינו, מכל מעשיו, שרפים וחיות ואופני קודש, ראה ותקן, רצון קונייהם, והשכל עונן קרא ליום השביעי שבו שבת מכל מלאכתו וביום השביעי משבח, נתעלה is wanting; בקדשתו, ומנחיל, ליי מלך; is wanting; טוב להודות ליי, ואומ.

ויאמר שלחני כי עלה השחר:— After תתברך מושיענו occurs the remark: אלו וכי נגב או קוביוסמוס אתה שמתירא מן השחר א לו מלאך אני ומיום שנבראתי לא הגיע זמני לומ' שיר' עד עכשיו (that is *Chullin*, 91b) until the words— עוד שיש' אומ' שירה למשה—

Among the variations it is only worthy of note, that instead of בשבת the word בשבוע is used, and the passage ואמרו לה פעם אחת בשבוע is wanting.

With remarkable skill, the text of the first two benedictions of the evening prayer, with intercalations for all the festivals of the year, is introduced on page 68, by the side of the morning prayers אהבה רבה and אל מלך נאמן. In the Benedictions themselves the following variations present themselves:—

In יי הושיעה המלך יעננו ביום קראנו, והוא רחום is wanting.

In מסדר, מחליף הזמנים, בתבונה:— occur the readings מעריב ערבים, המעביר, הכבביר.

In תשמח ונעלזו ברברי תלמוד:— towards the end, read: אהבת עולם, תורתך.

The poetical *Maaribim*, which were described on a half destroyed line at the top of the page as מעריבים של ימים טובים, follow and fill the upper, lower and left margins in the following order:—

For the New Year's Eves:—

אמוני נבונים • בתוקעם בירה איתנים • נאלם יזכר למו ברית ראשנים •
דגלמו ישים ככבי שחק נימנים—מעריב:
הריעו לפני מלככם • ונושעתם מאויביכם • זכות ימציא לכם • חנון
ישמיעכם אהבתי אתכם — אוה"ב:
ליל שיני—י מלך אמיץ כח רב עלילה • בתקע שופר אאווהו בחילה • גבור
יציע לעמו בחמלה • דגליו יצור מפחד לילה — מערי:
מלך הודך צוה לעם נאולים • ובשוועם לפניך רינונם תשלים • זכור לנו
אדיר ברמים • חסד נעורים ואהבת כלולים — אוה"ב:

For the Evening Prayers at Tabernacles:—

אוהזי בירם ארבעה מינים • באים לחלותך בעונב ומינים • נמוני פז
אונדים ומזמנים • דיגלמו ישים ככבי שחק נמצים — מערי' :

הוני דת מראש נסוכה • ובאים ולנים שבעה בסוכה • זכות המציאם
וגוננם ממסוכה • חוק אהבתם בלי לחסכה — אוה"ב :

ליל שיני—איומתך סודרת קילוסך במקהילות • לולב ימים נומלת ולא
לילות • ההלל והשמחה מאמצת שמנה לעלות • להניד בבקר חסדך
ואמונתך בלילות — מעריב :

ברצף סוכת עניי כבו נתקרבה • דוד טרם [קדם] [1] כמאז [נס] נתרבה •
חבת זקוקים [הזכר] ובקרבינו תתח [Job xli. 21] התיצבה • מים רבים לא
יוכלו לכבות את האהבה — אוה"ב :

ליל שמיני של עצרת—אעניד לך תפארת והלל • ביום השמיני] בעצרת
ליל • גבורתך ברוב עם אמלל • דוד מעביר יום ומביא ליל — מערי' :

הזכר לעשריני בשנת טובתך • ונרוה מרשן ביתך • זכור לדורשך יושבי
ביתך • חסד נעורים אהבת כלולות — אוה"ב :

ליל אחרון—את יום השמיני בטוב יומיני • רני פלט תסבבני • לעת ערב
בצילו נגונני — מערי' :

ארוםם אהב בידך בתוסף • במדה מרובה מראש בכוסף • בזה עצרת
חג אוסף • אהביו יקרב אליו לאסף — אוה"ב :

מעריבי פסח—ליל שמורים אותו אל חצה • בחצי לילה בתוך מצרים
כיצא • גבור על אדום יחצינו כחצה • דוד מעריב ערב ונאמירנו בנפש
חפיצה — מע' :

ליל שמורים הוא זה הלילה • יעתדו אל באומר חצות לילה • זה אשר
לו יום וגם לילה • חק אהבתו יזכר לניני חלק לילה — אוה"ב :

ליל שיני—ליל שמורים אור עולמו נגלה • בצאתו לשבור מוטות ענלה •
גוי מקרב גוי באותות לנאלה • דוד דורשך בקר וגם לילה — מערי' :

ליל שמורים הוכן אחרית מראשית • משומר ובא מששת ימי בראשית •
זכר לפועל אשר השית • חומת וחיל אהבתו ישית — אוה"ב :

ליל שביעי—ויושע אדון איומה מכף מעני • וירא בעוני עמו שוכן מעוני •
אז נאני ונאותיו כניצול מוני • הוא הלילה הזה לוי' — מע' :

עזי דיגלני על במתי עולם • יי' החרים שוסי והמציאם כפעלם • מרכבות
וחיל בזוו עם עולם • באהבתו ובחמלתו הוא נאלם — אוה' :

ליל אחרון—ויושע יי' אום למושעות • וירא ישר בפרוע פרעות • אז ישר
גילת חוסן ישועות • עזי דיגלני גיה ואישון להשעות — מערי' :

יד ניה [1] הכין כלי מלחמה • מרכבות ושלישים ניהג במהומה • תהומות
זימנם באף ובהימה • ימינך חבל נחלתך לרחמה • אוה"ב :

לשבועות—וירד אביר יעקב נורא עלילה • וידבר ביטוי עשרת הדברות
בהמולה • אנכי גילה והאיר לעמו תחלה • דגול מעביר יום ומביא לילה :

לא יהיה לך תבנית אליל נכלם • לא תשא ותמיר קדושת אל נעלם • זכור דריוות משפטי עצב ופילפולם • חנון יזכור לנו אהבת [עולם] :
אנכי אחת דבר בקדשו • כאז שניה צור קדושו • לא יהיה לך גילול אליל לדורשו • דגול חשכם והערב להקדשו :
לא תשא הזכרת שם המיוחד • וכל הארץ רעשה ותפחד • זכור זימן עם שמור עם כאחד • חמודה ננוזה להנחיל גוי אחד :

כל עריצים, הנאלינו מלכינו:— occur the readings: אמת ואמונה ראו, ואת רדפיהם, ויוצא ישראל, ניסים נקמה, ניסים ונפלאות, המשלם, בוקע ים סוף, מלכותך יי אלהינו ראו, בניו.

לחיים טובים— occur the following variations: כי יי מלך, כי יי שומרו, דבר חרב וצרה ורעב ויזון

ופרום עלינו סוכת שלמך ועל ירושלים עירך ב"א יי— reads: ופרוש פורס סכת שלום ועל כל עמו ישר ועל ירושלים.

לעשות השבת, with the variation וי' שבת יאמ' : ושמרו— Next comes: and finally:—

ואם ייט הוא יאמ' ליל ראשון

אלה מועדי יי אשר תקראו אותם מקראי קודש

ובליל שני מוסיף

אלה הם מועדי ; קדיש ויסב פניו אל]

Hereupon follow, in pages of three columns each, the different forms of the Amidah; in the first column that for week days, in the centre that for the festivals, and in the third that for the Sabbath and the three festivals.

The introductory line ארני שפתי is wanting.

In בוכוע כי חזרא וזוקף כי חויא— occurs the direction מנן אברהם.

In the second benediction, after להושיע, the remark is made: בימות הגשמי יאמ' משיב הרוח ומוריד הגשם ואם ידלג מחזירי אותו

The text is regularly without the conjunction רופא מקיים, לך.

In the קדושה the reading is:— וכן כתוב על יד, נקדש שמך.

In בונה דיעה חכמה והשכל, וחנינו:— the version runs: אתה חונן.

In בתשובה לפניך: השיבנו.

In כי אל מלך טוב מוחל: סלח.

In כי אל מלך נואל וחזק, במהרה, ראה נא: ראה.

In לכל מכותינו ולכל תחלואינו, יי אלהינו ונושעה: רפאינו.

[בימות הגשמים אומ' כך m.] ותן טל ומטר לכרכה ובך את: ברך שנתנו.

In מארבע כנפות כל הארץ לארציו: תקע.

In בחן בחסד: השיבה.

למשומדים אל תהי תקוה וכל המינים כרנע יאבדו:— ולמלשינים וכל אויבי עמך בית ישראל מהרה יכרתן וסלכות וזון מהרה תעקר ותשבר.

ותמנר ותכניע ותשפיל את כל אויבנו במהרה בימנו ב"א יי שובר אויבים ומכניע זדים.

In בשמך ושים, יהמו נא, ועל פליטת בית סופריהם — על הצדיקים, כי כך במתנו ובשמך נשעננו.

In וכסא דוד מהרה לתוכה חכין ובנה אותה בקרוב בימנו: ולירושלים בניין עולם.

In חוס נא: שמע.

In וכתפלתם שעה ושכון בציון עירך ועיבדוך בניך בירושלים: רצה ואתה ברחמי הרבים תשוב ותחפץ בנו ותרצנו ותערב תפלינו כעולה ובקרנן אגא רחום ברחמך הרבים השב שכיתוך לציון וסדר העבודה לירושלים ותחזינה עינינו בשובך לציון ולירושלים עירך ברחמים כמאז ב"א יי המחזיר שכיתנו לציון.

In כי לא תמנו חסדיך כי מעולם, על חיינו המסורים ועל: מודים סלה האל הטוב, ויהללו שמך לעולם באמת, תמיד שמך מלכינו, קוינו לך ב"א יי הטוב לך נאה להודוי.

After follows without any remark the usual benedictions of the so-called Priestly Blessing: אלהינו ואלהי אבותנו ברכינו:—

In ושלום יהיה לנו, אהבת חסד צדקה, וברכה חיים חן:— שים שלום בכל יום ובכל עת ובכל שעה, וטוב.

In מחשבתם והשב נמולם בראשם תפתה לי, ושפתותי:— אלהי נצור שערי חיים שערי תורה שערי רצון שערי תפל' שערי רחמים מלכינו אלהינו יחיד שמך בעולמך בנר היכלך שכלל אולמך קרב משיחך קבץ צאן מרעיתך ופדה עמך ישראל אבינו מלכינו עשה למען תורת' עשה למען כסא בבורך אימ עשה למען משיח צדקך למען יחלצון ידידי' הושיעה ימנך ונואלי שלום שלום עושה, וענינו ויהי.

The prayer יהי רצון is entirely wanting. The third column of the pages which contain the week-day Amidah, begins with the Friday evening form קרשת נא. In this only two variations occur:— וינחו בו כל ישראל.

In נודה לשמו, המניח לעמו שבת קדשו:— מנן אבות והמניח.

In the Morning Prayer ישמח משה presents these variations:— וקדשת אותו, ובשביעי, באהבה נתתו, בה.

The so-called great Kedusha is here employed, and it opens with the reading very similar to that used by the Sephardim:— נקדישך ונעריצך. וכן כתוב, מלכינו כסוד שכל שיה שרפי אף:— To לדור ודור הלליה. ותתקדש ותמלוך, עלינו כמחכים, בקול appended Benjamin ben Samuel's Kedusha (Zunz, *Literaturgeschichte*, 118): להעריצו ולהקדישו שכם אחד בארבע היות:— ending, וחיות בווערות לכם, לעומתם.

כי כל הרשעה כולה. After ארץ מן הדרום comes in another hand the gloss:—
ומלכות העליזה תעקר ותשבר.

ושמך הגדול, ונאמי ויגבה, ותמלוך אתה הוא יי אלהינו לבוד מהרה
את יום הזכרון הזה וזכרן, יי באהבה, והנבור והנורא והקדוש

ולרחמים [ולשלום a.] ביום, יניע יראה:— are the readings יעלה ויבא
ענינו ומלטנו מכל צרה ויגון, וחמול ורחם, בדבר לחיים טובים,

וקדשני, ויאמרו כל, כל יציר, וידע כל פועל:— אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו
ודברך מלכינו, לעבודך באמת, במצותך

רצה ומודים ובשבת יאמי והנחילנו יי אלהי באהבה:— Then this is added:
וברצון שבת קדשך ב"א ונו', כשמניע ברחמים כמאן [ותחזינה sc. in] ושם
נעבוד כמי קדם ובשנים קדמוניות ב"א יי שאותך לבוד ביראה נעבוד
מודים ועד מעולם קיינו לך

וכל עמך, בספר חיים טובים, וכתוב:— Then follow the interpolations:
ישראל.

In the Mussaph occur these variations:— מפני חטאינו:— ואין אנו יכולים,
תמידין כסדרן ומוספין, בשמחת עולם אלא יי אלהינו ושם, עלינו והופע
ומנחתם סלת בלולה בשמן שלשה עשרונים, ונא' ובחדש השביעי, כהלכתן
לפר שני עשרנים לאיל ועשרן אחד לכבש האחד לשבעת הכבשים ושעיר
עזי אחד חמאת לכפר עליכם מלבד עלת החדש ומנחתה ועולת התמיד
המונים שהם משתחווים להבל וריק ומתפללי, ומנחתה ונסכיהם כמדובר
ואין עוד, ויוסד ארץ ממעל וכסא כבודו בשמים, אל יי לא יושע ואנחנו
ובדברי קדשך כתו' לאמי יי מלך, כולם עול, לשמך, בתורתך, ואפס, אור
להפקד בו, חוק וזכרון, כל תעלוטות לב, מלחמה וני' שאו, נאות לבש
וכל הבריות, ומשפטי, ליום ראשו ולי' אחרון, אותו נלית, רוח ונפש
מעש' אדם ותחבולותיו ועלילות, כל היציר, בו יפקרו לחיים ולטות
כי זכר, ולא תכלים לנצח, אשרי אנוש אשר לא, is wanting, מחשבותיהם
יזכור יי אלהינו, לאמי זכרתי לך, בא לפניך להרבות, is wanting, מעשה כולם
לפניך עקידת יחיד שצערך על נבי המזבח וכבש את רחמי, את הברית
לזרעו היום תזכר, ישוב אפך וחרנק מעירך ומעמך ומנחתך, את רצונך
(Isa. xlviii. 3, and xxvii. 13, transposed), ועל יד עבדך, מלפניך, כל העולם חל, בענן כבודך על הר סיני לדבר
ינן עלינו כן תנן עלינו ועל ישר', והביאנו יי אלהינו לציץ, בשלום
בשמחת עולם אלא יי אלהינו, ומצות רצונך כמו שכתבת עלינו בתורתך, ושם
לפני, את קרבנות חבתינו במצות רצונך כמו שכתבת עלינו בתורתך, ושם
בקול שופר, יי אלהיכם

Then follow with the superscription מנח, the supplications beginning
מלכנו אבינו, for use in the afternoon of the New Year, but in the follow-
ing arrangement (*Ritus*, 118 *seq.*):—

אימ חמאנו

אין לנו

חדש
 בטל מעלינו
 הפר'
 קלקל מחשבות שנאינו
 סתום פיות צרינו ומסמרינו
 בלה כל צר וסומן מעלינו
 שלח
 מנע
 החזירנו
 כל ה' ומנפה ועון מעל בני בריתך
 קרע
 מחל וסלח
 מחה
 מחק
 תסכים עם מלמדי זכותינו
 כתבינו בספר חיים טובים
 כתבי' בספ' פרנסה וכלכלה
 בת' בספ' נחמות
 כת' בספ' ישועה ונאולה
 כתבינו בספר שלום
 כת' בס' מזונות
 זכרינו
 זכור
 הרם קרן משיחך
 הרם קרן ישר עמך
 אל תשיבנו
 קבל
 שמע קולינו חוס נא ורחם עלינו
 הצמח
 תהא השעה הזאת שעת רחמים שעת רצון מלפניך
 אל יעכב חטא ועון את תפלותינו
 עשה למען רחמיך הרבים
 עשה למען כסא כבודך
 עשה למען תורתך
 עשה למען משיח צדקך
 עשה למען ימינך
 עשה למענך אם לא למענינו
 עשה למענך והושיענו
 עשה למען שמך הגדול והקדוש והגבור והנורא שנקר' עלינו

חנינו וענינו כי אין בנו מעשים צדקה
עושה עמנו למען שמך והורשענו קדיש

Then follow the additions for the Amidah on the Day of Atonement, beginning with the direction:—לצום כפור אתה בחרתנו כו' בסדר אלא:—שמוסיף ותתן לנו יי' אלהינו באהבה [אשר יום המנוח הזה a.] ואת יום הכפורים הזה למחילה ולסליחה ולכפרה ולמחול בו את כל עונותינו וזכר ליציאת מצרים.

In וקדשינו, מחול [וסלח a.] occur the variations:—כי אתה אלהים אמת ודברך מלבנו אמת וקיים לעד ב"א אתה, ושבענו מעביר, יי' מלך מוחל וסולח.

The Mussaph is introduced with the rubric:—במוסף יאמ' מיד אחר אתה:—בחרתנו מפני חטאינו וכשיגיע להלכתן יאמ' אלהי מחל כל ואחר כך רצה ואחר עושה השל' יאמ' אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו.

The Confession of Sins is given in the following wording:—

אשמו אכלנו איסור ובלא תפלה, גקיים אנחנו, תבא לפניך את תפלתנו, בגדנו בטלנו תורתך בקלון חברינו נתכבדנו, גוללו גנבנו גלנו עריות דברנו דופי ושקר ולשו' הרע ודברי' בטלים העוינו והלבננו פני חברנו ברבים, חסינו משפט וחטאנו והרשענו וזנו זנינו חמדנו חססנו חללנו שבת ושם קדשך טפלנו שקר טמאנו נפשנו יעצנו רע יקרנו עוברי רצונך יהרנו כובנו כחשנו כנינו שמות לחברנו כעסנו לצנו למצותך לא הקשבנו מרדנו מאסנו דברך נאצנו נאפנו נשבענו לשוא ולשקר פעלנו שקר צרנו צדנו רעינו צעדנו לדוע קשינו עורף קראנו לרעי בכנעיים רשענו רצנו אחר הרע רדפנו הטובים וישר העוינו, אחר הבצע שפכנו דם שחתנו תעבנו תעינו תעתענו, שחטלנו לנו על כל פשעינו, יהי רצון לפניך, אין כל דבר, מה נספר, ולא, וחכפר לנו על כל חטאותינו.

על חטא שחטאנו לפניך באונם

באכילה ושחיה

בביטוי פה ובטול תורה

בבלי דעת

בגלוי

בגלוי עריות [וגול m.]

בדבור פה

בדעת ובכרמה

בהטית משפט [והלכנת רע m.]

בהרהור הלב

בועדת זנות

בזדור פה

בזדון

בזנות

בחזק יד
 בחלול השם ושבת
 בטפשות פה
 בטומאת שפתים
 ביצר הרע
 ביודעים ובלא יודעים
 סלח לנו מחל לנו כפר לנו
 על המא שחטאנו לפניך בכחש ובכזב
 בכפת שחד
 בלשון הרע
 בלצון
 במשא ובמתן
 במראית העין
 בנשך ותרבית
 בניאוף
 בסקוד עינים
 בשיח שפתים
 בעינים רמות
 בעזות מצח
 בפריקת עול
 בפעלת שקר
 בצדאת ריע
 בצעדי רגלים להרע
 בקשות עורף
 בקלות ראש וקפיצת יד
 ברצון
 בריצת רגלים
 בשמיעי האוזן
 בשפיכות דמים
 בתשומת
 בתמהון לב
 סלח לנו מחל לנו כפר לנו
 על חמאי שאנחנו חייבי עליהם אשם
 חטאת
 קרבן עולה ויודר
 מיתה וזכרת
 סלקות ומכת מרדות

את שגלויים לנו ואת שאינן:—with the variations, ארבע מיתות בית דין וכי
 התודה, לפניך יי אלהינו הם, את שגלויים לנו כבר הודינו לפניך יי אלהינו

ועל כולם יי' אלהינו סלח לנו מחל לנו כפר לנו כי אתה סולחן ומחלן לשבמי
ישורן ואין דומה לך ומבדלדיך.

ולא יחתום כי אם—: with the remark, מחלן וסולחן ב"א יי' האל הסולחן
בנעילה.

הריני לפני, וקל וחומר—: occur the variations: אלהי עד שלא נוצרתי
יסורין וחלאים רעים, ויהיו לרצון אמרי פי והניין לבי לפניך יי' צורי ונואלי
מלכינו אלהינו יחיד שמך וכו', לנעילה במקו' וכתבינו יאמ', לפניך
ותחמנו וכשיגיע לאתה יודע יאמ' אתה נותן.

In the Nefila Prayer, אתה נותן, that follows, these variations occur:—
כי אין קץ, למען דברך, על חובותינו ועל כל עונותינו, ותלמדנו להודות
מה אנו ומה חיינו ומה חסדנו ומה כחנו ומה גבורתנו מה, אתה יודע
וימי חיינו, רוב מעשינו.

קץ ומחילה לכל עונותינו—: may be noted the readings: אתה הברלת
ואתה רחום, ונשוב לעשות, וסליחה לכל חטאתינו וכפרה לכל פשעינו
בתשובתן של רשעים, אלוה הסליחות, כאמור דרשו יי', ברחמי הרבים
בית ישר ונו', למס, מדרכיו וחיה, כדבר שנאמ' חי אני נאם, במיתתן
כי לא אחפוץ במות המת נאם יי' אלהים השיבו וחיו כי אתה סולחן ישר
וסולח אלא אתה ב"א יי' האל הסולחן, ישורן ואין דומה לך ומבדלדיך.

Then follow חדש, לראש חדש, with the following variations in the Mussaph of
th New Moon on week-days: ושם תשועת: is wanting, כסדרן ומוספי' כהלכ' את מוסף
ולפרנסה ולכלכלה לריוח ולהצלה והצלחה לקיום תורה, לברכה, יום ראש
קבע ויהי רצון, בישראל עמך, ולכפרת פשע, ומצות לחיים טובים ולשלום
לפניך שתהא ראש חדשות קץ לכל צרותינו תחילה וראש לרווחתינו ותצא
לפניך תפלת עמוסיד כתמיד יום וכקרבן מוסף ב"א יי' מקדש ישראל וראשי
חדשים.

In the Mussaph for the New Moon which occurs on a Sabbath: ביום—
ושמך הגדול הניבור והנורא עלינו, השביעי בחרת בנו מכל האומות אהבת
ואין אנו יכולין לעלות ולראות, is wanting, ונלד יקרנו and באהבה
ולהשתחוות לפניך בבית בחירתך בבית הגדול והקדוש שנקרא שמך עליו
את מספי יום המנוח, תמידין כסדרן ומוספין כהלכתן, לפניך, מפני היד
ולכפרת, יחדשהו עלינו ברוב רחמיו כמו שנכון לזרע אברהם אבינו, הזה יום
פשע המקום לפניך בגלל שמך הקדוש עלינו יהי רצון לפניך יי' אלהינו
ואלהי אבותינו שיהא שבת וראש חודש זה קץ לכל צרותינו תחלה וראש
וקדשת אותו, לכל רווחתנו וישמחו במלכותך.

Then follows אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו רצה במנוחתינו with the variations:
שבת קדשך ותראד לפניך תפלת עמוסיד כתמיד יום, ושבענו, וקדשנו
וכקרבן מוסף כי בישר עמך בחרת מכל האומות ושבת קדשך להם הודעת
וראשי חדשים להם קבעת ב"א יי' מקדש השבת ישר' וראשי חדשים.

Then follow the different insertions in the Amidah; in the first instance אל תפן אל קשינו ואל רשעינו ואל—ענינו, with the variants: חטאתינו ואל תעלם אונך משמוע שועתינו יהי נא.

Next comes the shortened form of the Amidah, with the remark:—בימות החמה יום דחוק כאשר פ' בהלכות תפלה מתפלל אחר ג' הראשונות, ורשננו וישבענו, וסולח היה לנו, הבינו יי' אלהינו לדעת את דרכיך ועריכת, ובהצמחת, על הרשעים, תפוצים מארבע תקבץ והתועים בדעתך תענה טרם נדבר אתה תשמע כי אתה העונה בכל עת צרה וצוקה בי' יי' שומע תפלה.

בליל ט' באב או רחם וביו' אומ' נחם בבונה ירושלים נחם יי' את אבילי האבילה והשוממה והמעונה והבזויה והחריבה ממענותיה השוממה, ציון כי אתה באש, לא ילדה, מבלי עובר יושבת.

For Chanuca the הנסים על with the readings:—שעמרה, ובזמן הזה—להלל, ואחר כך, רבים, מתורתך, עליהם.

In for Purim are these variants:—הפרת, וביקש, ובזמן הזה—אותו ובניו, לו נמולו, עצתו.

Then comes Joseph ben Kimchi's song, יום שבת זכור (see Zunz, *Litg.*, 460), with the remark:—וכשחל שבת ביי' יאמ' קודם מנן אבות בדברו—(compare Juspa Hahn's *יוסף אומץ*, § 856).

The verses צדקתך for the Mincha occur in the order in which they appear in the Psalter, xxxvi. 7; lxxi. 19; oxi. 142, as in the Sephardic Prayer Book.

Then follows:—ובראות, דשמיא, לאחר הפטר' בשבת יאמ' יקום פורקן—די בבבל לרישי גלי, דבארעא דיש', מפתמי דאוריתא, ודלא, זרעא חייא וכל תלמידי תלמידיה ולרישי מתיבתא דייני דבבא ורייני דמתא ולכל חייהו וישנא יומיהו, ולכל קהלא קדישא הדין ועיריא מלכא דעלמא יפיש בסעדהו ובסעדנא וישמע. דבשמיא, לשניהו וישיוזון מכל צרה ועקא, ויהיב בקל צלותהו וצלותנא ויתן יתהו ויתנא לחינא ולחסדא קדם כורסיה יקר מלכותיה וקדם שלטניה דארעא ויקיים דכוותהו ודכוותנא כל זמן ועידן אמן. ונאמר.

וכל קהילות הקדש עם הקהל הזה, מי שביך אברהם ויצחק וישראל אבותינו והברלה ופת לאורחים, שנותנין, שבאין לתוכו, ומי שתקנו בתי כנסיות, וגשיהו ופת לאורחים ומי שעוסקין בתורה ובצורכי ציבורם המקום ישלם להם, וידפא גופם ויסלח עונותם ויברך כל מעשה ידיהם עם כל ישר ונאמר אמן.

כשיארע ראש—The announcement of the New Moon is thus introduced:—חדש בשבוע יזכירנו כך ישראל, כל הארץ, ונאל אותנו ויקבץ, לחירות ומיגון לישמחה—לישראלים עיר הקדש ונאמר אמן.

ראש חדש פלוני שיהיה יום פלוני.

ועל כל ישרי לששון ולשמחה לריוח—: *are these variations* יחדשהו In
ולהצלה ולהצלחה לחיים ולשלום ונאמר אמן

ור"ח אב לא יזכירנו אך יאמר ר"ח יהיה יום פלוני יהפכה עלינו מינון
לשמחה כו' וכשיארע צום לשבוע יאמ' צום פלוני יהיה יום פלוני יהפכה
ה'ק'ב' עלינו ועל כל ישראל לששון ולשמחה ולמועדים טובים לריוח והצלחה
והצלחה לברכה ושלום ונאמר אמן כאמור כה אמר יי' צום הרביעי וצום
החמשי וצום השביעי וצום העשירי יהיה לבית יהודה לששון ולשמחה
ולמועדי' טובים והאמת והשלום אהבו.

At the end occurs the remark באת שבת אחר: כשיכנס בבית הכנסת במנחת שבת אחר:
סדר קדושה יאמ' ואני תפלת...ומוציא הספ' תורה כאשר פי' בהלכו
קריאת התורה.

In pages 83-91 there follows in the central column, surrounded on the
right and left by תחנון and והוא רחום, the pieces for Hoshana Rabba, etc.,
in the following version:—

I. הושענא למענך אלהינו • למענך בוראינו • למענך גאלינו • למענך—
דורשינו • למען אומץ בן שלש שנים הכירך • היום תברך כנת נטעי הדרך •
למען גש ונפקד במקום מה נורא היום תדלנו משחת מיחרך במורא •
למען הנדרם וניעור באימה היום תצילנו מרוגז ומהומה • למען זמן בלוחות
שמים היום תחונן נוהלי דת מאירת עיני • למען טהור נדמה לטפסרי
מרומים • היום תיקר מעמי עמים • למען כליל מיהר ושאף אתר איש
לקובה • היום תבלב צימחי רבבה • למען מל שנית סגולתך • היום
תנובבנו בחמלתך • למען סתתה לו אמרות חשוקות • היום תצילנו משחחות
עמוקות • למען פואר מלנצח הנה והנה • היום תצהלנו ששון ורנה • למען
קושט ברוב חכמות • היום תרוממנו בחמלה דר מרומי • למען שומרי צויד
בכל מאורם • היום תתן ברכה לקרואי ציון אדם • הושענא :

II. חכמות, זועקים לך להשעו', ונפשות בם משתעשעות : אל למושעות —
עדות, ספורות משמיעות, מקיים שבועות, כורעי' למשמעות, משעשעות
שלוש שעות תחיש לנו ישועות, קרב ישועות, משמעו'.

III. ומושיעי, יוחש, זכר רחם : אערוך שועי—.

IV. יבוק, חוכיך מושיע מלאיך הושיע, גבור להושיע : ארון המושיע—
עדרנים להשפיע, נצנים להזריע שיחים תשפיע, לגיא מלהשפיע, מלהרשיע
(ש and ת are wanting). רחמיך להושיע הושענא

V. פרחים, ערנים להעצימה, ולהבל, גיד ועצם וקומה : אדם ובהמה—
תולה ארץ על בלימה, לעוצמה

VI. ארמה מארד—.

VII. מושש כל הארץ, יפה נוף כללית יופי, גורן ארוונה : אבן שתיח—
מכון לשבתך.

VIII. יום ממחנת עד, מששת לשבת, בונית בדת משיבת : אום נצורה—
ליום מקוראה בשבת, רשויות לשבת, מקיימת לשבת, כלות שבת

אם אין בנו, והושענו כי חטאנו לך, כי נמו, ומה נאמי, אתה שומר ישר הביטור וענינו בעת צרה כי רבו מכאבנו צרות לבבנו, מעשים צדקה, שורר, בשבי, דל כבודנו ושקצותינו, כי עמך אנהנו, הרהיבו חוסה, וקנאתך וחמתך ועברתך שפוך על כל שנאינו אל הם מהר, וחון עם שמך, יקרמונו רחמך לצרותינו לא למענינו כי אם למען פעל, ערב ובקר ואמרים בכל יום תמיד פשמים.

The third column of the pages, whose outer columns contain רחום, include the following passages: Psalms xxv.; iii.; vi.; xv.; xliii.; xxix.; iv., with regular omission of the superscriptions. These Psalms stand in place of דור ויאמר דור. Then follows under the designation 'בקשת המימו' Maimûni's Prayer:—

לפיכך אני כורע ומשתחוה ומתחנן לפני אלהי האלהים ואדוני האדוני כי לא על צדקתינו אנהנו מפילים תחנונינו לפניך כי על רחמך הרבים מה נאמי לפניך ומה נדבר ומה נצטד' חטאנו עוינו והרשענו ומרדנו וסוד [וסרנו. i.] ממצותיך וממשפטי' לך יי' הצדקה ולנו בשת הפנים הושרח פנינו מפני אשמתינו ונכפפה קומתינו מפני עוינו אין לנו פה להשיב ולא מצח להרים ראש אלהי בשתי ונכלמתי להרים אלהי פני אליך כי עונותי רבו למעל' ראש ואשמתי נדלה עד לשמים אין בנו מעשים עשה עמנו צדקה למען שמך כמ' שהבטחתנו על ידי נביאך למען שמי אאריך ותהלהי אחטם לך לבלתי הכריתך לא למענכם אני עושה בית ישר' כי אם לשם קדשי לא לנו יי' לא לנו כי לשמך תן כבוד על חסדך ועל אמתך למה יאמרו הנוים איה נא אלהיהם אנא יי' אל תפן אל קשי העם הזה ואל רשעו ואל חטאתו סלה נא לעון העם הזה כגדל חסדך וכאשר נשאת לעם הזה ממצרים ועד הנה למען שמך יי' וסלחת לעוני כי רב הוא יי' שמעה יי' סלחה יי' הקשיבה ועשה ואל תאחר למען אלהי כי שמך נקרא על עיך ועל עמך.

Then come the additions in the תחנון for Mondays and Thursdays with the superscription שני וחמישי.

In להרג, נחשבנו מלך כצאן, וראה היינו לעם:— are the variations הבט, יכבשו, ואין תוחלת, שמך הגדול והקדוש לא שכחנו אל נא, ומטה כעסק.

Before חוסה, the verse beginning with ו has preserved the alphabetical arrangement of the whole.

ניתן בעפר פינו ונכפש באפר כי מאד שבענו מרורים וריונו לענה ודש ולא שב ממנו חרון אף ובעתה ובכל ואת שמך הגדול לא שכחנו יי' נא (בכף 299, In Zunz, Litg., § 220. מטה משח. Cp.) אל תשכח

ארבה אעמם, חשמים איה אלהיהם:— are the variations חוסה

כי אלך עינינו תלויות מהר—: occur the readings ואנחנו לא נרע יקדמנו רחמך כי דלוננו מאד הנה כעיני עבדים אל יד אדונים וכעיני שפחה אל יד נבירתה כן עינינו יי אלהינו עד שתחנינו חננו יי חוננו כי רב שבענו בך יי הושיע המלך יעננו בים קראינו

The passage that next follows, אל אך אפים, has these changes:— and then תוכיח ואל תסתר פניך ממנו חוסה יי על ישרי עמך וחשיענו אל אך אפים ורב חסד ואמת ואל בהמתך תייסרנו ואל תסתר וכו' ומצויה ס"ת בהחזירו יאמ' יהללו את שם יי כי נשגב שמו לבדו כו' אשרי למנצח מזמ'.

The right hand columns of pages 92-95 are occupied with the prayer for the conclusion of Sabbath, ויתן לך. The passages גואל, המלאך נואל, are wanting. כי יי אלהיך ברכך-ומשלח, ברוך פרי בטנך-יצו

In front of השקיפה (Deut. xvi. 15) is interpolated אשריך ישראל.

In place of מוחיית כאב follows before נושע Joshua i. 8, 9, and before כי בשמחה תצאון Isa. li. 10 is inserted.

The pieces רבי יוחנן בית יעקב and אמר רבי יוחנן are wanting.

In the reading is: בן ישי שלום לך שלום לעורך: בורא נב' וכל אשר לך, שלום is wanting.

On the left-hand columns of pages 92-5 follows לשבח with the following variations:— המנום שהם משתחווים להבל וריק אדם אפר דם מרה בשר בושה סריחה רמה טמאים וטמאות מנאפי' ומנאפות ממים בפשעם ונמסים בעונם בלויי עפר רקובי רמה ותולעה ומתפללים אל אל לא יושיע חמה ולבנה כוכבים ומזלות וכל צבא השמים: אבל אנחנו כורעים ומשתחווים לפני מלך מלכי המלכי' יושב הכרובים יי צבאות אלהי האלהים ואדוני האדוני' בורא שמים ונוטיהם יוצר כל צבאם מעריצי קדושתו השמים והארץ וכל אשר עליה הימים וכל אשר בהם ולו לבדו הגדולה והנבירה והגאון והתהלה והתפארה והנצח וההודר כי כל בשמים ובארץ לך יי המלוכה והממשלה והמתנשא לכל לראש והעשיר והכבוד מלפניך החיים והשלום הבינה והרעת והכל מלפניו כי הוא מושל בכל ועליון על כל ועיניו משוטטות בכל הוא יי אלהינו אלהי הצבאות יושב הכרובים כונן כל ומחייה כל ומעמיד כל ומכלה כל ואין קץ לאורך ימיו ולא יתמו שנותיו כי הוא לבדו צור שלמים ואין אלוה מבלעדו וכסא כבודו בשמים ממעל ושכינת עזו בנבהי מרומים ומלכותו בכל משלה להודו ולתהלתו ולגאון ולנפלאותיו אין קץ ואין קצב ואין תכלה כי הוא מרומים על כל ברכה ותהלה על כל מלכות וממשלה ברו' הוא ובר' שמו אשר בחרנו לחלקו וקרבנו לעבודתו ולו לבדו אנחנו מייחלים ומקיים ורחמיו וחסדיו אנו מצפים ולישותנו אנו מקיים ושמו הגדול לבדו אנו מיוחדים

ומברכי' ערב ובקר אמת כי הוא יי' אלהינו ואין אחר אמת מלכנו ואפס
וולתו ככת' בתורת.

על [כן] נקוה לך כו' עד בכל משלה ארון עולם
כו' פסוקי דוכן.

Then follow the verses Ps. cxxxiv. 3; viii. 10; xvi. 1; lxvii. 2; Exod. xxxiv. 6; Ps. xxv. 17; cxxiii. 1, 2; xxi. 5; Isa. xxiii. 2—לבקרים; Ps. xxvii. 9—ממני; xxv. 1; cxxiii. 17; 1 Chr. xxix. 11—והחוד; Isa. lvii. 19, from בסוף כל פסוק ופסוק ענין : onward. At the end occurs the remark : אמן.

Then follows for Mondays and Thursdays during the Ten Days of Penitence a poetical interpolation for תחנון, with the introductory observation:

בעשרי ימי תשוב' יאמ' במקרי הבט נא :

יי' אבינוי עמך יקוון למושעות בצוק העתים בפרת פרעת נתיים
לנגדך ושופכים דמעות דל ישר' עד מאד והנם רק זוועות . היה לאכול
ומצאוהו צרות רבות ורעות . יי' איככה ישמד עמך ואיככה יחי . ונחתו
בהסתר פנים שמתו מיאם ושחי . חומסים אומרים לנפשי שחי ונעבדה
שחי . טלמלוהו למדחפות מדחי אל דחי . ישבע בחרפה ויתן למכחו לחי :
יי' עני עמך ראה וצוקת מעמד צדקתך למו זכור וצדקת איתן אשר
קדם . חסדיך יבאום ורחמיך צור ילדם . ואל תפן לרשעם לרוע מעבדם .
קדוש ישר' התעשרת לאירם . ואל בועף תוכיח אנש בשר ודם . שוכני
בתי חמר אשר בעפר יסודם : יי' איככה תביט ותחרש . נבלת עבדיך
בחוצות ודמם נשפך ונקרש . אין מאסיף ואין קובר דמיהם לא נדרש .
אשר לחרב אשר לשבי מגורש . זקנים משער שבתו המסגר והחרש .
נתמעטו הוני תורתך ובטל מבי' המדרש . בן האהובה בזוי ושסוי וגעלה
דש אובר ונדה מגיו יגורש . בן השנואה מושל ושלים ונשרש . ומה
תעשה לשמך הגדול בשבעים מפורש : יי' בן הנקרא ילד שששעים
ידידים . מבית ומחוץ ינאץ אבי אבי שבעתי נדודים . פני צור ילדו מתגרת
מושלים ורודים . אבי אבי הלעד תמור ען ותמור מרדים ובנים קרואים
חמודי' . מכנף אביה' טרודים . יתומים נמסרו ביד שויליים זדים . הלצמיתות
מכרתם דדור לו גאלים ופודים . זכור לא ימכרו עבד כי לי בני ישר'
עבדים . ערוב עבדך לטוב ואל יששקוני זדים . יי' עד מתי בנך בכורך
בצרה . ולחץ אויביו לחצוהו בעול ופחד ומורא . זה מכה וזה גולה זה אומר
פשוטה ועורה . נשאר מרוסס מעונה מבני אדום וקמורה קנא לשמך הנורא
קנא למקדש ולתורה ראה לומדיה מעט מחוסר ככר ואגורה . וחמול על
העם ההולכים בחשך בלא מורה מקוה ישר' יי' מושיעו בעת צרה : יי' יי'
עד מתי תכבד ירך הלך והכבד עם חבלך מקורא מיד ליד תשעבר ין
ופרס מאבר אדום וקדר וזה עבד וזה קונה להשמיד להרוג ולאבר . כל

בעשן ימי ואויב הולך ומתכבד נשכחתי כמת מלב הייתי ככלי אובד :
 יי' מי כמוד באלים סובלים ראותך בני בריתך נפלו חללים חללים
 מהם נהרגים מהם נשחטים מהם נסקלים ונתלים 'אם על בנים שחטו ביום
 אחד ערלים ביום הרג רב בנפול מגדלים לא נשאו פנים לזקן ולא חננו
 עוילים ושרידי חרב לא מצאו מרעה כאיילים על קדושת שמך הגדול מאסו
 בנים עוילים נדו בקש עלבונם מיד חומסים ושוללים וחמול על שאריתנו
 ופנינו בל תכלים ולרוחתינו ולשועתינו אונך בל תעלם : יי' יי' עזרה
 בצרורת נמצא יהמו ורחמך עלינו לגדוד הפרצ' אשר רכצרה בנו כלח
 ונחרצה למשפטינו ורצנו העירה והקיצה וחברש הנשארת תחת משאה
 רבוצה . נפולה ושבורה דפוקה ולחוצה קרועה ופרועה גם כתף חלוצה
 נזופה ואבילה עשוקה ורצוצה ותאמר לצרתה די גדול העיצה : יי' אלהי
 יש' :

Then follows Ps. cvii. 2-32 (v. 12, בעמל, ויכאב), and next :—

אכרע ברכי למלכי נורא מחוקקי מדרכי . הסר פיקי וחשכי ננע צרעת
 כי תהיה באדם והובא אל הכהן (Lev. xiii. 9) :

נבל קוצים לחצים בני תם נוצצים ורוצצים עשותם קרוצים פוצים נחנו
 נעבור חלוצים לפני יי' [ב]ארץ כנען ואתנו אחזרת נחלתנו מעבר לירדן
 : (Num. xxxii. 32)

יה לנ[י]חחיד ענה מקחך מקבל שיחיד כובחיד כמשיחך משמחך נביא
 מקרבך מאחיד כמוני יקים לך יי' אלהיך אליו תשמעון (Deut. xviii. 15) :
 ישוד שער יירש צעיר שער ישיני זער תעיר נחר פלגיו ישמחו עיר
 : (Ps. xli. 5)

עקר עדינה עדינה עיר דוד חנה תכוננה שפתות יונה כנה נפת תטפנה
 שפתותיך כלח דבש וחלב תחרת לשונך וריח שלמותיך כירח לבנון
 : (Cant. iv. 11)

קמי מנבל מחבל חין עם קובל מקבל נדוחי מסבל שובדי כל נדו מתוך
 בבל . ומארץ כשדים צאו ו(י)היו כעתודים לפני צאן : (Jer. l. 8) :
 במרום פלשת וקיר חרשת תנה להם בשת לחלבשת שלח ללכדם ברשת
 פלשת נושקי קשת מימני[י]ם ומשמאיל[י]ם בחצים ובאבנים [באבנים]
 ובחצים 1. [מאחי] שאול (ו)[מ]בנימ[ן] (1 Chron. xii. 2) :

חוק בני תם בצרתם מהר פצותם פדותם כנוף מגולם נאלתם נד
 אבותם עשה פלא בארץ מצרים שדה צוען (Ps. lxxviii. 12) :

ועמת קמך בועמך העבירו רחומך תמימך בעבור שמך ורחמך נחית
 כצאן עמך ביד משה ואהרן (Ps. lxxvii. 21) :

קדוש אבי משגבי חתל כאבי ודאבי תשכן בארץ צבי נרי נפתי משכבי
 מוד ואהללות וקנמן (Prov. vii. 17) :

ואמץ ממך רהיה בך תוהים • שימה נגוהים נבוהים תהיה לכמהים
זכיהם נר (אלהים) [י"י] נשמת אדם חופש כל חדרי במן (Prov. xx. 27) :
אנדלה שמך צור משגבי • לך אקרא בשחרי ובשרבי • בכל יום ראגת
לבי אחוה • וצרותי וגם מכאוב לבבי • גבול אם אין לגלותי לעולם • זכור
נא חסדך חסר כאבי • דברי האזינה בין הגיגי • וחנני וריבה את ידיבי :
היה לי אל לצור מעוז ומחסה • פשעי ועונותי בעזובי • ולמדני דרכיך
ודתך • הרוג זרע אדום שוטני ואויבי : ועם בחמתך אותם וכלם •
וכלם לשממות שים ובשבי : חמול עלי ומצורדי פצני • אביר יעקב
חסין גאלי ואבי : טלאים בורעך תקבץ • שלח להם משיחך ותשבי : יפה
נוף תבכה וגאל סגלה • אשר כשה פזורה היא וכצבי : כרת משללי אל
תשלם • שבחיק יהי(ה) שירי וניבי : למען אב תחנתי שמעה • קראתו עבדי
אתה ואוהבי : מחל פשעי עבור שח וסלחה • לבבי נדכא נשבר בקרבי :
נשא רשעי וקולי הקשיבה • בעד איש תם וישך את נתיבי : סחי את
עבדך ומאוס • והרבית ינוני מכאובי : עונותי עבור דם למעלה • ואין יד ממך
לנוס להחביא : פנה אל קול תחנתי בצר לי • ראה עניי ומושיע להביא :
צדקה תשרי לך מכקרבן • ותרחצה כרמי גם סחלבי : קדוש יעקב למשען
תהיה לי • ולא אבטח בקשתי ובחרבי : רעה אותי ברחמיך בכל יום • ומולי
חסין הקר וכוכבי : שלומך תפרוס עלי אלהים • לך ההוד לך העז והצבי :
תמהר קץ ינוני ותקרב • ואשר לך עיר ציון בשווי : יחירתי תהלתך
תספר • אלהים חי ידידי וחביבי : עקור קמי בנה עיר מקדשך • אשר תרב
אנוש נדמה ללביא : קלוני וכלימתי ובושתי • בכבוד תחליף תלחם קרבי :
ברכה ותהלה אתנה לך • בעורני בקומי ובשכבי : חפוך זרע קדושך
ואמצם • אנדלה שמך צור משגבי :

After the verse Psalm cxl. 14, follows :—

אברכה את יי' בכל יום בזמרה • כי שמע תחנוני אל גדול ונורא :
ברא הכל במאמר בחכמה בנשרה • מלכותו לא נמד אל גדול ונורא :
גדול ומהולל על כל שומע עתירה רם ונישא כל יוכל אל גדול ונורא :
דודי צח ואדום בהוד וצפירה להללו לא אדום אל גדול ונורא :
היה והוה ויהיה • לעד בתפארה • אהיה אשר אהיה אל גדול ונורא :
ודאי ונאמן בכל דבריו • מלכות לו ומשרה • שומר חוקיו אשרי אל גדול ונורא :
זועם בכל יום רגע • ברוחו שמים שפיה • בכחו הים רוגע אל גדול ונורא :
חונה על ארבע חיות • רם ונישא קרה במים עליות אל גדול ונורא :
טהור עינים מראות רע • רואה כל סתרה • פארו לעד לא ינרע אל גדול ונורא :
יושב סתר כל רואה • דיין כל יצירה • כתר מלוכה לא נאה אל גדול ונורא :
כובש כעסו ליריאו • ללומדי התורה • אין מי ישרך פלאיו אל גדול ונורא :
לו העשר וחכבוד • כח ונבורה • בעורני חי אעבוד אל גדול ונורא :

מלכותו משלה בכל הנברא • אין לפניו עולה אל גדר' ונ':
 נוצר חסד לאלפים • אך אף ועברה • עיניו בכל צופים אל גדר' ונ':
 סתרי הוא ומנני • בצר הוא לי לעזרה • מלך על כל קציני אל גדר' ונ':
 שומה הודו כשלמה • הוד והדר ואורה • גבור ואיש מלחמה אל גדר' ונ':
 פשולתו אמת ויושר • דבר קרשו ברורה • גם כל מעשיו כושר אל גדר' ונ':
 צדיק הוא בכל נתיבו • דרכו סופה ושמרה • השם עבים רכובו אל גדר' ונ':
 קול יי' בהדר ארזים לשברה • בעז וחרדה נאור אל גדר' ונ':
 רננות אם פי מלא • ולשוני זמרה • לא אביע פלא אל גדר' ונ':
 שבת יי' צבאות לא אספיק לנומרה • אחת מרב רבואות אל גדר' ונ':
 תהילה לו דומיה • לפארו אין משורה • אדון רב עלילה אל גדר' ונ':
 יחיד הוא ואין דומה לו • עמיה שרי נהודה • אין מספר לגדודי חילו אל גדר' ונ':
 עושה גדולות ונוראות • עז אליו אשמרה • דגול כצבא ואות אל גדר' ונ':
 קלוסו בעודי אמלל • בשבת פניו אכפרה • כפי דעי אהלל לאל גדר' ונ':
 באי וצאתי שמור מלכי • נחני בארץ ישראל • הישר לפני דרכי אל גדר' ונ':
 בכת' נחני כצדקתך למען שוררי הישר לפני דרכך (Ps. v. 9):
 קינה אללי על בת ציון נאמנה אל עליון • אתיפח בנהי ובדמע' אמסה
 ערסי • אקרא בחץ היה • אשים כפי על ראשי אהה כי בית מקדשי הוצת
 הוצית לציון אללי:

שבע' פסוקי¹ ואתה יי' מנן בעדי כבודי ומרים ראשי (Ps. iii. 4)
 ואתה יי' אל תרחק איילותי לעזרתי חושה (Ib. xxii. 20)
 שובה יי' חלצה נפשי הושיעני למען חסדך (Ib. vi. 5)
 דרשתי את יי' וענני [ו]מכל מגורתי הצילני (Ib. xxxiv. 5)
 ויהי יי' משנב לך משנב לעתות בצרה (Ib. ix. 10)
 ימין יי' רוממה ימין יי' עושה חיל (Ib. cxviii. 16)
 שמע קולי וחונני יי' היה עוזר לי (Ib. xxx. 11)
 יי' מנת חלקי אתה תומך גורלי (Ib. xvi. 5)
 אל תשובני יי' אלהי ואל תרחק ממני (Ib. xxxviii. 22)
 הנה אלהים עוזר לי יי' בתומכי נפשי (Ib. liv. 6)
 אך אל אלהים דומיה נפשי כי ממנו ישועתי (Ib. lxii. 2)
 אודה יי' בצדקו אומרה שם יי' עליון (Ib. vii. 18)
 יי' אדונינו מה אדיר שמך בכל הארץ (Ib. viii. 10)
 יהי חסדך יי' עלינו כאשר יחלנו לך (Ib. xxxiii. 22)
 כי אתה תאיר נרי יי' יניה חשכי (Ib. xviii. 29)
 על כן אודך בנזים יי' ולשמך אומרה (Ib. xviii. 50)
 חי יי' וברוך צורי וירום אלהי ישעי (Ib. xviii. 47)

¹ Cf. Steinschneider, Ost. München, No. 401c, p. 185.

- זכר רחמך יי' וחסדיך כי מעולם המה (Ib. xxv. 6)
 ואני עליך במחתי יי' אמרתי אלי אתה (Ib. xxxi. 15)
 אוהב צדקה ומשפט חסד יי' מלאה הארץ (Ib. xxxiii. 5)
 יי' הפיר עצת נזים הניא מחשבות עמים (Ib. xxxiii. 10)
 יהי כמוך לפני רוח ומלאך יי' דוחה (Ib. xxxv. 5)
 ריבה יי' את יריבי ולחם את לוחמי (Ib. xxxv. 1)
 אלהי פלמני מיד רשע מכף מעול וחמס (Ib. lxxi. 4)
 הנה עין יי' אל יריאיו למיחלים לחסדו (Ib. xxxiii. 18)
 כי אתה יי' מחסי עליון שמת מעוניך (Ib. xci. 9)
 והתענג על יי' ויתן לך משאלות לבך (Ib. xxxvii. 4)
 יראי יי' במחו ביי' עזרם ומגינם הוא (Ib. cxv. 11)
 חנני אלהים כחסדך כרוב רחמך מחה פשעי (Ib. li. 3)
 אתה הוא מלכי אלהים צוה ישועות יעקב (Ib. xlii. 5)
 ועתה מה קייתי יי' תוחלתי לך היא (Ib. xxxix. 8)
 אלהים אל תרחק ממני יי' לעזרתי חושה (Ib. lxxi. 12)
 כי אלהים שופט זה ישפיל וזה ירים (Ib. lxxv. 8)
 כי יי' יהיה בכסלך ושמר רגלך מלכד (Prov. iii. 26)
 אודה יי' מאד בפי ובתוך רבים אהללינו (Ps. cix. 30)
 יהי שם יי' מבורך מעתה ועד עולם (Ib. cxiii. 2)
 מבורח שמש עד מבואו מהלל שם יי' (Ib. cxiii. 3)
 מן המיצר קראתי יה ענני במרחב יה (Ib. cxviii. 5)
 אלהים למדתני מנעורי ועד הנה אניד נפלא (Ib. lxxi. 17)
 לא אמות כי אחיה ואספר מעשה יה (Ib. cxviii. 17)
 הודו ליי' כי טוב כי לעולם חסדו (Ib. cvi. 1)
 חלצני יי' מאדם רע מאיש חמסים תנצוני (Ib. cxl. 2)
 יי' עוז ישועתי סכות לראשי ביום נשק (Ib. cxl. 8)
 גדול יי' ומהולל מאד ולגדלתו אין חקר (Ib. cxlv. 3)
 חנון ורחום יי' ארך אפים וגדל חסד (Ib. cxlv. 8)
 טוב יי' לכל ורחמיו על כל מעשיו (Ib. cxlv. 9)
 כיסך יי' לכל הנופלי וזוקף לכל הכפופי (Ib. cxlv. 14)
 יודוך יי' כל מעשיך וחסידך יברכוכה (Ib. cxlv. 10)
 אלהים יחננו ויברכינו יאר פניו אתנו סלה (Ib. lxxvii. 2)
 ממלכות הארץ שירו לאלהים זמרו יי' סלה (Ib. lxxviii. 33)
 בצדקתך תצילנו ותפלמני המה אלה אונך והושיעני (Ib. lxxi. 2)
 כי אתה יי' תקותי אלהי מבטחי מנעורי (Ib. lxxi. 5)
 הושיעני אלקים כי באו מים עד נפש (Ib. lxxix. 2)

לידי הלואתם ולא נבוש לעולם ועד ותבנה ירושלים עיר הקדש במהרה בימינו ב"א יי מנחם ציין עמו ובונה ירושלים.

שבכל, האל המלך החי הטוב, האל אבינו מלכינו אדירנו נאלינו קדושינו יום הוא מטיב לנו הוא היטב לנו הוא ייטב לנו הוא נוסלינו הוא נמלנו הוא ינמלנו לעד לרוח והצלה והצלח' לחיים ולשלום לכל טוב.

ויתחדר, הוא יתפאר is wanting. הרחמן הוא יתברך בשמים ובארץ וישבור עול גוים מעל צוארינו וירס קרננו, לעלם ולשלמי שלמים למעלה מעלה וישפיל כל שנאינו למטה למטה הרחמן הוא ירבה נבולנו בתלמיד' הרח' הוא ינקום דם עבדיו השפוך הרח' הוא ישלח לנו נואל ויבנה חומות דביר והאריאל ויקבץ נפוצות יהודה וישר' הרח' הוא ישלח ברכה בעל הב' ה' אותו, is wanting here, ונחמות הרחמן הוא ישלח, בבית זה כן יתברך בברכה שלימה ונאמ' אמן, ואת ביתו ואת כל אשר לו כמ' יהי רצו לפני אלהינו שבשמי' שלא יבוש בעל הבית הזה בעולם הזה ואל יכלם לעולם הבא נכסיו יהיו מצליחי' וקרובי' לעיר ואל ישלט שמן במעשה ידיו ואל יודקר לפניו שום דבר חטאת הרהור ועבירה ועון מעתה ועד עולם ממדום ילמדו עליו זכות שתהא למשמרת שלום ישא ברכה מאת יי' וצדקה מאת אלהי ישעו וימצא חן ושכל טוב בעיני אלהים ואדם הרח' הוא ידרשנו לטוב וילמדנו לקח טוב וישלח לנו את אליהו הנביא זכור לטוב ויפתח לנו את אוצרו הטוב את השמים ויברך כל אחד ואחת ממנו בשמו.

ואם גוים שם יאמר בני ברית ולא יאמ', הוא ברהמיו יעשה שלום מגדיל משמ' שמלכו' דוד בתקפו ואינו כן בעונותינו.

ויאמר בלחש מעמו וראו כי טוב יי' אשרי הגבר יחסה בו

יראו את יי' קדוש' כי אין מחסור ליריאיו כפירים רשו ורעבו ודורשי יי' לא יחסרו (ל) כל טוב.

The Grace to be used at weddings entirely agrees with that in common use. Of the joyousness that prevailed on those occasions, two poems which were sung thereon, are sufficient evidence. These are Samuel Chasan's שיר וברכה (Zunz, *Litg.*, 465 and 728) and Isaac's תורתם (ib. 554), which occur in the Machzor Vitry.

DAVID KAUFMANN.

NOTE.—The Rev. Dr. H. Adler, Chief Rabbi, informs us that he intends to edit the whole of the MS. of the work עץ חיים, which the preceding article introduces to our readers.—Ed. J. Q. R.

IMMANUEL DI ROMI, A THIRTEENTH CENTURY HEBREW POET AND NOVELIST.

IN the present essay a short sketch will be given of the life and works of Immanuel di Romi, commonly called Immanuel ben Shelomoh, and reference will also be made to his literary and friendly relationship to Dante Alighieri, the famous author of the *Divina Commedia*. It ought, however, to be stated at the outset that although Immanuel was the composer of several Italian sonnets, he owes his fame as a writer of charming verses and novelettes chiefly to his principal Hebrew work, called *Machberoth*. The latter, apart from its literary value as a most interesting and entertaining book, is at the same time the chief source from which information has been obtained about its author's biography. But, as such, the volume is not always quite trustworthy, as certain facts mentioned there have hitherto not been fully authenticated, and would indeed seem to be more fictitious than true. Modern Jewish and Christian writers, however, among whom Graetz and Güdemann may especially be mentioned, have most ably utilized the old and new material at hand, and, thanks to their fruitful labours, a more complete and trustworthy sketch of the life and works of the object of this essay can now be drawn.

According to Graetz's ingenious combination of dates and circumstances, (comp. Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, B. vii. Anmerk. 3), it would seem that Immanuel was born in the year 1265, which is, by a remarkable coincidence, the same year as that of Dante's birth. Immanuel's parents, Solomon and Justa by name, belonged to a renowned Jewish family, called Ziphroni, and occupied a most honourable

position in the Jewish community of Rome. They bestowed great care on their son's early education, and engaged most efficient teachers to superintend his studies in Hebrew and in secular subjects. One of his earliest teachers was Benjamin ben Yechiel, a clever physician and a great Hebrew scholar, who made him acquainted with the works of Maimonides. Later on, he was taught by a relative of his, Leone Romano by name, who held the post of Hebrew instructor to Robert, King of Naples, and was also the translator of the works of Albertus Magnus and of Thomas Aquinas. Another teacher of his was Judah Siciliano, author of several pretty Italian poems, who cultivated in his pupil's mind a taste for poetry and *belles lettres*. Through these teachers, who were all received on terms of equality in the best Christian society at Rome, Immanuel often came into contact with the members of a secret literary and political society, called "Young Italy." These members were all young men of education and talent, and their object was to propagate liberal ideas among their less enlightened countrymen, and to induce them to shake off the yoke of the dominant church, by which they were just then most heavily pressed. Dante, during his stay at Rome, used to attend the meetings of the society in question, and there young Immanuel seems to have first entered on a friendly relationship with the great Italian bard, by whose genius and amiable personality he was powerfully attracted. In fact, he had so many points in common with Dante, that one would be inclined to believe that he took him for his model. Fate, too, has so moulded part of their life and their ultimate death, that some resemblance between their careers is at once recognisable. Both Dante and Immanuel, who while in the prime of life had occupied a most prominent position in society, were obliged at an advanced age to go as poor wanderers into exile, and both died and were buried far from their native place. From a literary point of view, they also resembled each other, but of this more will be said later

on. I shall also have to refer to some recent publications, which tend to prove that Dante, on his part, also entertained friendly feelings towards Immanuel. The following two lines that occur in *Parad.* (verses 80 and 81), show that their author must have been favourably disposed to the race from which Immanuel had sprung. They run thus :—

“Uomini siate, e non peccora matte,

“Si ch’il giudeo voi di voi non rida.”

(Act ye as men, and not as stupid cattle,

Lest the Jew in your midst will scorn you.)

It is not known whether Immanuel ever underwent any special training to obtain the qualification to practise as a physician. At any rate there is no doubt that he was actively engaged for a number of years in his native town as a medical practitioner, and that in that capacity he enjoyed general confidence and respect. On reaching manhood, he married the daughter of Rabbi Samuel, President of the Jewish community of Rome, whose functions seem to have been religious as well as secular. That conjugal union was a most happy one, and husband and wife remained strongly attached to each other in life-long affection. Immanuel considered his wife a model of womanhood, as one who, notwithstanding her great beauty and personal attractions, was extremely modest and unassuming, and he sang her praises on most occasions on which he referred to the fair sex. With the exception of the untimely death of their only son Moses, which naturally caused Immanuel and his wife intense sorrow, nothing occurred during the greater part of their married life that could have seriously interfered with their happiness and contentment. In his leisure hours, Immanuel continued to enlarge his acquaintance with books treating of grammar, exegesis, mathematics, astronomy, medicine, philosophy and Kabbala, and acquired at the same time some knowledge of Latin, Greek, and Arabic. Occasionally he wrote essays of varying length on

some of the subjects named above, but his most favourite occupation was the composition of verses either in his native tongue or in Hebrew. In the latter language he especially excelled when he wrote rhymed-prose (מליצה), although his other poetical pieces are also pretty and attractive. In the year 1315, when Immanuel was just fifty years old, he succeeded to the office of his father-in-law after the latter had been assassinated by a band of robbers whilst travelling in the country. In his new position as the spiritual head of the Jewish community of Rome, he enjoyed a continuance of his popularity, and his kindness of heart, and his great literary attainments procured for him a vast number of admirers and friends. Nay, his fame as a scholar and a writer of rhymed-prose and poetry spread even as far as France and Spain, where his Hebrew compositions were eagerly read and greatly appreciated.

But suddenly some unlucky event happened in Immanuel's life which changed his previous happiness and prosperity into misery and indigence. The same man upon whom fortune had hitherto bestowed her most gracious smiles, was obliged at a very short notice to break up his comfortable home, and, somewhat like his friend Dante, to go out into the world as an exile and fugitive, in search of a scanty livelihood, and of a night's lodging. The real cause that produced this unexpected catastrophe has as yet not been clearly explained. According to Immanuel's own version of the matter, he had been security for some pretended friends of his, and the latter failing to redeem their obligations, he himself was obliged to satisfy the demands of the creditors. Being thus reduced to the utmost poverty, and no longer able to maintain his previous independent position in the community, he emigrated and turned his back for ever on the scene of his unmerited misfortune. This explanation, however plausible it may appear, does not throw any light on the mystery that still remains in respect to Immanuel's forced resignation of

the post he held in the Jewish community of Rome. But, it would seem that there were among his flock several fanatics, who may have nourished in their mind a secret hatred against the author of erotic poems and of other compositions in which certain religious rites and customs of the Jews were lightly spoken of. Now, so long as he had ample means at his disposal, and was independent of the community, these fanatics dared not attack him publicly. They took, however, advantage of his monetary embarrassment to denounce him as an unbeliever and heretic, who, in their opinion, was unfit to occupy with decency the important post he held, and they ultimately succeeded in bringing about the deposition of Immanuel.

But, whatever the explanation, the fact remains undisputed that Immanuel left Rome as a prematurely aged and broken-hearted man, and that he wandered about for some time with his wife from place to place until he arrived in Fermo, a town situated in the district of Ancona. There, a wealthy and liberal-minded man, Benjamin by name, who happened to be a great admirer of Immanuel's poems, took him and his wife into his house, and provided for their wants. But this happiness did not last long, for after a while Immanuel experienced some new troubles which again turned the current of his life into a straitened channel. In the year 1321, death removed from his side his dearly beloved wife, the faithful partner of his joys and sorrows, and about the same time died Dante, his model and friend. Bosone da Gabbio, a renowned lawyer in his time and a common friend of Dante and Immanuel, on learning the melancholy facts just narrated, sent to the latter the following lines as a token of his deep sympathy and grief:—

BOSONE TO THE JEW MANOELLO AFTER DANTE'S DEATH.

Two lamps of life have just waxed dim and died,
Two souls for virtue loved and comely grace;
Thou, friend, must smile no more with fair bright face,
But weep for him, sweet song's and learning's pride.

And weep for her, thy wife, torn from thy side
In all her beauty and her loveliness,
Whom thou hast sung so oft ere thy distress,
That is mine, too, and with me doth abide.

Not I alone bewail thy hapless lot,
But others too : do thou bewail thine own
And then the grief that all of us have got,
In this the direst year we e'er have known :
Yet Dante's soul, that erst to us was given,
Now ta'en from earth, doth glisten bright in heaven.

MANOELLO'S ANSWER.

The floods of tears well from my deepest heart :
Can they e'er quench my grief's mad burning flame ?
I weep no more, my sorrow is the same ;
And hope instead that death may soothe the smart.
Then Jew and Christian weep, and sit with me
On mourning-stool : for sin hath followed woe ;
I prayed to God to spare this misery,
And now no more my trust in him I show.

When Immanuel's time of mourning was over, his benevolent host suggested that the poet should collect and revise his various Hebrew compositions, with the view of thereby making them accessible to future readers. Immanuel very gladly accepted this proposal, partly because he wished to perpetuate in his poems the memory of his beloved wife and that of his friend Dante, and partly because he thought that such a genial literary activity would be a pleasant occupation for his declining years. Thus he set to work, and in due course accomplished his task to his own great satisfaction. A few years later, in 1330, when Immanuel was sixty-five years old, he died peacefully in the house of his host. One of his friends, the already mentioned Bosone, received a few poetical lines referring to Immanuel's death, which were composed and sent to him by Cino da Pistoja, a noted lawyer and a poet of some renown in his time. These lines are in so far interesting as they contain an unmistakable reference to the friendly

relationship that existed between Dante and Immanuel. They run as follows:—

CINO TO BOSONE AFTER THE DEATH OF DANTE AND OF
THE JEW MANOEL.

Bosone, your friend Manoello is dead,
Still keeping fast to his false idle creed;
Methinks to the regions of hell he is sped
Where no unbeliever from anguish is freed.
Yet not 'mongst the vulgar his soul doth abide,
But Dante and he still remain side by side.

BOSONE'S ANSWER.

Manoel, whom thou hast thus consigned
Unto the dark domains of endless night,
Has not within those regions been confined,
Where Lucifer holds sway with awful might.
Lucifer, who once 'gainst Heaven's lord,
In lust for empire drew rebellious sword.
And though he in that loathly prison pine,
Where thou hast brought him though he willed it not;
What fool will trust this idle tale of thine,
That he and Dante should be thus forgot;
Well let them for a time endure their fate,
God's mercy will be theirs or soon or late!

As I have already stated, Immanuel wrote several books treating of various subjects, such as Hebrew grammar, exegesis and Kabbala, and composed, in addition to several commentaries on various parts of the Bible, a collection of Hebrew novelettes and poems. But while his *Eben Bochan* and *Migdal Oz*, which two books exist only as manuscripts, and treat respectively of Hebrew grammar and Kabbala, would, at the present day, hardly be considered to have any literary or scientific value, his commentaries on the Bible and more especially that on Proverbs (published at Naples in 1487) deserve some attention. The latter is particularly interesting, inasmuch as it throws occasional light on the author's views with reference to the study of secular subjects by his Italian co-religionists, and makes us at the same time acquainted with the general

spirit and tendency that prevailed at that period. The following example will give an idea of Immanuel's method when commenting on a passage that seemed to him to offer an opportunity of adding a thought of his own. Thus, in the commentary on the Book of Proverbs (xxvi. 13). Immanuel explains the passage, "The slothful (man) saith, There is a lion in the way; a lion in the street," as follows:—

This passage refers specially to those persons who are too slow in the acquirement of knowledge and learning, which they consider as dangerous as the meeting of a fierce lion in the street. They say, How should we apply ourselves to the study of general science, since among its most prominent devotees there are so many sceptics and unbelievers; or how should we be expected to study logic, as it is a subject that infatuates the student, and leads him to erroneous conclusions? As to philosophy (they say) we must shun it altogether, since it owes its existence to Aristotle, who, like the rest of the ancient philosophers, did not believe in the divine origin of our Law. But these fools (Immanuel continues) forget that we must accept truth from whatever quarter it may come. Moreover, every kind of science which those fools and sluggards describe as "foreign" (חיצוניים) belonged originally to the Jewish people, and was first taught in our own sacred tongue. Unfortunately, those very books that contain those scientific teachings, were lost during our perilous wanderings through the world. Of King Solomon's numerous poetical and scientific works we only possess three. It is more than a mere legend that kings and learned men of various nations and countries expressly came to the latter with the view of being instructed by him in those subjects, and that they subsequently committed to writing the result of their scientific inquiries. These teachings are still in the possession of other nations, while we, ourselves, lost them during our wanderings about from place to place, and it is even a wonder that the twenty-four volumes of Holy Writ have been preserved by us up to the present day. It is therefore most probable that natural science, metaphysics and philosophy, were originally taught by Solomon, although their origin is now-a-days ascribed to Plato and Aristotle. With regard to the excellent art of music, it is well known that it originated in our religion, and has found great votaries in men like Assaph and Samuel; but in our own time it is exclusively practised by Christians, while the Jews have very little knowledge of it. As for logic, it certainly does *not* lead the student astray, but on the contrary it rather cultivates his mind, and prepares him at the same

time for the study of other sciences. Therefore, whoever calls logic a "foreign" science, or speaks contemptuously of Plato and Aristotle, because they did not belong to the Jewish nation, is like the sluggard who exclaims: "A lion is in the way."

The extract just quoted as a specimen of the contents of Immanuel's commentaries on various parts of the Bible shows that there is nothing particularly noteworthy in the author's exposition of the text, the interest being in his interpolated digressions. He owes his fame to his collection of Hebrew novelettes and poems, called *Machberoth*. The volume stands unrivalled in the whole domain of Hebrew literature, and will always occupy a prominent position among Hebrew works of the same *genre*. It consists of twenty-eight chapters, in almost all of which the so-called *Makámát* form is prevalent, that is to say, they consist of rhymed prose interspersed with long or short poems. Some of the latter are composed in the melodious form introduced by the Italian poet Fra Guittone di Arezzo (about 1259), the principal characteristics of which are *rima chiusa* and *rima alternata*. But, although Immanuel's Hebrew poetry is mostly sweet and attractive, it is far excelled in regard to style and expression by his rhymed prose. The principal charm of Hebrew rhymed prose lies in the application or distortion of short sentences or phrases of the Bible to the description of profane objects or actions. This mode of writing was first used by certain Arabian poets, who treated the text of the Koran in the manner indicated, and they subsequently found several imitators among Hebrew writers, especially among those belonging to the so-called Spanish school. In fact, according to Rabbi Moses ben Chabib (about 1486), the writing of rhymed prose in Hebrew was in his time a universally approved rhetorical device. But there was a vast difference between Immanuel and the other writers who were in the habit of using a similar style. While the latter, as a rule, tried to preserve a spirit of reverence towards the Hebrew text of the Bible, Immanuel did not put any restraint on his pen. Not

seldom he sacrificed even good taste and decency to the effect of the moment, and many a Biblical phrase, which is on the surface neither funny nor mirth-provoking, is twisted by him into a pun, or a satirical remark of a coarse and objectionable character. The most favourite subjects of Immanuel's muse were Love, Wine, and Song, and he was not less fond of occasionally mocking at sacred things. Even the sight of an old church-yard filled with a heap of half-broken and tumbled-down tombstones could not put a stop to his buffoonery. This seems to have become his second nature, and he goes even so far that, having once begun to scoff at the follies and shortcomings of other people, he makes merry over his own vanities and presumption. In that sense the extraordinary self-applause must be taken which dots the pages of the *Machberoth*. These expressions may also be regarded as satires on the superabundant praises which some of his literary contemporaries used to bestow upon their own works. That Immanuel's self-praise should be regarded as serious, seems scarcely compatible with the frequent eulogies of others with which his book abounds.

It would be at once vain and superfluous to offer an apology for the frivolities and the uncouth wit which are such striking characteristics of the *Machberoth*. Immanuel, although a Hebrew by descent and training, though he was eminently proficient in Jewish lore and tradition, was at the same time thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the Italian nation and literature. The character of this literature will be recognised from the fact that the principal representative of the Italian novelists belonging to the period was Boccaccio, the author of that collection of humorous but licentious tales, the *Decameron*. This book since its first appearance had ever enjoyed a great popularity, although at one time it was condemned by some of the highest dignitaries of the Catholic Church. Now Immanuel, adopting the style of the Italian novelists of his time whose works were great favourites with the

general reading public, no doubt thought he would attract and amuse Jewish readers by reproducing in a Hebrew garb the popular ideas and modes of expression. Immanuel attained no mean measure of success. He was placed at a disadvantage from which his Italian rivals were free. For, while they had the whole world as a sphere of observation, and as material on which to work, Immanuel had to content himself with using for the objects of his satire persons and things known only to a comparatively narrow circle of his own acquaintances and friends. Thus he mostly ridiculed the vanities and follies of certain Jewish men and women of his surroundings, or he mocked at the petty quarrels between a husband and wife, and made merry over the jealousies of conceited would-be literary men belonging to the Jewish community of Rome, who were otherwise unknown and obscure. But, notwithstanding all these drawbacks, the *Machberoth* have a lasting charm and attractiveness. They have always found a great number of readers, although Moses de Rieto (died about 1500), author of a short history of Hebrew literature called *מקדש מעט*, spoke contemptuously of Immanuel's works, and their perusal was interdicted a century later by Joseph Caro, the compiler of the well-known code, the *Shulchan Aruch*. The best proof of their great popularity lies in the fact that they have gone through several editions, the first produced at Brescia, Italy, in the year 1492, and the last at Lemberg in 1870. In recent years parts of them have been translated into German by Steinschneider, Stern, Geiger, Fürst, and others.

As regards the title of the book and the arrangement of its parts, the following brief remarks will give the necessary information. The word "machberoth," or as some people would read it, "mechabroth," is the plural of the singular noun "machbereth," formed of the radix *מכר*, which originally means to "join or put together," so that in the present sense the noun signifies "collections." Immanuel purposely used the plural form as the title of his book to

prevent it from being confounded with a similar work composed by Alcharizi, which is entitled *Machbereth Ithiel*, where the same term appears in the singular. Immanuel's work consists of twenty-eight chapters of varying lengths, which seem to have been written at different times, and to have then been loosely put together. Only the second, third, and the last three chapters of the book bear a superscription to indicate the subject they treat of, while the rest are without any heading whatever. A good number of these chapters were composed by the author when he was still comparatively young, and life was as yet for him full of charm and of sweet diversions. His muse was then inspired with sentiments similar to those which animated Horace when he sang :—

Quid sit futurum cras fuge querere, et
Quem Fors dierum cunq̄ue dabit lucro
Appone.

His life's philosophy, too, was then of the same pattern as that of Amphis, who embodies it in the following often-quoted line :—

Πίε, παίξε. θνήσκει ὁ βίος. ὀλιγὸς οὔπι γῆ χρόνος.

On the other hand, there is no doubt that the greater part of the *Machberoth* must belong to a later period in the author's life, when he had already experienced some of the caprices of fortune, and when various trials and troubles had darkened the serenity of his mind and temper. But even then his soul was not entirely overcast, and he often smiled amidst tears. It ought, moreover, to be remembered that injustice would be done to Immanuel if his private life and character were judged in the light of his writings. In these he certainly appears as a thorough devotee of women and of Bacchus, and as a scoffer at religion and religious practices; but in his actual conduct he showed none of these characteristics. One would rather feel inclined to think that the *Machberoth* were intended to serve as a mirror, in which the culpable habits of a certain class

of his Jewish contemporaries were reflected. And it is for this very reason that the book under notice has more than a mere literary value. Apart from its usefulness as an entertaining collection of short novels, it furnishes the reader with a description of the moral and social condition of an important section of the Italian Jews during part of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and has been utilised by our modern Jewish historians for this purpose.¹ Thus, for instance, we gather from some passages occurring in the *Machberoth* (chap. 1) that the Jewish community of Rome was at that period in flourishing circumstances, that many of its members lived in large and magnificently-furnished houses, and that some of them also possessed mansions and estates in the country. Further, we are told (*ibid.* chap. 23) that general science, philosophy, and poetry were assiduously studied and appreciated by the Jews of Rome, and that men of great culture and learning belonging to their race were held by them in high estimation. How eager Jewish young men in Italy were in those days to increase their knowledge of books may be seen from the following little incident related in the *Machberoth* (chap. 8). A Jewish bookseller travelling from Spain to Rome left at Perugia one of his boxes containing various books, the titles of which were given in a list that was also left behind. Immanuel and his young friends were so anxious to read the contents of those literary treasures that, in the absence of their owner, they broke the box open and read the books it contained with the greatest delight. When on his return the bookseller learnt, to his great dismay, what had happened, Immanuel appeased his wrath by the witty remark, "That the Prophet Moses on his once breaking the two tablets of the Covenant not only did not arouse God's anger, but was even praised for the act."

As regards the Jewish women in Italy of that period, Immanuel does not always draw a flattering picture of

¹ See Graetz, *Geschichte*, vol. vii., and Güdemann.

them and their social habits. They, or rather those belonging to the best and most educated families, mixed freely with men ; and being exceedingly fond of beautiful and costly dresses, the unmarried among them preferred rich suitors to more amiable ones who were less endowed with worldly goods. A great many Jewish ladies, however, were, in accordance with the author's own testimony, modest and simple in their tastes ; and if he satirises in the *Machberoth* the luxurious habits of Jewish women and their laxity in good manners, it is not necessary to suppose that they were the more numerous class.

To convey to English readers some idea of the contents of the *Machberoth*, a few extracts from it will be quoted here in an English translation. The latter, however, must not be expected to reproduce the charm and the sparkle of the original Hebrew, which are peculiar to that language. It must also be stated, in passing, that the humour which is so characteristic of the *Machberoth* will only be fully seen and duly appreciated by those who are well versed in the Hebrew text of the Bible ; and have, at the same time, a fair knowledge of the Rabbinical style of writing.

After a short prologue, in which Immanuel speaks briefly of the tendency of the *Machberoth* and of the reason which induced him to publish them, the author addresses his muse in lines, of which the following occur towards the conclusion :—

O, let thy teachings softly flow like heaven's dew,
That they inspire mankind with what is good and true ;
Let the name "Immanuel" a potent watchword be,
Ever to make all men in soul and body free.

The first chapter of the *Machberoth* was apparently written at a late period of the author's life, when he was wandering about as an exile, having no settled home and no means of subsistence. He speaks with biting sarcasm of his open and secret enemies, who were the direct cause of his ruin and misery ; but he consoles himself with the thought that he is their superior in respect to culture and

education. He also expresses his gratification at having in his reduced circumstances at least a wife and comforter that excelled the wives of his adversaries in virtue and beauty, and who could serve to all women as a model for imitation. In reference to the latter he lays down the following peculiar maxim :—

The virtuous women are seldom the bright-eyed and fair,
But wrinkled old crones with silver-white hair.

The author is now in his proper element, and pretending to stand with a friend of his on the public promenade where the ladies of the town are walking to and fro, he singles out two of them. The one, called *Tamar*, he describes as a model of perfect beauty; and the other, *Beriah* by name, he designates as the personification of womanly ugliness. The merits of the one, and the demerits of the other, are described by Immanuel in the following manner :—

Tamar looketh up, like the stars shine her eyes,
Beriah appears, and even Satan quickly flies.
Tamar's form divine excites angels' desire,
Beriah e'en crows with dismay might inspire.
Tamar, like the sun, makes all round appear gay,
Beriah were an omen if seen on New Year's Day.
Tamar is most lovely and fair to distraction,
Beriah deprives men of love's great attraction.
Tamar, bright as the moon, is yet e'er full of light,
Beriah might be queen 'mongst the fiends of night.
Tamar, would that I were a flower, tender and sweet,
To be trampled to earth by thy pretty feet.
Beriah, 'tis from fear of beholding thy face
That Messiah postpones showing his grace.
Tamar is enchanting, delighting the eyes,
Beriah a nightmare in woman's disguise.

Some beautiful lyrics devoted to the same subject, which is very much favoured by the author, are to be found in the 16th chapter of the *Machberoth*, two of which, under the respective headings "Thine Eyes" and "Paradise and Hell," run as follows :—

THINE EYES.

Thine eyes are as bright, O thou sweetest gazelle,
As the glittering rays of the sun's golden spell;
And thy face glows as fair in the light of the day
As the red blushing sky when the morning is gay.

Thy tresses of gold are as neatly bedight
As though they were wrought by enchantment's kind might ;
Thou openest thy lips in a smile or a sigh,
And thy pearly teeth gleam like the stars in the sky.

Ah, shall I praise the bright charm of thine eyes
That move every heart, that win all by surprise ?
For peerless thy charms, and unequalled thy birth ;
Thou art of heaven, all others of earth.

PARADISE AND HELL.

At times in my spirit I fitfully ponder
Where shall I pass after death from this light,
Do heaven's bright glories await me, I wonder,
Or Lucifer's kingdom of darkness and night ?

In the one, though perhaps 'tis of ill reputation,
A crowd of gay damsels will sit by my side ;
But in heaven there's boredom, to my expectation,
To hoary old men and old crones I'll be tied.

And so I will shun the abodes of the holy,
And fly from the sky, which is dull, so I deem :
Let hell be my dwelling ; there's no melancholy
Where love reigns for ever and ever supreme.

There are several short novelettes in the *Machberoth* based on various *piquant* incidents, but the two following are perhaps most suitable for quotation. In themselves they are slight enough, but they become a ready outlet to the author's satire. In one of them (chapter 14) a clever trick is described of a man who may be termed a legacy-hunter, by means of which he succeeded in illegally obtaining a large gift from the appointed trustees. A wealthy Jewish gentleman living in Rome had a quarrelsome woman for a wife, and a spendthrift and fool for a son, both of whom made his life most miserable. One day, the wretched husband and father abruptly left his native

town which he changed for another situated in Greece, and having taken all his movable property with him, he lived at his new abode for a number of years in peace and contentment. Shortly before his death he had his will drawn up, in which he left all his earthly possessions to his prodigal son, whom he expected to have meanwhile improved his evil ways. As executors of his will he nominated some elders of the Jewish community of the town he then lived in, charging them at the same time with the commission after his death to invite his son in Rome to come and take possession of the legacy bequeathed to him. He naturally expected that they would not hand over the latter to any one who had not previously satisfied them that he was the rightful heir. When in due course the father died, and the intelligence of his death and testament was made known in Rome, the prodigal son was so little affected by it that he postponed taking any steps to have the will executed. He waited for several months, during which interval a man of evil repute took advantage of the son's delay, and being a master of the art of simulation he deceived the executors, who handed him over the amount of the legacy without concerning themselves about very closely examining his credentials. His assumed melancholy, the copious tears he shed on the grave of his supposed father, and his pretended reluctance to use the moneys of the legacy for his own benefit, convinced the executors of the will that he was the right man. When a little later the rightful son and heir appeared on the scene, and, without showing any sign of grief or mourning, asked for his father's legacy, he was laughed to scorn, and had to leave the place empty-handed, in spite of his possessing genuine credentials testifying his claim to the legacy.

In the second novelette (chapter 23), an incident is related that occurred to the author in the course of his practice as a physician. He was once called to a patient, who suffered temporarily from indigestion, and who

happened to belong to that class of people who fancy themselves endowed with great poetical talents. Immanuel prescribed his patient some medicine, and advised him at the same time to remain in bed till the following morning, when he hoped to see him again, and to find him completely recovered. But the patient seems to have felt on that particular night some poetical inspiration, and, disregarding his medical adviser's orders, got out of bed and composed a long poem. This he showed to Immanuel with great glee on the following morning, telling him at the same time by way of reproach that the prescribed medicine was quite useless, and had produced no effect upon him. "Pardon me, my friend," said Immanuel, "my medicine has, indeed, had some effect upon you: it has removed from your brains a fair quantity of poetical rubbish."

Wit of another character is shown in Immanuel's exegetical dialogue (chapter 11) in which he explains some Biblical passages and phrases that had been misunderstood by various ignorant persons who had come to ask him for his opinion. The following question and answer will serve as a specimen of the whole. A man, apparently not well versed in Biblical lore, asked the author quite seriously, how it was that, having always been told that the "Law" had been given on Mount Sinai, in another passage, occurring in the Book of Esther (iii. 15), it is expressly stated that "the Law was given in Shushan" (namely the law that was promulgated by King Ahasuerus to destroy all his Jewish subjects)? But Immanuel was equal to the occasion, and assuming a most serious countenance, he said: "You are quite right, my friend, but you seem to have misunderstood the meaning of the word 'Shushan.' The latter does not refer to the *place*, but to the *time* at which the Law was given. This was in the Shushan-season (= *רֹסֶה* —rose), when the rose is in its full bloom, which is, as everybody knows, in spring time."

On some other occasion Immanuel treats in a most sati-

rical manner a subject of which Horace had already made use—in his first satire, beginning with the words:—“Qui fit, Mæcenas, ut nemo, quam sibi sortem,” etc. Our author lets several persons come forward, who occupy various positions in life, with which none of them seems to be thoroughly pleased. They want some other vocation in which they hope they may find that happiness and contentment which, they maintain, is denied to them in their own. But on learning that those very persons, whom they had envied for the happiness they apparently enjoyed in their respective callings, suffered from various evils unknown except to their immediate surroundings, the grumblers soon declare with an oath that they would never consent to change from what they are.

Immanuel does not, however, restrict himself to humorous subjects. He shows himself possessed of tender sensibility, and pathetic passages occur often in his pages.

The sight of tombstones and graves, the death of a near relative or friend, or any other painful event of which he becomes aware, puts him at once in a most serious mood. On those occasions, he addresses himself to God in fervent prayer, and pours out his innermost soul in strains that are full of warmth and feeling, and impress the reader by their earnestness and devotion. There are nineteen prayers and hymns to be found in the *Machberoth*, most of which bear the stamp of the author's deep religious sentiments, the one that occurs in chapter 26, beginning with the words, *אלהים נפלו פני בזכרי וכו'*, has been inserted in the so-called Roman *Machsor* (published in the year 1436), which fact proves its effectiveness as a liturgical poem, and shows at the same time that even a century after the author's death his name was honourably remembered by the Jews of Italy.

To that class of serious poetry occurring in the *Machberoth* may be added some long epitaphs (chapter 21), composed by Immanuel with the view of serving as a kind of “In Memoriam” for himself. In the same chapter is

also to be found a funeral oration in rhymed-prose, which the author set down as an exemplar of the one that he expected would be delivered at his bier after his death. But, even when discussing such a serious topic as death and burial, Immanuel cannot abstain from making jokes on himself and the supposed mourners. Why, he asks mockingly, should he himself fare better than, for instance, Noah and Solomon, who had to leave behind respectively a splendid vineyard and a number of beautiful wives? The mourners over him, he thinks, will certainly forget how to laugh after he is no more, but he expects that they will be put again into good humour on reading his post-humous work.

The last and, in some respects perhaps, the most interesting chapter in the *Machberoth* is the one entitled *Ha-Topheth we-ha-Eden*, or "Hell and Paradise." If, after all that has hitherto been said on the subject, there is still any doubt about the existence of a friendly and literary relationship between Dante and Immanuel, the chapter in question as well as the circumstance that brought about its composition tend to remove that doubt altogether. According to comparatively recent investigations (compare Ersch and Gruber's *Real-Encyclopædie*, "Dante"), it would seem that Dante's *Inferno* and *Purgatorio* were not published *before* the years 1314 and 1318 respectively, for the simple reason that mention is made in them of certain incidents and events that happened during those years. At that time, Immanuel was about fifty years old, and had just begun to wander about from place to place as a prematurely aged and destitute man. Now, considering that in those times, before the invention of printing, a written copy of any important work could only be procured by wealthy people, the question naturally arises, From whom did Immanuel obtain a MS. copy of the *Divina Commedia* that enabled him to compose an imitation of it in Hebrew? This perplexing question can, however, be answered in the following manner. Although Immanuel was not in

possession of a copy of Dante's poem, he had yet some notion of its contents in consequence of having heard it read and recited by the author himself before the members of the political and literary society called "Young Italy," to which reference has already been made. And being a great admirer of Dante and of his muse, he was, no doubt, so deeply impressed by the contents of Dante's work that they remained for a number of years fresh in his memory. That circumstances must have enabled him to write his Hebrew imitation without actually having a written copy before him, of which he would, besides, have made a more extensive use than he in reality did.

As regards the merits and the conception and style of the *Ha-Topheth we-ha-Eden*, it may be said that the latter is quite unique in the whole domain of Hebrew literature. In the introduction to it the author states that, having reached his sixtieth year, the sudden death of a younger friend caused him much fear and anxiety concerning his own future destination, and he wished to know the fate that awaited him beyond the grave. He then invoked the spirit of the Prophet Daniel, with a view of being assisted by it in obtaining his object, and his request was soon granted. He had a vision, and he fancied that a venerable old man appeared to him amidst flashes of lightning and tremendous thunder clashes, and told him that he had come in order to carry out his wish, and to show him his future place in the world of spirits. Yielding to Immanuel's desire to be first conducted to the regions of Hell, the old man led him on in that direction. While going onward they passed through several places which are also mentioned by Dante in his *Inferno*, such as "a valley of corpses," and "the gate of rejection," in front of which "a flaming sword turned in every way." Myriads of souls were then being dragged through the gate by evil spirits to receive their castigations for sins committed by them during their lifetime, and on that gate the words were inscribed: "Here is only an entrance, but no exit." These words remind one of the passage used by

Dante (*Inferno*, iii. 9): "All that enter here, may renounce the hope of coming out again."

Having entered through the gate into Hell, Immanuel sees and describes the various kinds of tortures inflicted upon sinners, among whom are specially mentioned sceptics, gamblers, adulterers, misers, spendthrifts, and hypocrites of every description. A certain class of Jewish preachers and precentors are also put by Immanuel into the infernal regions, because they were in the habit, whilst preaching and reciting prayers, to lift up their eyes to the women's gallery instead of heavenwards. At the mention of these hypocrites, Immanuel seems to have remembered his own failings and shortcomings in the same direction, and he became pale and faint-hearted for fear lest he might have to suffer the same tortures and agonies as his quondam colleagues. But when his conductor noticed his dejection of mind and heart, he comforted him with the assurance that, although he could not pronounce him quite free from blame and sin, yet he hoped that his virtues and his merits as an author of several excellent works would procure for him a seat in Paradise.

Presently, Immanuel and his leader leave Hell and betake themselves to Paradise, at the sight of which the former at once regains his good humour. Looking round about him, he sees the souls of all those Biblical and post-Biblical personages who have in some way or other reflected credit on the Jewish race, either by their literary works or by their valour, honesty, and virtue. He is greeted with great joy and cordiality by Moses, David, and Solomon, who eulogise in high terms of applause the commentaries he had written on their literary productions, which comments they consider excellent in every respect. On leaving that group of Biblical authors, Immanuel notices another at some distance which was surrounded and shone upon by a glorious light that dazzled his own eyes. And asking his leader who those distinguished men were, he was told that they were *the pious of all nations* (חסידי אומות העולם), who, during

their existence on earth had greatly excelled their neighbours in kind-heartedness, virtue, and learning, and were in consequence rewarded with seats of honour in Paradise. Close to that group, Immanuel noticed a magnificent throne being erected, which he was given to understand was destined to be occupied by a friend, or rather a brother of his as he is called, Daniel by name. It is still a matter of uncertainty to which particular friend and brother the author may have referred. But, on reading the whole passage bearing on the subject, one feels impelled to think that he must, as Geiger suggested, have alluded to Dante (Daniel), upon whom he had looked as a friend and brother. Near the throne of this friend, he was told, his own would be erected, so that they might be united again after death and enjoy together heavenly bliss ever after.

The few special passages bearing on this friendship are so characteristic of Immanuel's liberal-mindedness that a reproduction of them here may not be out of place. They run somewhat as follows :—

I do not know what has caused me to think of my friend Daniel, who, as an associate and friend, was to me of inestimable worth. It was he who showed me the path of truth and righteousness, who helped me greatly when fortune had forsaken me, and whose gigantic mind is still spoken of on earth with great esteem and admiration. On my asking my guide where my own throne would be placed after my death, he said : You are certainly by far inferior in greatness and celebrity to your friend, whose name and fame will always be held in great honour by posterity. Yet because you have both lived after the same pattern, and have both striven after truth, you shall be united again after death. Your throne shall be erected near to his, and, sitting hereafter always close to each other, you will be like Joshua, who once was the attendant and disciple of Moses. Having been united in life by a mutual bond of friendly activity, no power shall separate your souls for ever. When I heard this my joy was boundless, for I was most happy in the thought that my lot would be similar to his, and that we shall both have seats in Paradise. And having asked my conductor to let me see the throne destined for my friend, he took me by the hand and led me to a tent where the hand of a master builder had erected a monument wonderful to look at. Angels ran to and fro round about it, women ornamented it with

different sorts of costly textures, and numerous spirits made it glitter with gold, rubies, and sapphires. And soon there stood before my wondering eye a throne formed of ebony, covered with purple and gold, and surmounted by a beautiful glittering crown which shone like the beams of the sun. This, said my companion, is Daniel's throne. You see, my son, the work that he has created in the world is full of fame and renown, and equally great and glorious shall be the throne he is to occupy in the world of spirits.

The *Ha-Topheth we-ha-Eden* closes with a request tendered by Immanuel's conductor that he should write down for the benefit of posterity all that he saw on his wanderings through Hell and Paradise. Thereupon he vanishes amidst the noise of a great storm, which causes the author to awake from his dream.

From what has been said it will be seen that a marked mental affinity existed between Dante and Immanuel, and that the latter was not an unworthy friend and associate of the great Florentine bard. Both used history, scholasticism and romanticism as materials for their respective literary productions. So, too, they were both influenced and carried away by the new national spirit that had inspired the members of "Young Italy" with new ideas and sentiments which were tending to liberate their countrymen—bodily and mentally—from the yoke of superstition and priestcraft. And, finally, it will be admitted that the *Ha-Topheth we-ha-Eden* has, as regards style, dramatic effect, graphic description of persons and places, much in common with the *Divina Commedia*, although the condensed imitation is, of course, vastly inferior to the original. Yet there are several striking points in the *Ha-Topheth we-ha-Eden* which are original to Immanuel. The principal and most remarkable one is this: While the genial, free-thinking Dante is narrow-minded enough to exclude from Paradise, and to send to Hell, all and everyone who does not profess Christianity, including even his leader, Virgil, the Jew Immanuel assigns in Paradise places of honour to the good and righteous of all nations and of all ages, provided they did not deny the existence of God, and of a divine spirit in man.

A Christian *savant*, Professor Th. Paur by name, one of the greatest living authorities on Dante, refers to that particular point in the *Jahrbuch der deutschen Dantegesellschaft*, III. 447, and writes as follows:—"If we closely examine the sentiments put forth in this little poetical volume (*Ha-Topheth we-ha-Eden*), we must confess that the Jew Immanuel need not blush in presence of the Christian Dante. It is true that he, like Dante, condemns those philosophical theories in which the personality of God, the creation of the world by his power, and the existence of a divine spirit in man are denied. But Immanuel shows more courage than Dante by effectively stigmatising hypocrisy in all its various shapes and forms. He also possesses a greater spirit of tolerance than the latter had shown towards men professing creeds different from his own—a beautiful human *naïveté* in matters of religion—which must be sought after with the lantern of Diogenes among the Christians of that period."

In the introduction to this essay mention was made of some few sonnets composed by Immanuel in the Italian language, which tend to prove that he must have been well versed in the literature of his native country. Three of them were some years ago published for the first time in a book entitled: *Letteratura e filosofia, opuscoli per Pasquale Garofalo, Duca di Bonita* (Naples, 1872). As the existence of these few poems was unknown till recent years, it is not unlikely that some other similar poems may also be brought to light quite unexpectedly in the future. Perhaps it will not be out of place to quote here at least one of those sonnets, in order to give the reader an idea of the style and contents of Immanuel's poetical compositions in the Italian language. The one which I select has no heading whatever, but was apparently written in praise and glorification of the author's most favourite subject: Love. Its English translation is somewhat as follows:—

Love has never read the *Ave Maria*. It knows no law, no creed, neither does it hear nor see: it is boundless. Love is an unrestricted

omnipotent power, which insists on obtaining what it craves for. Love does not suffer itself to be deprived of its pride and power by a *Puternoster*, or by any other charm, neither is it afraid of carrying into effect what it is fond of. Amor alone knows what causes me grief ; whatever I may offer him as an excuse he meets me always with the same answer : It is my will and wish.

Before taking leave of Immanuel and his *Machberoth*, the following remark may not be superfluous. Graetz calls the former the Heine of the Middle Ages, and no one will deny that these Jewish poetical geniuses had really in many respects a great resemblance to each other. At all events their lives and writings, as well as the lives and works of several other Jewish literati belonging to various ages and countries, bear ample testimony to the fact, that Jews have always been capable of assimilating themselves to the literary and national spirit of the peoples among whom their lot was cast. So it has been in the past, and there is no reason to doubt that the same fact will be noticeable in an even higher degree in the future.

J. CHOTZNER.

NOTES ON HEBREW MSS. IN THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY AT CAMBRIDGE.

I.

MS. Add. 474, small quarto, vellum, 208 pages, Greek Rabbinic characters but in different hands. It contains (A) the *Responses* of R. Isaiah the Elder of Trani, pp. 1-185*b*; (B) *Responses* of the Geonim, pp. 185*b*-208*b*.

A.

The chief importance of the MS. consists in the *Responses* of R. Isaiah, of which our codex forms a unique copy. The work was hitherto only known from quotations and from the testimony of Azulai, who mentions the fact that he had seen such a collection by this author.¹ Our MS. wants some pages at the beginning, and commences in the middle of a sentence with the words מִשְׁמַע מְדַבְּרֵיכֶם. Fortunately we have at the end of the *Responses* (185*b*) the epigraph running thus: תָּמוּ תְּשׁוּבוֹת הַגָּאון ר' יִשְׁעִיָּה נִפְשׁוּ בְּכֵן עֵדֶן תְּהֵא רוּיָה, which gives us the right clue as to its authorship, whilst the writer's references to his own works such as the סֵפֶר הַלֵּקֶט, the different versions (מִחְדוּרוֹת) of his commentaries to the Talmud,² as well as the fact that the references in these works³ to his *Responses* are to be found in our MS., leave

¹ שם הגדולים, I., letter י, No. 393. The latest writers on our author are Güdemann, *Geschichte, etc., der Juden in Italien*, 320 *seq.*, and Weiss, in his *History of Tradition*, IV., 309 *seq.*

² For instance: p. 27*a*, עֵינַן פֶּרֶק נִיר הַנֶּשֶׁה בְּמַהְרֹא תְּלִיתָא; p. 31*a*, וְהָמָּה כְּתוּבִים לִי בְּמִנִּילָת, p. 85*a*, ע' מָה שֶׁכְּתַבְתִּי בְּהַלְכוֹת י"ב בְּסֵפֶר הַלֵּקֶט סִתְרִי.

³ Comp. תוספות ר"ד, ed. Lemberg, 1861, I., 41*c* with MS. 21*a*; *ib.*, 41*c*, MS. 39*a*; II., 16*b*, MS. 53*b*, עֵינִי הָעֵדָה, 4*d*, MS. 82*a*.

The fact that the MS. is unique, and further that there is little hope that it will soon find an editor, will justify us in giving here some fuller extracts from it. We cite first those in connection with the authorities our author quotes, as follows:—

The Geonim, once in the following connection, וכמעשה, ארץ יון שכתבת אלי שמעשין את חתני (?) ע"י גימ ליתן גמ.... כבר ראינו בתשובת הגאונים דרבנן סבוראי שהיו סמוכין לרבינא ורב אשי כשראו שבנות ישראל חולכות ונתלות לגוים ליטול לחן גשין באונס.....תקינו בימי מר רבא בר מר רב חומא נ"ע לחיות כופין חבטל.....וכאזא אנו מתנהגין היום כשלש מאות שנה ויותר ואף אתם עשו כן זה השיב רב שריא In another passage (49a).² גאון ז"ל וכך מצאנו בתשובות כמה גאונים ומכמה גאונים יש בידי כתוב מרבי' אחרון ומרבי' חילאי גאון ומרבי' צמח גאון וז"ל שכלם הסכימו בדעת אחת שכופין את היבם לחלוץ whilst on p. 64b, where the author mentions R. Moses Gaon, he speaks of the פסקות של גאונים. The well-known Response of the Geonim, with regard to putting *sizith* of linen in a garment of the same kind, is also quoted by our author in the following words: עוד השיב (רב נשוראי) ושפרשתם מצינו בתשובות שאלת

¹ See (a) *אור זרוע*, I, §§ 756 and 754, both containing Responses of R. Isaac to R. Isaac ben Moshe, of Vienna. In the MS. they extend over pp. 128a-139a. (b) *שבולי הלקט*, ed. Buber, 65a, and MS. 67b, 67b and MS. 58b-74b, and MS. 55a. The quotations in § 100 of the second *inedited* part of the *שבולי הלקט* (MS. Cambridge Add. 653), correspond with p. 64b of the MS. The only quotation not to be found is that in § 79, about *טבילה במי הים* (cp. *תוספות רי"ד*, 43c, where *פלניא* must be corrected to *פלטי*), but it might have been in the pages now missing. (c) *הנהגות מרדכי גטין*, § 456 (cp. Dr. S. Cohen's *Mordochai ben Hillel*, p. 132), and MS. 96b. (d) *אנור*, ed. Zolkowa, 1798, p. 5b and MS., 119b.

² Comp. 108a and 134b, and the תוספות ר"ד to *Kethuboth*, 65a and b, in the margin of the Wilna edition of the Talmud. See also the Responses of *R. Chayim Or Zarua* § 67, and the *Or Zarua* i. 109d.

דעבדו רבנן תקנתא לאחוראי חומא דכיתא במא דכיתא • דבי דנא (דיט read) משני אבא מרי גאון ומר בר רב יעקב מאחריו ומר רב איקומאי מאחריו ומר רב צדוק מאחריו וכל גאונים שאחריהם ז"ל קדו' לבר' ותתא עמידתם בקרוב שלא היה אחד The Geonim R. Hai, R. Samuel ben Chofni, and others, are also frequently mentioned, but their decisions are not always treated as of unquestionable authority, as will be seen from the following passage: ומאי דכתב מר שהיא פטורה (שומרת יבם דנפלה מקמי יבם משומד) חס ושלום אין לסמוך על הדברים הללו ואיני מאמין שבעל הלכ' גדו' אמ' הדברים כי יש בידי הלכ' גדו' וחיפשתי כל סדר נשים מראש ועד סוף ולא מצאתי כתוב בחן את הדברים הללו ואומ' אני ששום תלמיד טועה כתבו לחוץ בגליון וחמציקים חעתיקוהו בפנים וסוברים העולם כי בעל ספר אמר • אין לסמוך על הדברים הללו לחניה דברי התלמי' ולתפוש דברי הגאונים כי בכמה מקומות היו מחמירי' ומקילין שאין העולם סומכין עליהן באותן הדברים כאשר מצאנו שאסרו חים לטבילה לנדות בזמן הזה: (121a)

וכך חשיב רבי' R. Meshulam, whose Responses he cites: (55a). משולם ברושבותיו

R. I. ben Judah, to whose Responses he refers with the words: ומצאתי גאון לי מתשובות של ר"י בר יהודה ז"ל מן: (23a). Probably it is R. Isaac ben Judah, the well-known predecessor of Rashi.

R. Solomon ben Isaac, or, as he is better known by the abbreviation, *Rashi*, whom, as in all his other works, he quotes as the Teacher (חמורא) *kar' ḥfoxyḥv*. But this does not prevent him from maintaining his own opinions when he thinks Rashi is in the wrong. Thus he writes to a correspondent: — ואודיעך כי מצאתי בדבר זה למורה רש"י ז"ל דברים שאין ראוי לבעל נפש מלחשיב עליהן מפני שהדבר איסור תורה וחתרת אשת איש ואפי' שהמורה מופלא בכל הדורות ומימיו אנו שותים וחוא אשר נתן בנו רוח כמעט לדעת ולהבחין מאומה אין חכמה ואין תבונה לנגד חשם ואין חכם

¹ See Muller's *מפתח*, etc., p. 107, note 37. We may here draw attention to the words *שלשלת היחס של גאונים*, which he quotes in the *תוספות* III., 85.

בעולם שינקח מן חשגאות כי החכמה אינה תמימה כי אם לח' לבד וכפי מעלת החכם גדולה כך תעלה על ידו שגיאה גדולה (82a). In another passage, also referring to Rashi, he says:—*וכל זה שכתבתי לפני אדוני—ידעתי כי אין זו רבורא למידחב גברי אלא מפני שאתה מגלגל עלי חחר הגדול רבינו הקדוש אך חסמך שלי אינו אלא על (112a). Nay, he even strongly protests against the suspicion of relying on the authority of Rashi without closely examining the matter for himself, as will be seen from the following passage:—ואל תכבדו מפני:—שאני חפץ לקיים דברי חמורא אני נזקק לפרש כן שחרי כמה עמודי עולם חולקי' עליו ואומרים דכולה שאיבת כשיר' מן התורה ואינה פסולה אלא מדרבנן ואפ' אם לא היה אדם גדול חולק עליו בזה אני מה שנראה לחוכיה מרוך הספר אני כורב ואל תזיזוני בזה מחוהי (מזהוהי read) חלב¹ כי מכיר אני בעצמי שצפורנן של אורחם חרבני' הראשונים הקדושים יפה מכרסינו ולא לשומרי פתח מדרשם אך דה יש (דרכי הוא perhaps) כי כל דבר שאינו נראה לי מרוך הספר אי אמרת יחושע בן נון לא צייתא ואיני נמנע לכרוב מה שנראה לי כי כך דרך התלמוד לא נמנענו דרך אחרוני האמוראים מלדבר על הראשונים וגם על התנאים וכמה משניות סהרו מעיקרם וכמה דברי רבים בטלו ופסקו חלכה כחיד כל שכן שבדבר זה חולקי' רבנים גדולים ויש לנו להור ולחקור מרוך הספר הראיות ברורה ולראות כמי החלכה נוטה ואין בנו כח ודעת לשקול בפלס הרים מי גדול מחבירו חילכ' נניח הרבנים החמה עליה' השלום בכבודם ונחזור לביטת הספרים לראות היכן חדין נוטה (1b, 2a).*

R. Solomon ben Simon, whose Responses he mentions:—*וכך מצאתי בתשובות ר' שלמה בר' שמעון ז"ל שכתב על חלב חקיבת (24b).*

R. Solomon ben Hayathom, whose commentaries to the Talmud he still possessed. Thus on p. 27b:—*ומה שהקשרים:—במאי דגרסינן בפר' הגזל ומאכיל ר' שמעון בר' יחודה אמר משום ר' שמעון מותר להכריח בה את חמכס היפשהי בספרים בפרק הגזל ומצאתי כתו' כך ר' שמעון בן יחודה אומר משם ר' שמעון ואין שם משם ר' עקיבא וגם ר' שלמה בן חיתום ז"ל*

¹ See *Sotah*, 47b, and *Aruch*, s.v. חל, 3.

כך גורס בתוך פי' משם ר' שמעון ואין שם משם ר' עקיבא.¹
In another place (29a) he is cited in the MS. as רש"י בן
ודיקית ואשכחית שגם:—whilst on p. 119b we read:—
ר' שלמה בן הירום זצ"ל בשם ר' גרשום זצ"ל פירש כדברי

R. Jacob Tam, כל קשה היה קשה לי כל
(115a) חמים..... אבל בתשובת ר"ת אורו עיני

וכך:—R. Joseph ben Moses, to whose Tossaphoth he refers:—
(41) מצאתי בתוספות ר' יוסף בר' משה ז'ל

Of Italian and Greek authors he mentions R. Isaac of
Siponto, or ר' יצחק בר' מלכי צדק, R. Baruch, from Greece,
R. Hillel, of Greece,⁴ and R. Abraham, מתיבץ, to whose
commentaries on the Sifra and on the last order of the
Mishna (טהרות) he had occasion to refer. The following
two quotations will suffice, thus p. 33a:—ועל מה דרניא
בסיפרא דבי רב ומנין אם טמא יטהרנו כו' ראיתי בו הרבה
פתרונים ר' חלל ז'ל פיר'..... וכך פי' ר' יצחק בי רמ"ב⁵
whilst on p. 62b we read:—רבינו אברהם ז'ל מתיבץ⁶ פיר'.....
רבינו חלל ז'ל ור"ב ור' בר מ"ץ⁷ כולם הביאו ברייתא:—
The following quotation would, from the contents of the preceding Responses, also seem to
refer to R. Isaac of Siponto:—תחילת כל דבר אני משיב לאדוני:—
על מה שכתבת שלא אחלוק על הרב הגדול רבי יצחק ז'ל
חלילה לי לעשות זאת ומה אני נחשב פרעוש אחד כתרומו

¹ See *Baba Kamma*, 113a.

² See A, אגור, 5b, compare above, note 4. See Azulai, as above, I., under this name.

³ About this Tossaphist see Gross, in *Berliner's Magazin*, I., 39, note 47.

⁴ See Dr. Neubauer's Catalogue of the Bodleian Library, Nos. 424-27. Comp. Steinschneider, *Hamazkir*, XI., 75, and Rabinowicz, preface to his *Varia Lectiones* to Erubin and *Revue des Etudes Juives*, VII. 62. The lately published אור החיים, by Michael (No. 796), has also some valuable information about this author, though it has to be taken cautiously.

⁵ It must be corrected into רמ"ץ, as it indeed occurs in p. 34a, 40a and elsewhere. See also Gross *Magazin*, II., 33, seq.

⁶ It is Thebes. See Zunz in the *Itinerary of R. Benjamin of Tudela* (ed. Asher), II., p. 36. This author is also called by others אברהם זוטרא ר' מתיבץ. Comp. Zunz, *ibid.*, p. 54, and Michael, as above, No. 86.

⁷ See ברין וצוקל כתב בחיבור טהרות, I., 47b, תוספות ר"ד.

כנגד תלמידיו.....חלילה שרתיתר לבי לומר אף חכמתי עמדח לי אלא אני דן בעצמי משל הפילוסופים שאלו לגדול שבחם הלא אנחנו מודים שהראשונים חכמו והשכילו יותר ממנו.....ואנו מדברים וסותרים דבריהם.....אמר להם מי צופה יותר למרחוק חננס או הענק הוי אומר חננס שעניו גבוהות עכשיו יותר מעיני הענק.....וכמה משניות סתרו האמוראים לומר שאין הלכה כמותם וגדולה החכמה מן החכם ואין חכם שינקח מן מעיני חכמים.....(111b and 112a).

Who his correspondents were we have no means of determining. For of the 115¹ decisions the MS. contains, we have only two bearing the full address. They are No. 82 (p. 145b), beginning with שמחה לאיש במענה פיו הרב ר' שמחה, and No. 87 (p. 159a), addressed, as it seems, to the same writer, whom he calls in this place: אבי אבי רבב ישראל ופרשיו אב לתורה ואומן האמונה הישיש היקר כלפי למעלה רבי' הגדול הרב ר' שמחה חמשמח אלהים ואנשים רבא דעמיה מדברטא דאומתיה. In all other cases² the names are replaced by the significant פלוני, which makes it impossible to determine for whom they were intended, except in the case of the Nos. 69-80, of which we know, from another place (see above note 4) that they were addressed to R. Isaac of Vienna. Probably some of these anonymous Responses were addressed to a certain R. Isaac of Roumania—the western part of the Byzantine Empire—as may be seen from the following words:—ובמטותא מינה דמר אב—אני כותב עכשיו מה שכתבתי כבר לכבודך אל סא יחור לאדוני ואל יחיו דברי עליך לשורה כי שכחתי הדברים שכתבתי לכבודך בפעם הראשונה מפני שחשתי מן חטופם הכתוב

¹ We give here the numbers marked on the margin of the MS. There is also another enumeration inserted in the text differing from the former; though older, it ends in the middle of the MS., and is therefore of no use for our purposes here.

² Addresses are to be found only at the heads of the Responses 22, 25, 42, 60, 62, 82, 87, 110, 115, which is a very poor proportion to the number of 115 decisions which usually begin with ומאי שהקשה or ומאי דכתיב מר. Probably many of these headings were omitted by the copyists.

אתי שחשבתי לכתוב ולרבנא יצחק ששאלוני על דבר (112b). To this R. Isaac he also refers in other places, calling him alternately ר"י חזקוני (1a, 3a, 4b and elsewhere) and ר"י רבנא (3a, 5b). One of these כחנים is probably the correspondent to whom the Response is addressed, commencing פתח חכונת פלוגי בן פלוגי (119a). This suppressing the names of most of his correspondents may be accounted for by the fact that the language of our author was sometimes such as might possibly give offence to those whom it concerned. Thus he writes once:—וכתבת שם דברים שלא נאח לחכם כמך לדבר כן:—וקצתי לכותבם ולהשיב עליהם אין זה דרך תלמיד חכם לדחות (152a, cp. 165a). In another place he tells his correspondents:—ונתברר אלי כי כל חלשון שכתבת' ונראה לן מראש ועד סוף העתקתם אותו מן התוספות ותליתם אותו על שמכם ולא אישרתי אתכם בזה (37a). Still it must not be forgotten that the man who never got tired of revising and correcting his own works, so that we have some of his commentaries in not less than four revisions, and who could write about himself בתשובותי בתשובות (II, 15a, 'רוס' רי"ד) שאין המים נישוקין הכל חבל to be occasionally severe against others. Besides these correspondents we have still two allusions to two of his contemporaries. The one, to a certain R. Leon, whom he seems to treat as his colleague and about whom we read:—ומעשה אירע לידי חנה בשכיב מרע שמימני (שחימני read) לכתוב גם לאשתו ביום ראשון ונתעצלתי מלכותבו עד יום שני וחיה חנה חר' ליאון ושאלתי לו איזה זמן נכתוב.....ואמרתי (85a) לו אדני אין זה.....והודה לדברי ר. Samuel, of whom he says:—שמואל תלמידי (142b).

But though, as we have seen, only a very few contemporaries are mentioned in these Responses, and their contents are exclusively Halachic, and thus of a strictly objective character, still we catch from the MS. occasional glimpses both of the life of our author and his time. First,

it is clear that R. Isaiah was already, in 1204, recognised as an authority of such weight, that his opinion was solicited in such important matters as a divorce question. This will be seen from the following passage:—על דברת חגט שכתבתם:—אלי שחיה כתוב בו בחד בשבא בחד ועשרי' וארבעה יומי לירחא דאלול שתא דארבעת אלפים ותשע מאות ושתינ וארבע לבריית עלמא במנימא דרגילא למימני ביה חכא בקחל דורכי (49b). As he must have been at least 25 before he obtained such fame and authority, the date of his birth cannot be placed later than 1180, whilst the date of his death must fall about 1250, if, in his case, we accept the usual age of 70. Another of these Responses seems to have been written in 1230, as may be seen from the words:—ובכמה מקומות כותבין בזמן:—חשטר שנת ד'תתק"ץ לבריית עולם וחודר ידוע כי ר' חזא ד' (160b). In this connection we may also cite here the following passage relating to the era question:—ובשטר כתובותינו אנו כותבין בזה הלשון בכך וכך ליהר פל' שנת כך וכך לבריית העולם ושנת וכך לחורבן בית המקדש שיבנה במחרת בימינו ובימי כל ישראל אמן נכתב שטר חמותר הזה בקהל (50a). We learn again that R. Isaiah travelled once through the whole of Palestine, which gave him great advantage in explaining geographical passages in the Talmud. Thus he writes to a correspondent:—ומאי דכתב מר:—על מה דאמרינן בפרק קמא דנשין (7b) אמר אביי רצועא נפקא וכתבתה וציירת אלי דעכו חיא בצד מזרחא של א"י רחוקה ממערב חרבה כמה חוגעתני בדברך ואילו חזא חזי למר ארעא דישראל כדחזי לי לא חזא אמר חזי חים חזא גבול מערבא של א"י ועכו יושבת על שפת חים לצד צפון ואשקלון על שפת חים לצד דרום ובין אשקלון לעכו חזא כמחלך שני ימים ואני נסעתי מעכו וחלכתי ממערב למזרח וחילכתי כל ארץ הגליל שהיא לצד צפונה של א"י וסיבבתי מזרחא של א"י על שפת הירדן וסיבבתי גם דרומא של א"י ובאתי ולגתי באשקלון וחילכתי (181b). When this great journey took place is not said; but it would not be hazardous, we think, to suggest that our author was one of the three hundred rabbis who accompanied R. Jonathan Ha-Cohen

on his pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and thus the date will fall in 1210. As a contrast with his tendency to rely on facts, we may take the following passage, which shows that he was not free from mystical leanings:—**והמכשיר** חדבק אפילו בדופן אני קורא עליו אומ' לדבק טוב הוא וחרי הוא כעובד ע"ז ומאכיל טריפות לישראל ואעפ"י שדברי חלומות לא מעלין ולא מורידין ואין לסמוך עליהם אליהו זכור לטוב נדמה לי בחלום ושאלתי את פיו על חדבק שמכשירין בני אדם אם האמת אתם ואמר לי בין הסדך בין חדבק שלא במקום רבורא טרפה (176a). From another passage it would seem that sometimes he felt as if he were unable to express all his thoughts sufficiently, even on such concrete matters as Halachic subjects usually are. Thus when he apologises before one of his friends with the words:—ומי יתן לי אבר כיונה ואחיה דן לפניך על כל—חדברים האלה כי כל דיבור ודיבור צריך סילסול ומשא ומתן ומי יוכל לכתוב כל מחקרי לבבו על זה לא ניתנו דברים שבפח (150b). On another occasion, probably acting in accordance with the well-known principle **מזידין וחז"ל** יחיו מזידין וחז"ל, he even intentionally suppresses his opinion and also advises his correspondent not to trouble himself about matters which an open discussion would only make worse. He writes to him:—ועל ענין חיון שכתבת ה' אלי אם באנו לחקור—אחרי יינות של מלכותינו כפי חומר החלכה הרבה יש לי לומר עליהם ומה שכלבי על דבר זה הוא כבוד ה' חסר דבר אילו חיות אצלי פנים בפנים חיותי מודיע לך ובכתב לא אכתוב לך מפני שחדברים לא ניתנו לכתוב אל תחקור ואל תדקדק (181a). This passage, which refers to Italy, may be supplemented by two others, also throwing some light on the morals and customs of the Jews in that country. The first is with regard to the custom of lighting candles in the Synagogue on festivals, where he writes:—ומה שכתבת אלי על חדלקת נרות בכנסת ב"ש נ"ל שאין שום איסור ונידונד עבירה בדבר.....ואפואי שמחה הוא שאין בני העולם נוחגין לחדליק נרות בשעות אילולי שכבוד הוא ומרחיב לבו של אדם חלא גם תגום לחדליק כל העששיות שלפני ע"ז

ביום אדם ואילו לא היה כבוד חבריות למח עושין כן • וכן עושין לחתנים ולברית מילה להדליק עששיות בכנס' וגם ביום (44b). The other relates to certain festivities which the Jews at Rome were accustomed to hold before weddings. It runs:—ומח שכתבת אלי על דבר חתוח תמיד ברומא שסמוך לאירוסין כונסין ליחד ארוסה בשבע ברכות עם חבצל לזמן מרובח נהגין לעשות חילולים גדולים וקורין לחם אישקפמטא¹ ובידוע שהיה עיקר שמחתו (63b).

More frequent are his references to the Jews in Greece (or, as he calls them, קהלות רומניא). We have already seen that he was acquainted with their great authors (R. Hillel, R. Baruch and R. Abraham), and that he had correspondents among them. From the following passage we learn that he actually lived in Greece for a certain time, where he also enjoyed a certain authority. We give this quotation, which throws so much light both on the temper of its writer and still more on that of the people with whom he had to deal, in full:—ואדוני כמלאך השם יודע שחודר פרוץ ומקלו יגיד לו ובעבור הדברים הללו שכתב רבי' הלל ז"ל בפירוש סיפרא שהשאיבה היא מדרבנן חורגלו כל קהילות רומניא וחקילו במבילת חנדה ואין בכל רומניא אפי' קהל אחד שיטבלו כי אם בצחנת חמרחצאות וירבם גם בעלי מות ובחיותי בתוכם וידעתי שאין טובלות אחת מהן ואחד מקריטי צורבא מרבנן ובעל נפש נשא שם אשה וחרגיל לחטביל את אשתו וחברו עליה בנות הקהל לאמר כזה המנחה חרגו (?) את מנחה במקומיני כענין שעשו בנות סדום לאשתו של לוט וכשומעי ככה חרה אפי עליהם וקינסרתי אותם בחירופים וגידופים ביותר אע"פי שהם גוותנים יותר מדאי והם היו מפמפסים כנגדי כי השאיבה אינה אלא מדרבנן כאשר פירש רבי' הלל בסיפרא והנה להן לישראל שיהו שונגין וא"ל יהו מזדיין • ונשאתי ונתתי עמחם עד שחודו וידעו שהיה מן התורה

¹ The character marked by a dot might be read either as ם or as ן. Professor Robertson Smith has kindly suggested to me that the word may be the Hebrew transcription of στεφανώματα, "nuptials," lit. pl. of στεφάνωμα, "crowning of the bride and bridegroom," a common term in late Greek.

ונתקבצו כולם בכנסת הגדולה וגם כל הנשים נתקבצו בחצר בית הכנסת וקיבלו עליהם חרם גדול האנשים והנשים שלא יסיפו עוד לעשות כדבר חרע הזה • ובקהלות אחרות חייתי ובכנ"מ שדרשתי לא רצו לקבל ולא יכולתי מונעם ונתרבה האיסור הזה והותרה להם עבירה זו בכל קהלות רומניא על כן לא נכון לשום חכם לפקפק בדברים.....וגם ראיות אחרות שמסתעיים מהם המקילים כולם אבאר אחת אחת בזה הספר שאין לחוכיה משם דפסול שאוב היא מדרבנן בי אם פסול..... This laxity about which our author complains, may probably, as we know from the similar case of Maimonides, be ascribed to the influence of the Karaites, who formed at that time many important communities in different parts of Greece. If this be the case, we shall understand his severity and the rather impolite language he uses against the very communities of whom he speaks in another place in the highest terms. We refer to the following quotation (46b):—ומה שכתבת אלי כי חלך שמעון לפייס—את ראובן בממון ולא נפייס עד שתלאו ע"י גוים וחכמו ומתוך אונסו גירש ראובן האשה החי'.....ואין לי נחמה בדבר וחי'אך שתקו עליו קהילות רומניא הקדושים אשר חכמה ותבונה בחמה ויש שבח לאל כח בידם לישא וליתן בעומק של חלכה ומשיבי מלחמה שערך שמשם תצא תוראה לכל ישראל... וחרי אני משיבעך בשם הנכבד והנורא שלא תשקוט ולא תנוח עד תראה כתבי זה ותשלחנו לכל אנשי חש' שבקהלות רומניא אשר חבית נכון עליהם :

B.

[תשובות הגאונים] *Responses by the Geonim*, containing 81 Responses on various ritual questions by different authorities, known by this title. The collection begins with words by the copyist:—תשובות לאין אונים ארחיל לכתוב:—(181b), and bears the following headings:—לרב צמח גאון, (181b) לרב נשוראי גאון ז"ל כ"א פלמו גאון, (190a) לרבינו נחשון גאון זצ"ל, (194a) לרבינו אהרן כהן גאון, (198b) לרב צמח גאון זצ"ל, (200b) לרבינו נשוראי גאון זצ"ל, (202a) לרבינו שר שלום גאון, (203a) למר רב משה גאון זצ"ל (202a)

ל' (207a). It is, however, defective at the end, breaking off in the middle of a sentence. There is little new in these Responses, as 72 Responses of the 81 are to be found in the collection *חמדה נחמד* with very few variations, except the Response attributed to R. Aaron Cohen Gaon (ד'ג § 37), in which our MS. (96a) agrees with the version given in the *Pardes of Rashi*, p. 61b. Indeed, as the list of headings shows, there can hardly be any doubt that these two collections are based on one MS. Of the remaining nine Responses which are not to be found in the ד'ג, four are attributed to ש"ר ר' (נ"א ר' פלשו), and are identical with ש"ר ר' נמוראי גאון, § 164, Collection Harkavy, § 67, Collection Cassel, §§ 24 and 44 (*not R. Hai*), whilst the other five are:—

כחן שירד לפני התיבה ובשעת עליית כהנים לא היה שם
כחן אחר (p. 190b).

שכיב מרע דקא מפקיד אי נמי דקא יחייב מתנת צריך למקטא
מניח (*ibid.*).

חאי דרבין בשטר הרשאות וחלואות ארבעה גרמדי (*ibid.*).
במאי קונין אמר רב בכליו של קונה לוי אמר בכליו של מקנה
(191a). These four are attributed to רב צמח, whilst the fifth, beginning with מאי
דשאלת מן דיטא דיבם ויבמה דיטא חכין היא במתיברא.....
(194a), is ascribed to the Gaon ר' אהרן כחן.

S. SCHECHTER.

CRITICAL PROBLEMS OF THE SECOND PART OF ISAIAH.

II.

THE next passages to be considered are two long pieces which, according to Ewald, were added to his work by the prophet himself, viz., lxi. 1 to lxiii. 6, and lxiii. 7—lxvi. 24. This is clearly a mistake. The truth is that lxi. 1—lxii. 12 is in no proper sense an appended passage, but forms the last section of the Second Book of the Restoration-Prophecy; whether this book has come down to us complete, is a question into which I cannot now enter. The real first appendix is (g) lxiii. 1-6. Hitzig long ago remarked that this passage was but loosely connected with the Restoration Prophecy, and it was not a step in advance to treat it, as Ewald did, as the fourth strophe of the epilogue of that book. Ewald himself, however, admits that it is not by the Second Isaiah. He ascribes it to the author of Isa. lviii. and lix. (the Second Isaiah having merely adopted it), and in this, he shows perhaps more insight than the greatest of his pupils, Dillmann. For though this fine dramatic passage may be not unworthy of the Second Isaiah, of whom the phrase "the day of vengeance" (ver. 4; cf. lxi. 2) reminds us, yet Dillmann cannot seriously attach much weight to this argument, or deny that the passage may just as well have proceeded from another writer of the same school. The eschatological tone of the prophecy, and the singling out of Edom as the representative of the foes of Yahveh, are quite in harmony with a post-Exile date, especially if it be admitted that both Isa. xxxiv. and the Book of Joel are best understood as post-Exile works. You will observe that all hope of

human help has been abandoned by the writer—there is no Cyrus in the distance, precisely as in lix. 16, which is copied almost word for word in lxiii. 5. I hold therefore that lxiii. 1-6 not only forms no part of the Restoration Prophecy, but is not even an independent fragment by the same author. It was written later than that work (hence the allusion to it in ver. 4), and later too, but perhaps not much later, than Isa. lix., from which it borrows. The reign of the second or third Artaxerxes will, as we shall see later on, fully account for its tone and contents.

We have now to study the second of Ewald's appended passages. It is one of the most fascinating parts of the Second Isaiah, and it contains a liturgical prayer of almost too thrilling interest. The reader will therefore not grudge it a somewhat detailed examination. It is not, as Ewald thought, a single connected work, but falls into three distinct parts, (*h*) lxiii. 7 to lxiv. 12 (11), (*i*) lxv., and (*k*) lxvi. In this division I agree with Dillmann, so far as chap. lxvi. is concerned, but not as to lxiii. 7 to lxv. 25, which this critic considers to be a single composition. I have given elsewhere the reasons for my own course,¹ and do not find that Dillmann's counter-argument touches them. Among the other commentators, Delitzsch has not altered this part of his work since 1866, while Bredenkamp, quite independently, coincides with me. I have now to ask, Can any of these three passages be plausibly ascribed to the Second Isaiah? Looking at them together, most will, I think, agree with Ewald, that 'the character of the style has become markedly different' as compared with the style of the preceding prophecies. It is true that he adds later on that 'the differences between this and the previous book are too unimportant to permit us to think that we have here another author'; but had his commentary been on a more extended scale, Ewald would have found it difficult to prove this to be the case, and he partly neutralises the force of his own statement by declaring in the very next sentence

¹ Cheyne, *The Prophecies of Isaiah*, ii. 114.

that a good many sayings from the book of the somewhat older prophet, which he finds in chaps. lvi., lvii., and elsewhere, may be reproduced in this appendix also.¹

Let us then search for any evidence of date supplied by (h) lxiii. 7 to lxiv. 12 (11). Notice first in any good commentary, the large number of parallel passages in Psalms. Where is there anything like this in Isa. xl.-lv. ? It is not enough to reply that the phenomenon arises from the nature of the subject, that the prophet here prays in the name of the Church, and that later liturgical poets would naturally be influenced by his work. That is precisely what has to be explained. How comes it that a prophet has been converted into a liturgical poet ? I know that there are bursts of lyric poetry in Isaiah xl.-lv., but not of liturgical poetry like this. Chapter xxvi. is more like it, and that is demonstrably post-Exilic. There was no Jewish Church-nation during the Exile. And when we find that one of the chief peculiarities of our passage as distinguished from the undoubted work of Second Isaiah, viz., its almost unmitigated gloom, recurs in Psalms like lxxiv., lxxx., and lxxxix., none of which can be proved to be earlier than the third Artaxerxes, we are bound to consider very seriously whether our passage may not really be a liturgical composition of the same period. And observe (b) the very marked religious views expressed in lxiii. 7, etc. The writer speaks as if it is not the Jews who need to return to Yahveh (as the Second Isaiah says, lv. 7), but Yahveh who is reluctant to return to them ; not the Jews, whose iniquities have produced God's wrath, but his wrath, of which their iniquities are the fatal consequence (lxiii. 17, lxiv. 5-7). He also implies a belief that the patriarchs Abraham and Jacob can, under ordinary circumstances, help their distressed descendants (lxiii. 16). Notice this too, (c) that whereas the Second Isaiah ascribes the deliverances of the olden time to Yahveh, the writer of this prophecy

¹ *The Prophets*, E.T., iv. 341, 342.

(whom I cannot help distinguishing from the Second Isaiah) speaks in one verse of the "Angel of Yahveh's face," and in two other verses of "his Spirit of holiness," as the deliverer and guide of the people of Israel. The former expression occurs nowhere else; and marks a time when minute details of Scripture (see Exodus xxxii. 34, xxxiii. 14) were compared and harmonised; the latter reminds us of the late Book of Nehemiah (ix. 20) and of a Deutero-Isaianic and therefore post-Exilic psalm (li. 13). And (*d*) that, according to a *certain* correction of lxiii. 18, the occupation of the "holy mountain" by the Jews had lasted only "for a little while." Surely, unless all other evidence converges to show that the prophecy is Exilic, we must explain this not on the principle of the "pathetic fallacy," but as the literally correct expression of a post-Exilic writer. Lastly (*e*), let the extraordinary combination of black despair and brightest faith presented to us in lxiii. 15-lxiv. 12 have its full effect on the mind. Can that be explained on the old theory? What is there in the faintest degree like it in the true Second Isaiah? Contrast lxiii. 15 with xlii. 14, xlix. 15.

But, it may be asked, how are we to explain certain exegetical data in this section which have been thought to favour the authorship of the *Second Isaiah*? (1) Why, for instance, is there no reference to the fall of Babylon in the retrospect of God's past lovingkindnesses? The Exodus from Egypt is described in pathetic language (lxiii. 11-14); why not also the Exodus from Chaldæa? Does it not look as if Israel were still under the Babylonian yoke? No; the inference would be a mistaken one. The writer of this liturgical poem follows the lead of the post-Exilic psalmists, who habitually refer to God's "wonders of old time" as typical specimens of providential working (see *e.g.* Psalm lxxvi. 4-8, cxxxvi. 10-18, and compare Isaiah xliii. 16, 17). Next (2), what is to be said of the affinity between parts of this section and the Book of Lamentations? Compare *e.g.* lxiii. 15 with Lamentations iv. 50;

lxiv. 5b-7 with Lamentations iii. 42-44; lxiv. 11 (Hebrew 10; מְנוּחֵינוּ "our pleasant things") with Lamentations i. 10. The fact is of no critical importance. The parallelisms, excepting the last, which will be referred to again presently, are but general, and simply show that the style of the *kinôth* was not a lost secret. Lastly (3), must we not infer from lxiv. 10, 11 that the land of Judah was still suffering from the Chaldean devastation, and that the temple and the "pleasant things" which it contained were still in ashes? Consequently, must not the author be the Second Isaiah? The inference would be a hasty one. If we are to take these two verses (lxiv. 10, 11) literally, it would seem that the writer is an eyewitness of the desolation which he describes, and the Second Isaiah was certainly not that. Nor is the phrase "thy holy cities" consistent with the theory of an Exilic date. The true Second Isaiah knows of only one holy city (xlviii. 2, compare lii. 1); the first writer who represents the entire land of Judah as "holy" is Zechariah¹ (Zechariah ii. 16). It is true that the only burning of the temple of which we have any record in pre-Christian times is the famous one under Nebuchadrezzar. But it is perfectly possible that the description in lxiv. 10, 11 (or at any rate in verse 11) was inserted by an after-thought to make this liturgical poem available as a memorial of two great troubles, equal in their terribleness, though not entirely coincident in their details. For a parallel I venture to refer to Ps. lxxiv., which refers seemingly, with all the pathos of an eyewitness, to the burning of the temple, and yet must, as many think, be a Maccabæan psalm.²

It remains, therefore, to seek for a suitable home for this great poem in the post-Exilic period. May we place it, like Ps. lxxiv., among the monuments of the Maccabean movement, or at least of the dark years which preceded it? I think not. First, because it can be shown to stand among

¹ See Bandissin, *Studien zur semit. Religionsgeschichte*, ii. 129.

² Cheyne, *Bampton Lectures on the Psalms*, p. 103.

compositions of the Persian age; and secondly, because it breathes a spirit of such intense penitence. The Macca-bean poets, even including the author of Ps. xlv., are filled with the consciousness of Israel's perfect obedience to his God. But this liturgical poet says, "And we all became as one who is unclean," etc. (Isa. lxiv. 6, 7). I infer, therefore, that the injuries from which Israel was suffering when lxiii. 7—lxiv. 12 (11) was written, had not been inflicted out of vengeance for Israel's devotion to its religion; they were the ordinary cruelties of a non-Israelitish ruler, through which, according to the traditional theology, Yahveh might be regarded as punishing the sins of his people. Who, then, was the most cruel of the successors of Cyrus, and whose was the reign which, from the misery which it caused, might most fittingly be compared with that of Nebuchadrezzar? From the form in which I have put this question, it will be clear that I do not accept Kuenen's opinion that the occasion of this poem may have been the "affliction and reproach" spoken of in Neh. i. 3, when the walls of Jerusalem, set up probably by Ezra, were broken down, and the gates thereof burned with fire. I feel very strongly that this document presupposes an even greater affliction than that described in Neh. i. 3. Moreover, the dates to which we have been led to refer the neighbouring prophecies point to a somewhat later period, and the fact that Artaxerxes Longimanus was not disliked as a king by the subject peoples of itself suggests that it was another and a far more terrible king to whom the present misery of Judah and Jerusalem was due. Indeed, the destruction of Ezra's walls was probably the work, not of any satrap or general of the "great king," but of Sanballat, Tobiah, and Geshem, who were afterwards united in opposition to the rebuilding of the walls by Nehemiah. Surely it is to the last century of the Persian rule that we have to look—to the period when the doleful book of Ecclesiastes was probably written—and our choice must lie between the reigns of Artaxerxes Mnemon and

Artaxerxes Ochus. The former reign was no doubt by no means a happy one. It was Artaxerxes Mnemon who corrupted the purity of the Persian religion by introducing the cultus of the goddess Anâhita (*Ἀναΐτις*), which must have alienated the children of those who had looked up to Cyrus as the friend of Yahveh. It was also in his reign (if the natural interpretation of τοῦ ἄλλου Ἀρταξέρξου in Jos. *Ant.*, XI. vii. 1 be followed) that the so-called pollution of the temple by the Persian general Bagôses took place, whose harshness, though not entirely undeserved, must have still further embittered the already painful relations between the Persians and the Jews. It is probable enough that the latter, as well as the Syrians, Phœnicians, and other nations, were concerned in the great revolt of B.C. 363 (or 362), and certain that they took part in the rebellion which marked the beginning of the reign of Ochus, between B.C. 358 and 350 (or 345).¹ It is to this latter period that I would refer the composition of this poem. The energetic Persian king had taken the field with an army consisting of 800,000 infantry and 30,000 cavalry. He had invaded and reconquered Egypt, had destroyed Sidon, and reduced the other Phœnician cities to submission, and now to punish the Jews he was about to deport some of them to Hyrcania by the Caspian Sea, and others to Babylon.² Was not the foretaste of this misery almost enough to break the heart of a fervent religious

¹ On the latter date, see Nöldeke in *Encycl. Brit.*, XVIII., 580.

² Syncellus (Dindorf), i. 486: "Ὁχος Ἀρταξέρξου παῖς εἰς Αἴγυπτον στρατιῶν μερικὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν εἶλεν Ἰουδαίων, ὧν τοὺς μὲν ἐν Ὑρκανίᾳ κατέφυκε πρὸς τῇ Κασπίᾳ θαλάσσῃ, τοὺς δὲ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι οἱ καὶ μίχρη νῦν εἰσὶν αὐτόθι, ὡς πολλοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἱστοροῦσιν. The omission of any reference to this melancholy episode in Jewish history both in Chronicles and in Josephus is satisfactorily explained by Grätz in the English article mentioned below. The statement of the Syncellus is derived from the Chronicle of Eusebius, the original text of which is unhappily lost. On the various later forms of this passage, see Grätz *Geschichte*, II. (2), p. 209; JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, Jan. 1891, pp. 208, 209; and cf. H. Bois, *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie* (Lausanne), 1890, p. 561, etc.

patriot, and to extract from it the passionate cry,—“Oh, that thou didst rend the heavens, that thou didst come down, that the mountains shook at thy presence, as when a fire of brushwood kindleth, to make thy name known to thine adversaries, so that nations trembled before thee, while thou didst terrible things which we hoped not for!” (lxiv. 1-3.) And if in the preceding verses the writer paints the calamities of Israel in slightly too gloomy colours —“We are become (like) those over whom thou hast never borne rule,” i.e., our existence as a nation is destroyed—can we be severe upon him? Israel was indeed “afflicted and ready to die” (Ps. lxxxviii. 16), and a *μερικὴ αἰχμαλωσία* (as Syncellus calls it) had been ordered, if not as yet carried out, by the Persian tyrant. The barbarous character of Ochus, and his recent inhumanity towards the Phoenicians and Egyptians, can have been no secrets to the Jews. This is how Nöldeke describes the former in terms which labour to be impartial. He was “one of those great despots who can raise up again for a time a decayed Oriental empire, who shed blood without scruple, and are not nice in the choice of means.”¹ At the very outset he proved this by the massacre of his nearest relations, and at the capture of Sidon he brought the same fact home to the peoples of Palestine by his cruel treatment of the conquered city, anticipating which more than 40,000 Sidonians are said to have burned themselves within their houses.² And soon afterwards in Egypt, as Nöldeke remarks, he “seems to have made the *væ victis* thoroughly clear to the Egyptians, and to have treated even their religion with little more respect than Cambyzes before him.”³ Surely, if Isa. lxiii. 1-6 may be fitly referred to the end of the reign of the second or the beginning of that of the third Artaxerxes, Isa. lxiii. 7—lxiv. 12 (11) may with even greater reason be explained by the cruel treatment of the Jews by Ochus, which the writer naturally regards (though he qualifies

¹ *Encycl. Britannica*, XVIII., 580.

² *Diod. Sic.*, XVI., 41-45.

³ *Enc. Brit.*, XVIII., 580.

this view in a manner peculiar to himself) as a judgment upon the sins of his people.

I venture to hope that the preceding result is an improvement upon that given in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* in 1881, where I supposed this poem to be a monument of the early years of the Exile. I was led to it by studying the supposed Maccabean and certain other psalms, more especially the 89th. And here let me refer to Ewald and to Professor Robertson Smith.

In the third and last edition of his *Dichter des Alter Bundes*, the former critic refers a group of psalms, including xlv., lxxiv., lxxix., lxxxix., to the end of the sixth and beginning of the fifth century. But in the first and second editions he expressed a different opinion, viz. that all these psalms belonged to the end of the fifth century, and more particularly to the troubles connected with Bagôses. In other words, he prefers the reign of Artaxerxes II. to that of Artaxerxes III., for the very weak reason that, as he thinks, the revolt at the beginning of the reign of the latter did not extend to Jerusalem. The theory of Professor Robertson Smith is a similar one, but more defensible, inasmuch as he refers the psalms in question (Ps. xlv., lxxiv., lxxix., lxxx.) to the reign of Artaxerxes Ochus. In his excellent article on the Psalms he makes this statement:—"There is one and only one time in the Persian period to which they can be referred, viz., that of the great civil wars under Artaxerxes III. Ochus (middle of fourth century B.C.). The Jews were involved in these, and were sorely chastised, and we know from Josephus that the Temple was defiled by the Persians, and humiliating conditions attached to the worship there. It would appear that to the Jews the struggle took a theocratic aspect, and it is not impossible that the hopeful beginnings of a national movement, which proved in the issue so disastrous, are reflected in some of the other pieces of the collection."¹

¹ *Encycl. Brit.*, XX., 31.

The conjecture that "to the Jews the struggle took a theocratic aspect," does not appear to me a probable one. The pseudo-Hecataeus, indeed, quoted by Josephus (*c. Ap. i. 22*), tells us of cruel deaths suffered by the Jews for their religion in the Persian period. But this late forgery gives a very precarious support to the hypothesis. The view of Ewald and Prof. Robertson Smith I have elsewhere (*Bampton Lectures on the Psalms*, pp. 91, 102) given my reasons for rejecting. I am thankful, however, for their distinct admission that the calamitous second century of the Persian rule in Palestine must have left some literary monuments in corners of the canonical books. Among these monuments I should myself reckon, not only the liturgical poem in Second Isaiah but certain psalms, not quite the same as are given by either of these two critics, but at any rate the 89th, which Ewald also mentions, and the beginning of which in particular so strikingly reminds us of Isaiah lxiii. 7, also the Book of Joel, and (in its present form) that of Zechariah. But I must now hasten to (*i*), (*k*), *i.e.*, the very difficult 65th and 66th chapters, which must however be treated provisionally as separate pieces. It has been usual to regard the former as the answer of Yahveh to the preceding liturgical prayer. I have elsewhere given reasons (which need scarcely be repeated here) for believing that the opinion of the majority of expositors is mistaken,¹ nor has the latest commentator, Dillmann, to any material extent impaired the force of my arguments. Of course, the only object of attempting to do so would be to show that chaps. lxiii. 7—lxv. form an integral part of the great Prophecy of Restoration. If it be true that several passages preceding chap. lxv. have been composed and added to that prophecy by other hands than those of the author, it will be a point of subordinate importance to show that chap. lxv. is by the writer of lxiii. 7—lxiv. Let us however, for the moment, put aside the controversy as to the dis-

¹ Cheyne, *The Prophecies of Isaiah*, ii. 114.

puted passages in chaps. xl.—lxiv., and limit our view to chap. lxv. What are the reasons for thinking that this passage at least is not a monument of the Exile? 1. Nothing is said even in lxv. 8—10, about the return from Babylon. Notice the situation implied. Israel (called “Jacob” and “Judah” in ver. 9) is all but destroyed, and cannot hope to take the entire Land of Promise in possession. Yet Israel is not to despond. From Jacob, who seems on the point of death, Yahveh will bring forth a seed of those who shall truly serve him. Of these, and of the survivors of the past generation (cf. ver. 8*b*, “my servants”) it is said, “My servants shall dwell there.” Where then is the Jacob or Judah spoken of, from which the seed is to spring? The fathers of the righteous seed, at any rate, are already in Palestine. There is no reference to a return from Babylon (contrast lvii. 13*b*, 14), because the return is a thing of the past. What is wanted is the expulsion of heathen intruders, by a population of righteous Israelites who are in enjoyment of the divine favour (cf. xxvi. 2, 18). And now turn to ver. 18. Is it not reasonable to suppose that Jerusalem when the prophet wrote was already an inhabited city, though so far below its high ideal that it had, as it were, to be created anew in order that its divine Lord might take pleasure in it? 2. Now, a second reason why this part is probably not of Exilic origin. Notice the strange bitterness which pervades the passage. The Second Isaiah, in the passages which are undoubtedly his, has to plead and argue with those Israelites who, not altogether inexcusably, still believe more or less in the power of the heathen gods. But listen to the alternate rise and fall of our prophet’s vehement denunciation in chap. lxv., and say if it is in the manner of the Second Isaiah.¹

3. My third reason shall be drawn from lxv. 11, 12:—
“And as for you that forsake Yahveh, that forget my

¹ On the difficult passage, lxv. 15, may I refer to my own explanation in the *Expositor*, August, 1891?

holy mountain, that set in order a table for Gad, and fill up mixed drink for M'nî—I destine you for the sword, and ye all to the slaughter shall bow down, because I called and ye did not answer, I spoke, and ye did not hearken, but did that which was evil in mine eyes, and chose that in which I had no pleasure." That Gad and M'nî were Syrian deities, is not to be denied; the evidence, especially that relative to Gad, is overwhelmingly strong. No name corresponding philologically either to Gad or to M'nî has yet been found in the religious tablets of Babylonia. Nor does the accurate and trustworthy Dillmann dispute this. All that he can say in arrest of judgment is that "possibly Gad and M'nî are merely Hebrew appellations of divinities which had other names in Babylonia." This might pass if Gad and M'nî had not an actual existence in the post-Exilic Aramæan Pantheon, but hardly otherwise.

Such are the reasons which seem to me to favour a post-Exilic date for this chapter. Their force will be increased, if we admit the same date for some of the preceding passages, and especially for the next chapter (lxvi.). But the complexity of the problem being so great, I am anxious, before passing on, to consider the arguments which may be drawn from this chapter in favour of an Exilic date. Thus 1, there are a certain number of points of contact both in language and in ideas with the acknowledged Second Isaiah. Compare for instance lxv. 9, "an inheritor of my mountains," with lvii. 13*b* (noticing, however, that the return from Babylon is referred to in lvii. 14, but not in lxv. 9); *ib.* "mine elect" and "my servants" with xlii. 1 (where, however, it is the sing. not the plur.); v. 16, "the former troubles are forgotten," with liv. 4; v. 17, "new heavens and a new earth," with li. 16; v. 19, "I will rejoice in Jerusalem," with lxii. 5; v. 21 "plant vineyards, and eat their fruit," with lxii. 8, 9; v. 22, "as the days of the trees," with lxi. 3. Note also that there is no reference to a Church-nation in chap. lxv., any more than there is in the acknowledged Second Isaiah (contrast

lxiii. 7—lxiv.). There is only a remnant of those who hold fast to Yahveh—only a few good grapes in the cluster (lxv. 8). I do not admit, however, that these facts are valid evidence that chap. lxv. belongs to the Second Isaiah. The phraseological evidence is slight indeed, nor must we omit to notice the strange idioms אֶל־יְהוָה¹ (v. 16), and וְיָהוָה for יְהוָה (v. 25).

Is the evidence from ideas more conclusive? Scarcely. The "new heavens and new earth" in ver. 17 belong to a more advanced stage of religious thought than the expressions in li. 16 and the awkwardly expressed passage on the longevity of the later Jews (ver. 20) has nothing corresponding to it in the admitted work of the Second Isaiah, who is fully occupied with the idea of the eternity of the nation. And as for the discrepancy between chap. lxv. and lxiii. 7—lxiv., it surely does not oblige us to separate these sections by a long interval. We are at perfect liberty to regard them as contemporaneous, or nearly so, *i.e.*, as written early in the reign of Artaxerxes Ochus. For the views which the two prophecies respectively take of Israel are by no means incapable of reconciliation. The author of lxiii. 7—lxiv. preserves the conception of the national unity of Israel at the cost of admitting that "there was no one who called on the name of Yahveh, and that stirred himself up to take hold of Yahveh" (lxiv. 7). And perhaps there may have been a great spiritual decline in Israel; perhaps the facts warranted a gloomy view of Israel as a whole. But there must certainly have been many holy men of the school of these prophetic writers. And the author of chapter lxv. was on his side fully justified in repudiating the unworthy members of Israel, and claiming for the righteous remnant, the promised favour of Yahveh (lxv. 8-10). To him this remnant was the true Israel, the germ of the nation that was to

¹ The case is not greatly improved if for אֶל־יְהוָה we read יְהוָה, for this word only occurs in Isa. xxv. 1 (post-Exilic).

be. The second, third, and fourth arguments I will quote from that able writer and good scholar, Mr. G. A. Smith.¹ (2) "What seems decisive for the Exilic origin of chap. lxxv., is, that the possession of Judah and Zion by the seed of Jacob is still implied as future." This is an overstatement. The most natural inference from the facts is, I think, that which I have given above. (3) "The Holy Land is alluded to by the name common among the exiles in flat Mesopotamia ("my mountains"); and in contrast with the idolatry of which the present generation is guilty, the idolatry of their fathers is characterised as having been 'upon the mountains and upon the hills'; and again the people is charged with 'forgetting my holy mountain,' a phrase reminiscent of Ps. cxxxvii. 4, and more appropriate to a time of exile than when the people were gathered about Zion." Mr. Smith apparently thinks post-Exilic Palestinian writers could not, or at, least, would not, have written thus. But what ground is there for such an opinion? (a) The phrase, "my mountains," is borrowed from the historical Isaiah (Isa. xiv. 25), who resided, not in Mesopotamia, but in Palestine. It occurs, no doubt, once in Ezekiel (xxxviii. 21), of the mountains of Israel, and Ezekiel was an exile in Babylonia; but also of the mountains near Jerusalem in Zech. xiv. 5, which is certainly not of Exilic origin, and again in Isa. xlix. 11, not merely of the mountains of Canaan, but of those of the whole earth, of which Yahveh is the Lord. This last reference is not unimportant; it enables us to point to at least a slight discrepancy between the acknowledged Second Isaiah and the prophecy before us. (b) Mr. Smith's argument seems to require that the post-Exilic Jews should have reverted to hill-worship. I am ignorant of the evidence for this. (c) It seems to me too bold to claim that the phrase in ver. 11, "That forget my holy mountain," is a reminiscence of Ps. cxxxvii. 5; but I do venture to assert, what even Hengstenberg fully admits,

¹ *Exposition of Isaiah xl.-lxvi.*, p. 458.

that Ps. cxxxvii. was not written in Babylon. If I understand them aright, both Dillmann and Mr. G. A. Smith take an opposite view, which I can only explain by the exigencies of controversy. Surely the picture in Ps. cxxxvii. is too idealised to be even based on the personal recollections of the author. The poet, who is a temple-singer, identifies himself imaginatively with his predecessors in exile, and tries in verses 1-4 to imagine their emotions, but in verses 5, 6, as Ewald saw, the feelings which he expresses are his own.

(4) "The practices in lxxv. 3-5 are never attributed to the people before the Exile, were all possible in Babylonia, and some are known to have been actual then." The statement needs a somewhat close scrutiny. That heathen worship was carried on in gardens before the Exile is undeniable (see i. 29; lvii. 5). That burning incense upon the tilings of the houses was also a sin of the pre-Exile period is equally beyond question (see 2 Kings xxiii. 12; Zeph. i. 5; Jer. xix. 13). Mr. Smith would no doubt reply to the latter remark that, "upon the bricks" means "upon altars of brick," which were contrary to the law (Ex. xx. 24, 25), and presumably adopted from the Babylonians. This meaning of the phrase is perfectly possible, but is not at all more probable than the other view, that "upon the bricks" means "the tilings of the houses." To say that the phrase "upon the bricks" of itself points to Babylonia, is absurd (see ix. 9). And surely the offences complained of in lxxv. 3 would be far more provocative of the divine anger in the land of Judah, after a legal sacrificial system had been fully introduced, than in Babylonia during the Exile, when (apart from any obscure heretical rites) sacrifices were necessarily in abeyance. When Mr. Smith adds that the practices complained of in vv. 3-5 were all possible in Babylonia, one does not care to dispute it, though it may fairly be held that the reference to tarrying in the graves (v. 4) points, in the first instance, to Palestine, where the rock-graves have in all ages been used

in emergencies as habitations. As to the practice of eating swine's flesh, it may no doubt have been borrowed during the Exile from the Babylonians; but the pig was so commonly regarded as a sacrificial animal, that we are by no means compelled to suppose that the heathenish Jews borrowed the custom referred to from Babylon. But we shall have to return to vv. 3-5 presently, in connection with a passage in chap. lxvi.

Let us now proceed to study (*k*) the last appendix (or the last part of the last appendix) of the Prophecy of Restoration, viz., Isaiah lxvi. That it has points of contact with chap. lxv. has been admittedly shown by Gesenius.¹ At the same time it is impossible to hold that chap. lxvi., as it now stands, was written as the sequel of chap. lxv. Vv. 1-4 have clearly no connection with the preceding, and no very close one with the following section. V. 5 seems to be an artificial link, combining lxvi. 1-4 with the sequel; and lxvi. 6 has all the appearance of being the opening of a fresh composition (cf. xiii. 4; xl. 3). The question must therefore be raised—Do these two parts of chap. lxvi. belong to the same period or not? It may plausibly be urged that vv. 1-4 were written while the Temple was still in ruins (else why the vehement apostrophe in v. 1*b*?) and vv. 6-24, after the sanctuary had been rebuilt (see vv. 6, 20). There are, in fact, some reasons for thinking that the description in 3*a* is suggested by Exilic circumstances, and since lxv. 3-5 is akin to these passages, it may be held that though the bulk of chaps.

¹ Gesenius, *Ysaia*, dritter Theil (1821), p. 293. He maintains, in opposition to Eichhorn, Augusti, and Rosenmüller, that the conjunction of chaps. lxv. and lxvi. seems even closer and more original than that of the entire work (xl.—lxvi.); cf. lxv. 34; lxvi. 17; lxv. 5, lxvi. 5; lxv. 17; lxvi. 12; lxv. 12; lxvi. 16; the antitheses lxv. 11-14; lxvi. 3, 4, and the turn in lxv. 12, lxvi. 4. It is true Gesenius adds that the points of contact with the other chapters of the book are so numerous and important that there can be no thought of separating them. He fails to observe that these literary points of contact, which are opposed by the whole spirit of these two chapters, only prove that the author of Isaiah lxv., lxvi., knew the deutero-Isaianic work.

lxv. and lxvi. is post-Exilic, both lxv. 1-5 and lxvi. 1-4 (with which we must combine lxvi. 17) were inserted, either by the writer or by his editor, from an earlier document written during the Exile. It is quite possible, however, that appearances are here fallacious. lxvi. 1 may be simply a hyperbolic way of expressing the writer's depreciation of ritual (a depreciation fostered, as it would seem, by the bad heretical forms which had corrupted a part of the Jews). Considering that the existence of a non-sacrificial school in the post-Exilic period is attested by several passages in the Psalter, and that hyperbole is one of the commonest characteristics of Hebrew rhetoric, this view is by no means an improbable one. And with regard to the description of heathen practices in vv. 3, 4, must it not be supplemented not only by lxv. 3-5 and lxvi. 17, but by lxv. 17, which refers to the heathen cultus of Gad and M'ni? Now, if lxv. 17 is Palestinian and post-Exilic (which cannot reasonably be denied), is it not most natural to suppose that the rest of this group of passages belongs to the same period?

Of course, this argument will be overturned if the reasons referred to above for explaining lxvi. 3a by Exilic circumstances are cogent. These reasons have been set forth by Professor Robertson Smith in two suggestive passages of his *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*,¹ and his *Religion of the Semites*.² Isaiah lxvi. 1-4 and the parallel passages belong, according to this scholar, to the period of that later syncretism which sprang up about the period of the Assyrian captivity (see 2 Kings xvii. 24, 25). It was the time when the old national religions were breaking up; the gods of the peoples overcome by Assyria and Babylonia had proved unable to avert destruction, and men looked with sinking hearts for more potent means of binding the supernatural powers to their side than the old religions could afford. We find this newer syncretism not obscurely hinted at both in Deuteronomy and in Leviticus,

¹ Pp. 307-310.

² Pp. 325, 338-340.

where the list of forbidden foods, as Professor Robertson Smith has shown, has reference to the sacrificial meals of those initiated into the tribal mysteries of the heathen Semites. We find it also in the singular description in Ezek. viii. 10, 11, of the abominable rites practised in the temple itself by the heads of Judæan houses. So far I am at one with this eminent scholar. But it still remains to be determined whether the partly parallel description in passages of Isa. lxxv. and lxxvi. must be of Exilic origin (in order to bring it as near as possible to the earlier links in the chain of evidence), or whether we may hold that the heathen tribal mysteries exercised the same fascination upon the Jews in the more disastrous parts of the Persian rule as they did during the domination of Babylon. It appears to me that the second view ought not to be hastily dismissed. The secret superstitions of the Jews in later times are well known from the Talmud, and the Harranian mysteries, which seem to be alluded to in lxxvi. 3, lasted even down to Mohammedan times. If, therefore, apart from lxxv. 3-5, and lxxvi. 3, 17, chaps. lxxv. and lxxvi. are best understood as a post-Exilic work, and if even these verses may without any exegetical straining be so understood, is not the duty of the critic clear, viz., to assign the whole of these two chapters to the period to which, from their position, they most naturally belong, viz., the latter part of the Persian period?

But am I justified in asserting that the bulk of chap. lxxvi. is best understood as a post-Exilic work? Certainly, if chap. lxxvi. be really connected with chap. lxxv., which we have found to be post-Exilic, and if the general situation be allowed its full weight in the argument. But I am even willing to stake the issue on the general situation alone, putting aside for the moment the result which we have reached with regard to chap. lxxv. It may be described briefly thus: The temple has been rebuilt (lxxvi. 6-20), and the people are eagerly expecting "new heavens and a new earth" (lxxvi. 22; cf. lxxv. 17), i.e., the full realisation of

their ideals, and a vengeance upon the wicked which exceeds all that previous ages have imagined (lxvi. 24). A bitterness unknown even at the close of the Babylonian Exile has penetrated the Jewish mind, upon which, however, as a background emerges the beautiful hope of the admission of the converted nations to the highest privileges of the people of God (lxvi. 21-23). Now to what part of the Persian period must we turn for an explanation of these facts? Surely to the beginning of the reign of the cruel Artaxerxes Ochus, and more particularly to his Syrian and Egyptian campaign. May it not even be conjectured that Isa. lxvi. 6, 15, 16, as well as Zech. xiv. 2,¹ is an anticipation of a siege of Jerusalem by that king, in whose army "all nations and tongues" (Isa. lxvi. 18) might, by an easy exaggeration, be said to be represented. There is no rationalistic dilution of the sense of the prophecy in this view. Apocalyptic hopes were already in the air, and the comfort of the pious Jew in trouble was the prospect that one of the terrible days which were coming upon them would be the thrice-blessed "day of Yahveh." It is true that the tone of chaps. lxv. and lxvi. is not the same as that of lxiii. 7—lxiv. But at other periods, too, (for instance, at the close of the Exile,) we find superficial differences between various prophetic writers. I have referred to this point in speaking of chap. lxv., and will only add that the extraordinary bitterness expressed towards the enemies of Israel, can only be understood at the very darkest part of the Persian period.

The only way to avoid this conclusion would be to find out some expressions in lxvi. 6-24, which point so distinctly to the Exile period as to counterbalance and neutralise all that can be produced on the other side. Dillmann, for instance, mentions the parallelism between lxvi. 7, and liv. 1; between lxvi. 11, and lx. 5, 16, lxi. 6, and between lxvi. 12, and lx. 4. He also maintains that

¹ Prof. Grätz takes this view of Zech. xiv. 2, *JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW*, Jan., 1891, p. 210

the phrase "in Jerusalem shall ye be comforted" (lxvi. 13b) implies that the persons addressed were not actually in Jerusalem. I am afraid, however, that the parallelisms only prove the acquaintance of the writer with the Second Isaiah's work, and as for the phrase, "in Jerusalem," why should not a prophet have used it in this context in the Persian period to emphasise the assurance of the national continuance? And if it is a fact that Artaxerxes Ochus drove a number of Jews into captivity, why may I not assume that to those who, before the terrible catastrophe, apprehended such a fate the prophet held out the reassuring promise, "in Jerusalem shall ye be comforted"? That the promise was not to all of them fulfilled is clearly no valid objection to such a view. Dillmann's too positive statement that the persons addressed must have been at a distance from Jerusalem reminds one of his inference from the words "that forget my holy mountain" in lxv. 11. In both cases his view of the meaning is, apart from the context, in itself a possible one. But that it is not necessary is shown in the one case by Ps. cxxxvii. 5, and in the other by Isa. xxx. 19, "For a people shall dwell in Zion, in Jerusalem,"¹ which was certainly addressed to inhabitants of Jerusalem.

Other conservative arguments may perhaps be based (1) on the names of peoples in lxv. 19, all of which occur in Ezekiel, and may, therefore, be regarded as pointing to an Exilic date, and (2) on the catholicity of the promise in v. 21 ("I will also take of them," i.e., of the Gentile converts who shall bring the Jews home, "for priests, for Levites"), which may be said to remind one of the Second Isaiah rather than of the post-Exilic legalism. But as to (1), v. 19 forms part of a prophetic description, based indeed upon Ezekiel (see chaps. xxxviii., xxxix.), but thoroughly alien to the Second Isaiah, and parallel in part to Joel iii., and still more to Zech. xiv. (post-Exilic works); and with regard

¹ I know that Dillmann gives a different rendering of this passage, but grammatical probability seems to me to be against him.

to (2), it can, I believe, be shown that there was much greater freedom towards the ritual law in post-Exilic times than used to be supposed. It should be added that there are also linguistic grounds for denying vv. 18—24 to the Second Isaiah, viz., 1, the phrase "nations and tongues" (v. 18), which reminds us of the Maccabean Book of Daniel (Dan. iii. 4, 7, 29; iv. 1; v. 19; vi. 25; vii. 14; cf. also Zech. viii. 23); 2, the rare word כֶּזַח "litter," which in this sense occurs again only in Num. vii. 3; 3, the ἀπ. λεγ. קִרְדָּוֹת "dromedaries" in v. 20, and 4, אֲבִיזָה "abomination," v. 24, elsewhere only in Dan. xii. 2.

Thus everything tends to confirm the opinion that there is no part of chap. lxvi. which need be referred to Exilic, and much which must be assigned to post-Exilic times, and the precise period is seen to be the beginning of the reign of Artaxerxes Ochus. But, as I have admitted already, the chapter was not written straight on in its present form. Not only vv. 1-4, but vv. 17-24, were probably introduced later, scarcely by the same hand. The latter verses, however, contain nothing, so far as I can see, inconsistent with what has gone before, and need not have been written much later.

It will be a special satisfaction to me if I have been able to show that chaps. lxv. and lxvi. have no connection with the great evangelical prophecy of comfort and restoration. The conflicting and sometimes morbid thoughts which meet us in the former work are altogether unworthy of that noble religious thinker and preacher, the Second Isaiah, "dont l'âme lumineuse semble comme imprégnée, six cent ans d'avance, de toutes les rosées, de tous les parfums de l'avenir."¹ I will not, however, take up your time with a comparative estimate of the different writers to whom the analytic criticism of Second Isaiah has introduced us; suffice it to express the hope that in any future history of the Jews in the post-Exilic period, the works (or some of the works)

¹ Renan, *L'Antéchrist*, p. 464.

which have now been reclaimed for the Persian age will not be neglected. My arguments have been chiefly historical and exegetical; I have compared, that is, the situation described in the several disputed sections both with that given in the acknowledged work of the Second Isaiah, and with the historical facts known to us, and sought to draw the necessary inferences. If space had permitted, I would have supplemented my argument by a detailed study of the linguistic phenomena both of the acknowledged and of the disputed prophecies. That much would have been gained by this I cannot, however, pretend to think. The case of the documents before us is somewhat different from that of the Psalms, which fall, as anyone can see, into several literary groups, whereas all the disputed passages of Isa. xl.—lxvi., with the exception of lvi. 9—lvii. 11a (13a), must be classed as upon the whole deutero-Isaianic. Here and there, of course, I have been compelled to take account of linguistic peculiarities (*e.g.*, in dealing with lvi. 9, etc., and with chap. lxvi.).

It only remains, first of all, in the briefest and clearest terms to sum up my results, and then to make due recognition of other scholars. The prophecy of the restoration of the Jews from Babylon, as it has come down to us, consists of two parts, viz., (1) a continuous series of discourses, chaps. xl.—xlviii.; and (2) a broken collection, composed of chaps. xlix. 1—lii. 12; lii. 13—liii. 12 (a later insertion by the author), liv., lv., lvi. 9—lvii. 21 (beginning with a long passage from an older prophet, which may either have been prefixed by the author, or more probably worked up with a deutero-Isaianic fragment by the editor), and lx.—lxii. Just as Book I. closed with, "Go ye forth of Babylon, flee ye from Chaldea," etc., so Book II. ends with, "Pass ye, pass ye through the gates; clear ye the way of the people," etc. The second book was probably, like Ecclesiastes, left incomplete by the author. This would make it all the easier for the Soferim, or students and editors of the religious literature, to insert or to append prophetic writings

of later origin. This editorial process was completed in the second half of the fourth century, when the second half of Isaiah assumed the form which it still bears.

"But are not these mere personal eccentricities?" No. I have already described the movement of disintegrating criticism down to the time of Ewald; let me now give a brief account of some of Ewald's successors. The conclusions of Ewald, which have formed my own starting-point, produced a strong impression on Friedrich Bleek. That sober-minded and devout scholar, whose posthumous Introduction to the Old Testament (first published in German in 1860, and translated by Venables in 1875) failed to meet with the success it deserved in England, fully admitted the fragmentary character of the latter part of the Second Isaiah's work. Some at least of the later prophecies were written, he thought, subsequently to the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, when the hope of the restoration of the Jewish people was still unfulfilled; and the very latest, *i.e.*, certainly chaps. lxiii.—lxvi., and perhaps from chap. lviii. onwards, were written as separate works, probably by the Second Isaiah, after both prophet and people had returned to Palestine. Nor was it only Christian scholars who were moving in the direction of disintegration. In 1868 we find the great Jewish scholar, Abraham Geiger, using this significant language—"the later Isaiah, whom I would regard, not as an individual, but as a collective person, as a succession of inspired seers from the call of Cyrus to the Greek period."¹ In 1875 Geiger repeated the same theory in more guarded terms:—"The second portion of Isaiah belongs, on the whole to the time of the Return and to the following period, but is made up of different parts."² Nowhere, however, does he give even a fragmentary justification of this seductive thesis. The next scholar to reassert the want of unity of the Second Isaiah's work was Oort, in *The Bible*

¹ *Jüdische Zeitschrift*, vi. 90.

² *Ib.* xi. 40. Elsewhere Geiger speaks of "der Dichterkreis im jüngeren Jesaias" (*Nachgelassene Schriften*, iv. 170).

for *Young People* (Vol. IV., Eng. transl., 1875), who, in his general view, reminds us of Bleek, but in his details anticipates the bolder criticism of Kuenen. The views of Stade are to be found in some of the notes to chap. vii. of Part II. of his history. His concessions to disintegrating criticism are not as great as might have been expected; he speaks of lvi. 1-8 as in the full sense deutero-Isaianic, and assumes a deutero-Isaianic basis for the later or even latest chapters. His favourite keys for unlocking the problems of criticism are the theories of interpolation and editorial manipulation. We must wait till this keen critic has time to give us his matured opinion on these questions; he is at any rate more in sympathy with the advanced than with the stationary critics.

We now come to Kuenen, who has given us the results of a thorough study of these problems in the second edition of his *Onderzoek*. He, too, has developed, like other people. Whenever the history of Biblical criticism in the nineteenth century is written, the singular combination of caution and boldness which distinguishes this eminent critic will not fail to be recognised. In the first edition of his second volume, published in 1865, Kuenen advocated a view of the origin and arrangement of Isa. xl-lxvi., which would now be called in a high degree conservative. In his second edition, however, published in 1889, he carries the analysis of these chapters to the farthest point that it has yet reached, or, as I venture modestly to hope, that it will reach. The Prophecy of Restoration consists, according to him, of chaps. xl.-xlix., lii. 1-12, and perhaps lii. 13—liii. 12. The remaining portions of the second half of Isaiah, which all presuppose a Palestinian Jewish community, were written, he thinks, after the Return, some by the Second Isaiah, but more by writers who belonged to the same circle, or who, if they were of the next generation, held in honour and sought to propagate the traditions of this circle. With regard to lvi. 9—lvii. 11a, he says that it may very likely be a pre-Exilic

passage, but that if so, lvii. 11b-20, must be addressed to persons who, in some respects, resembled the pre-Exilic Jews, i.e., who had a national existence in Palestine, and were not wholly free from the sins which the older prophet had denounced. Another important critical remark is that lxiii. 7-lxiv. is most naturally explained by the facts recorded in Neh. i. 3, or by still later occurrences of the same kind. Probably in the fifth century, he says, all the prophecies were brought together in a volume and arranged.

I have next the pleasure of referring to the commentary on Isaiah, which has taken the place of Knobel's, in the *Kurzgefasstes Exegetisches Handbuch*. Dillmann's other contributions to this series are well known, and the present work is in many respects worthy to be set beside his volumes on the Hexateuch. It would not be difficult, I admit, to find something to carp at. The author is not quite in touch with the most recent critics. He seems to feel it his mission to put a drag on what may seem to him the too great eagerness of other scholars. It would be not unnatural that some of those who feel that there has been a danger of stagnation in Old Testament criticism should be annoyed at his attitude towards them. But I confess that I am myself not so much displeased that he has adopted so little from the more "advanced" school as grateful that he has assimilated so much. It is not impossible that conservative scholars may soon begin to quote Dillmann against progress in Isaiah criticism. I venture, in anticipation, to controvert their position, and to claim him as an ally. This great scholar sees clearly enough that Isaiah xl.-lxvi. does not, as it stands, form a true whole. But the unity of form, and that of tone and subject-matter, are, he admits, very imperfectly present. As to the former, there are considerable differences of style. In lii. 13-liii. 12, in lviii. and lix., and, most clearly of all, in lvi. 9-lvii. 13a, the language of earlier prophets appears to have been more or less adopted, and there is much reason to

doubt whether lxiii. 7—lxvi. 24 has escaped later alterations. Chap. lxvi., in particular, from the abruptness of its transitions, and in vv. 18-24 the strangeness of the style and ideas, is liable to this suspicion. And as to the latter kind of unity, it is clear from Part II. of Isaiah xl.—lxvi. that the author had had to moderate the high hopes with which he started. A general amendment of Israel had proved to be hopeless, and the prophet accordingly devoted himself to a criticism, which became continually sharper, of the moral state of the people. The promised redemption was delayed, and of this Israel's wickedness was the cause. Part II. (l.—lxii. 12) must, therefore, be placed between B.C. 549 and 539/8. The appendices in chaps. lxiii.—lxvi. moreover contrast with Part II. as much as Part II. contrasts with Part I. They reveal an intense sorrow in the prophet at the vanity of his previous exhortations, and are indirectly a record of affairs on the eve of Israel's restoration. In chap. lxvi., indeed, the permission of Cyrus to return seems to be presupposed, and the prophecy is apparently addressed to those who are taking steps to avail themselves of it. It is impossible not to see in all this that Dillmann has been moved almost in spite of himself by the most recent current of criticism.

The last of the scholars whom I have to refer to on this question as friends and allies is Mr. George Adam Smith, whose exposition of Isaiah, in spite of its incompleteness and somewhat homiletical character, should not be neglected by the student. From an English point of view this criticism may be called "advanced," and the peculiarity of the book is that "advanced" arguments and conclusions are set forth in such a way as to seem plausible even to untrained or half-trained readers. And what is his main result? He expresses it in these words, "That Second Isaiah is not a unity, in so far as it consists of a number of pieces by different men, whom God raised up at different times before, during, and after the Exile, to comfort and exhort amid the shifting circumstances and tempers of his

people ; but that it is a unity in so far as these pieces have been gathered together by an editor very soon after the Return from the Exile, in an order as regular, both in point of time and subject, as the somewhat mixed material would permit."

Obviously this is a somewhat more "advanced" view than Dillmann's, who dogmatically asserts (p. 362) that the view that Isa. xl. to lxvi. is the collective product of a succession of inspired seers of the Persian period has no claim to be recognised. It must be added, however, that though Mr. G. A. Smith does not insist on the unity of authorship, nor on that of tone and situation, he is not as yet convinced that any considerable part of Isa. xl.—lxvi. was written in Palestine after the Return. His exposition of chap. lxvi. indeed, taken literally, seems opposed to his earlier statement that some of the writers, who collectively produced the Book of the Second Isaiah, lived subsequently to the Exile. Possibly his real meaning is that those features of chap. lxvi., which appear to speak for the period of the Return, were introduced by a later writer to adapt the passage to the wants of his own time.

One more remark and I have done. It seems to me that both Dillmann and Mr. G. A. Smith have a tendency to assign too many literary products to a single short period. They pack too many dissimilar prophecies together into the closing years of the Exile, and consistency will probably compel them to combine too many prophetic and poetic works in the second part of the reign of Josiah—too many, I mean, for the historic intelligibility of the picture thus produced. For I believe that one of the best criteria of the accuracy of a result of Old Testament criticism is its adaptability to the framework of a history of Israel. Ewald summed up more or less the criticism of the first half of this century in his *History of the People of Israel*; it may be reserved for some already living university student to sum up the criticism of the second in a no less epoch-making work.

T. K. CHEYNE.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Prof. Cheyne's Bampton Lectures.

The Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter in the Light of Old Testament Criticism and the History of Religions. Bampton Lectures for 1889. By the Rev. Prof. T. K. CHEYNE, D.D. (London, 1891.)

THREE years after his *Commentary*, Prof. Cheyne's Bampton Lectures upon the Psalms, originally delivered in 1889, make their much-wished-for appearance. He had told us himself, in the preface to the *Commentary*, that that work was only to be looked upon as the first part of a fuller exposition. The promise then indicated is now redeemed. The *Origin of the Psalter* is a book worth waiting for.

Without pride or self-assertion, but with proper consciousness of their value and originality, the author of the Bampton Lectures has pointed out, in the interesting half-autobiographical introduction, how large is the material which is gathered together in his latest work. It is, perhaps, unadvisable to let another three months pass by without calling attention in this REVIEW to so important an addition to our literature upon the Psalms. But, under these circumstances, it would be presumptuous on my part to assume that I am in a position to adequately criticise Prof. Cheyne's book. My comments therefore will assume rather the character of a notice than of a review.

Of the eight Lectures, each of which is divided into two parts and followed by copious notes, the first five deal with the "Origin," the last three with the "Religious Contents" of the Psalter.

As the author observes, the first section "might be enlarged, with the help of the underlying researches, into a synthetic introduction to the Old Testament; the second into a historical sketch of post-Exilic Jewish religion down to the time of Christ" (p. ix.). This possibility, which every Biblical student must earnestly wish that Prof. Cheyne may himself convert into an achieved reality, will show what an amount of varied material is included in the book. "The notes" do indeed "abound in historical and exegetical matter, and the store of facts in the linguistic appendix can hardly fail to be helpful to the Hebraist" (p. xxx.). Very interesting is the combination of frankest criticism with deep reverence and spirituality. Prof. Cheyne points out

how an unprejudiced and uncompromising exegesis has but quickened and increased his admiration and love for the Old Testament Scriptures, and how, for him at any rate, rationalism and mysticism have been no mutual antagonists, but have unitedly helped him forward to a better appreciation of either's claims, and to the clearer perception of that "higher region where contradictions repose in the light of God's truth" (p. xiv.). The Bampton Lectures contain some very plain speaking on divers delicate critical questions; but they are clearly written from the most sincerely religious, and even, let me add, from the most sincerely Christian point of view. It does not follow that the combination of intellectual and spiritual gifts which distinguishes Prof. Cheyne may be obtainable by all his readers, or, consequently, that his conception of some religious problems may prove to them intelligible and satisfactory. But the peculiarity of this combination makes its literary product all the more interesting and suggestive.

The many-sidedness of Prof. Cheyne's book makes it by no means easy reading; or, rather, a cursory perusal does not allow one to realise the area which it covers. It needs many readings to appreciate it fully. Its difficulty is increased by the lecture form. Neither the "Origin" nor the "Religious Contents" portion is presented in a systematic and articulate manner, although the first contains a complete analysis of the Psalter's various dates, and the second at least touches, whether in text or note, on almost all the more important religious conceptions of the Psalms.

The subject of the Psalter's origin is treated in the order of discovery, and this, perhaps, was the better way for sermons or lectures. It is scarcely, however, the more desirable way for a permanent book, and it tends occasionally to obscure the greatness of the main conclusion. Prof. Cheyne practically goes through the Psalms *seriatim*, but in the reverse order. The two latest books (xc.—cl.) are taken first; the date of their collection is fixed, and the individual Psalms in them are then assigned to their respective periods. It is thus found that no Psalm in this collection is earlier than the return from Babylon, 536 B.C. A similar procedure is adopted for Books III., II., and I., and it is ultimately discovered that, with a single possible exception (Pa. xviii.), every Psalm in these first three books also belongs to the post-Exilic period. Thus the grand conclusion is that the entire Psalter was the product of post-exilic history. In addition, however, to the particular reasons which may prevent the author from assigning any given psalm to the era of the Monarchy—reasons which can only be adduced at the consideration of that individual Psalm—there are a number of general reasons which drive him to that opinion for the Psalter as a

whole. It would have been more impressive, and it would have avoided considerable repetition, had these reasons been fully stated at the outset, rather than occasionally and indirectly alluded to in a number of separate places. The same (seemingly unnecessary) repetition is also noticeable in the grouping of the Psalms in their respective periods. The Psalms, *e.g.* of the Persian, Greek, or Maccabean era, are not all disposed of together, but in each of the five books each Psalm, or each small group of Psalms, is referred to its own particular period. Thus the tests and sign marks of each period have necessarily to be alluded to again and again, and this iteration is occasionally a little trying.

To younger students, or to those who are unacquainted with the drift of the later German and Dutch criticism, the main thesis of the lecturer's first section—the post-Exilic date of the entire Psalter—will be presumably the most startling and interesting feature of the whole work. It is not, of course, the most original. For as regards that first section, it is not in assigning the Psalter to the post-Exilic era that Prof. Cheyne has shown his originality and critical independence, although the proofs for this date have nowhere else, that I know of, been so fully and patiently given; but in the attempted allocation of the separate Psalms to distinctive periods within that era itself. Of this portion of his work a few words must be said later on. I will now go back to what I ventured to call the main thesis and grand conclusion of the first part—the post-Exilic origin of the entire Psalter.

This conclusion will be a bitter pill for many a reader, whether Jewish or Christian, to swallow. It is hard for many people to give up the traditional David. And, again, for most persons the pre-Exilic period of Jewish history is the more interesting and the more familiar. After Ezra the Bible history is ended, and even the Maccabean heroes, as Prof. Cheyne rightly complains, are somewhat vague and shadowy personalities for the mass of Jews and Protestants, whose canon of Sacred Scriptures does not include the Apocrypha. And now we are told that the most precious portion of the Bible altogether belongs to this dark and unfamiliar age, while the great majority of the Psalms (roughly, 107 out of 150) are to be assigned to that long blank period, empty of all known names or deeds, which stretches between Nehemiah and Judas the Maccabee. Nor is this all. We have to learn that the loss of David is a clear gain. "Everywhere the Psalter becomes more and not less human when regarded as the utterance of the nation" (p. 264, and note *k*, p. 276). To many, as Prof. Cheyne well knows, what to him "is affirmation and discovery, to them is negation and loss" (p. 74). Many an orthodox reader will be astonished to hear that "if the

Psalter, as a whole, is post-Exilic, the Christian apologist of the nineteenth century has everything to gain" (p. xxxi.).

It may then, perhaps, lead to a better appreciation and a clearer understanding of Prof. Cheyne's book for the younger student or general reader if I attempt, without any reference to particular Psalms, to answer the question: Why is the Psalter a product of the post-Exilic Period?

There are three general reasons. But reason number one is so large that it seems almost absurd to mention it. For it involves the whole theory of the newer Biblical criticism. Stated briefly, it comes to this: the Psalter is post-Exilic because of its developed religion. It is the lyric and liturgical reflection of the prophetic teaching, which could only arise when that teaching had been absorbed by an entire community. The monotheism which culminates in the doctrine of the Babylonian Isaiah is the assumption and starting-point of the Psalter. The Psalmists depend upon the Prophets, and succeed them. If these statements be true, it is obvious that they absolutely forbid the ascription of any Psalms to the pre-prophetic era. David's epoch is out of the question. Prof. Cheyne is always tender and considerate in dealing with points like these, but his language is wholly unreserved. "As critics, we cannot consistently suppose that the religious songs of David (if there were any) were as much above the spiritual capacities of the people as the Psalms, which, I will not say the later Jews, but which Ewald or Hitzig or Delitzsch assign to him. It would be only a step further to accept the Christianisation of David in Browning's well-known masterpiece" (p. 192, cp. 194). For the period reaching from Amos to the fall of the Jewish State, the prophets, so far as we know, were too isolated and exceptional preachers of the higher religion to admit of the existence of a number of sacred song-writers, such as the authors of the Psalter.

Prof. Cheyne indirectly bases a good deal upon this argument. Thus, with regard to Psalms xli. and xlviii. he rightly says: "The Jewish Church in Isaiah's time was far too germinal to have sung these expressions of daring monotheism and impassioned love of the temple" (p. 164). And, again, of Psalm vii.: "A church-psalm, in the proper sense of the word, is to me inconceivable as early as Jeremiah" (p. 196).

This last quotation leads on to the second general reason for seeking the origin of the Psalter in the post-Exilic period. That reason is found in the character of the Psalms themselves. What is the nature of that poem which we call a psalm? It is becoming more and more clear that the Psalms are closely connected with the community of Israel as a whole. Many are directly liturgical in

character, and were designed for temple use. In others there may have been an intention to sing them in the synagogues (p. 363). The Psalms are intensely national, or, more properly, they are intensely congregational. Israel as a whole, or the true Israel, as represented by the writer and his party, is almost invariably the subject of every Psalm. It follows that the Psalms could only have been composed at a time when there already existed a religious Israel, a *Keneset Yisrael*, conscious of its peculiar position and destiny among the nations of the world. In modern or Christian language it is the Jewish Church which produced the Psalms. "It is the consciousness of the Church, or of some leading members of the Church, which finds a voice in every part of the Psalter" (p. 258). Now, the nation of Israel did not become the congregation or Church of Israel till after the purgation of the Exile. The Psalms, then, which were conditioned by, and are the outcome of, that "Church consciousness," cannot have been written before the Exile.

The congregational and collective character of many Psalms (chiefly in the later books) is immediately obvious. That character is, however, to be extended almost to the entire collection, if Prof. Cheyne is right in holding that "it can be shown that in most cases, when the Psalmist uses the first person singular, the speaker is really either the Church or a typical pious Israelite" (p. 258 fin.). Our author is a strong but temperate advocate of the personification theory, in which, as he points out, modern exegesis has reverted to an ancient and mediæval interpretation. Students must carefully consider what he has to say upon this all-important question, and may usefully compare his utterances with Smend's more one-sided essay, *Ueber das Ich der Psalmen*, in Stade's *Zeitschrift* for 1888. Such a comparison will be all the more useful since Prof. Cheyne's views upon this subject, expressed both in his lectures and his commentary, were "formed independently of Smend," though he has been much helped by Olshausen, also a thorough-going exponent of the personification theory. But for those who naturally think that the religious value and applicability of the Psalter are lessened if the "I" be usually a "We," with whom the "I" feels himself identified in sympathy and interest, I will quote here a few very telling sentences from the sixth Lecture.

The religious poetry of Israel was fervent, just because its writers spoke for the community, having absorbed that passionate love of God and country which glowed in each of its members. . . . Never were there such prayers and praises as those of Israel, precisely because in the psalmists as such the individual consciousness was all but lost in the corporate. . . . Rarely do the Hebrew psalmists disclose their personality. They had, indeed, their private

joys and sorrows, but they did not make these the theme of song. The individual consciousness was not sufficiently developed for this, and so an unselfish religion was easier for them than it is for us. . . . In those parts of the Psalter which sound most distinctly individualistic, let us recognise the voice sometimes of the suffering and sin-conscious or jubilant and forgiven people of Israel, sometimes of the self-forgetting poet who accepts his share of the experiences of his people (p. 263-265).

It should be noticed, however, that Prof. Cheyne is on his guard against exaggeration. Compare his limiting remarks and qualifications on pp. 77, 122 top, 134, 248, 265, etc. Especially valuable is it that Prof. Cheyne admits and even emphasises the individual and personal character of some of the "mystic" Psalms.

It is not the Church but an individual who tells us in the 139th psalm that sleeping or waking he is ever busy with the thought of God (ver. 18), and an individual who in the 73rd so trustfully alludes to the plan by which his God leads him (ver. 24). Nor can the lovely 23rd psalm have merely a national reference, as some theorists have persuaded themselves, unless indeed the allegory in John x. can have a similarly restricted meaning. Which of us, even if we be critics, can believe that the writers of these Psalms do not pray in their own behalf? Yet we must with all emphasis affirm that the individual never felt himself standing alone—institutively he connected his personal joys and griefs with those of the Church-nation. (P. 319 fin.; 820 init. Cp. p. 377 note j, and p. 385.)

The third general reason for the post-Exilic origin of the Psalter is of a more literary character, and often depends upon other critical conclusions opposed to the opinions of tradition. The Psalter is full of references and parallels to other portions of Scripture. Some of these are clearly imitative; others are merely the result of similar circumstances and contemporary thought. If, then, the imitated or parallel passages are Exilic or post-Exilic, the Psalms in which the imitations and parallels occur are to be surely dated after the Return. If *e.g.* Zech. xii.-xiv. and Isaiah xxiv.-xxvii., are post-Exilic, the Psalms which are cognate to these fragments of prophecy are post-Exilic also. If the Priestly code was not accepted till Ezra, and if the legal period begins with his and Nehemiah's reforms, then the Psalms which sing the praises of the Law, and have other nomistic peculiarities, are at least of a post-Nehemian date. Such arguments may seem to an outsider to be reasonings within a circle, but they are really inferences from the more certain to the less certain, and as such are wholly justifiable. Still more conclusive and perspicuous are deductions drawn from imitations or parallels from acknowledged Exilic writers, such as II. Isaiah, or from those who are at least not earlier than the Exile, such as the author of Job.

The counter-arguments for a pre-Exilic date of individual Psalms can usually be met by rebutting evidence that greatly diminishes

their value. Thus, the frequent references to events in the pre-Exilic history, as if these had been but recently enacted before the Psalmist's eyes may be supposed to favour a pre-Exilic origin for the Psalms wherein they occur. But in truth such references are only "introduced dramatically" (p. 52); "dramatic lyrics" are a creation of the Psalmist's (p. 70). This dramatic element is either typical or didactic; both usages of past history are of themselves decisive against a pre-Exilic date (pp. 157, 165). Or, again, the references to kings may seem to argue for the era of the monarchy. But Prof. Cheyne shows that in the post-Exilic period there were also princes, both Jewish and foreign, to whom such passages may apply with equal aptitude. The Temple was no special characteristic of the monarchy, and it is odd to find Graetz sometimes using allusions to it as a mark of pre-Exilic date. Such allusions tell precisely in the contrary direction. That peculiar love of the single Divine sanctuary, so prominent in the Psalter, was not known in the days before the Exile (cf. pp. 316, 125 note *d*).

If, then, the Psalter (with the possible exception of Psalm xviii., pp. 205, 206) be entirely post-Exilic, can we be satisfied with such a vague relegation of its one hundred and fifty songs to a period extending over four hundred years? How far may it not be possible to assign the Psalms to particular sub-divisions of this period, and in doing so to watch and illustrate the better the internal history of Judaism in the long years between the age of Zerubbabel and the age of Simon the Maccabee? This is what Prof. Cheyne has essayed to do, and herein, as I mentioned before, lies the most original feature of the "Origin" portion of his book. The *terminus a quo* is the return from Babylon 536; the *terminus ad quem* is the death of Simon, 135 B.C.

These four hundred years fall into five divisions. The first extends from the return in 536 to the reform of Ezra in 444. The second may roughly be said to reach from Ezra to the middle of the reign of Artaxerxes II., and the tyranny of Bagoses (444—384) (Josephus *Antiq* XI. vii. 1). The third division comprises the remainder of the Persian period, and includes the evil days of Artaxerxes III. so often referred to in Prof. Cheyne's pages. As only very few (fifteen) Psalms are assigned to the first division, 536-444, the two main divisions of the Persian period for Psalmic purposes are those from 444 to 384, and from 384 to 333, the year of Issus and the overthrow of the Persian Empire by Alexander the Great. To these two divisions are assigned thirty-one and a-half and fifty-five Psalms respectively. Then, as division four, follows the Greek, but pre-Maccabean period, extending from 333 to about 170. To these years twenty and a-half Psalms are

given. Lastly, there comes the Maccabean era, from 170 to the death of Simon in 135; to these thirty-five years are allocated twenty-seven Psalms.

In addition to the evidence of the single Psalms themselves and to the help provided by the comparative method, viewing the Psalms, that is, "in the light of other Old Testament productions, the date of which has been approximately fixed" (p. xxxi.), Prof. Cheyne has arrived at his results by a careful consideration of the separate Psalters within the Psalter, and of what they imply as to date and origin of their respective collections, and more particularly by an elaborate study of the groups of Psalms which are discoverable within the entire book. Upon this study of the Psalms in groups he lays great stress (p. 9). By groups Prof. Cheyne means small collections of consecutive or nearly consecutive Psalms, which also possess common characteristics, though, of course, there are also groups formed by similarities of idea or phrase which are not necessarily in close local contiguity with each other, or again, a contiguous group may have outlying connections. Certain canons of criticism as regards date follow from the group theory. Thus, one should "regard all members of a group which have common characteristics as belonging to the same period" (p. 121). And thus, too, if some Psalms of any one group show marked characteristics of a particular period, it is reasonable to assign the remainder of the Psalms of that group to the same period, although the required characteristics in them are far less distinctly defined.

Each division of the post-Exile period has its own peculiar features, which can be applied as tests to any single Psalm or group. Omitting here for brevity's sake the pre-Nehemian period to which ten Psalms are referred, and omitting also the five Psalms which are contemporary with and allude to the events of Nehemiah's career, there remain the four other periods from 444 to 135, into which a hundred and thirty-four Psalms are fitted. The first is the earlier Persian period of some sixty years' duration, from the reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah to the middle of the reign of Artaxerxes II. (444—383). Upon the whole this was an era of quiet and prosperity, and Prof. Cheyne is inclined to ascribe to it such happier and more restful Psalms as do not show distinct marks of a later date. Thus Psalms xci. and xcii. were probably written "in that new sense of security and of energy awakened by Ezra and Nehemiah" (p. 73), while many of the happier songs of degrees fall within the same epoch (*e.g.*, cxxxiii., cxxi., cxxii., cxxiv.—cxxix.). Among Psalms of the first book which are placed in this division of the Persian period are xv., xxiii., xxiv., xxv., xxxii., xxxiv., xxxvi., and xxxvii.

When we reach the second division of the Persian period the

tests become more numerous. First, there are the literary or religious parallels to the comparatively numerous fragments of prophecy which belong to the same era. But secondly, and mainly, it was a time of trouble and persecution, of exile and apostasy. There was danger both without and within. Even the pious had begun to despond, and to question impatiently when and whether the covenant love of Yahveh towards his chosen people would be triumphantly revealed. It was a half century fruitful in Psalm literature. No less than fifty-five Psalms, according to Prof. Cheyne, belong to it, and undoubtedly, if these are rightly placed, they throw much light upon an epoch of which we otherwise know nothing except from a few sentences of Josephus and a highly important incidental note in the "early chronologist" Syncellus (p. 53 and p. 61, note *v.*, p. 72 fin., etc., and cf. Graetz, "The Last Chapter of Zechariah," *JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW*, pp. 208—219, vol. III.)

The pre-Maccabean Greek period is responsible for some twenty Psalms. Among its marks are allusions "to the expansion of the Church of Israel into the Church universal." "Conversions from heathenism" were then effected "not only at home, but abroad" (pp. 119, 131, cf. 33 note *q.*) For "it is in Psalms not improbably of the early Greek period that we find those pure expressions of catholicity—Ps. lxxxvi. 5, 9, 10, and above all Ps. lxxxvii., and if I may venture to assume no improbable hypothesis, the admission of a righteous foreign king among the number of the friends of Jehovah" (p. 296). The second half of this sentence refers to the author's theory, most ingeniously if not convincingly presented and worked out, that Psalms xlv. and lxxii. were written in praise of that friendly and upright sovereign Ptolemy Philadelphus of Egypt (pp. 141—146, 166—174).¹ But as the 160 years of the Greek period rolled by, darker features became more prominent. There was the "early Hellenistic paganising movement described by Josephus" (p. 198). This produced an anti-Hellenistic reaction, in which the term *khasidim* became first used as a distinct party name in the community. The reaction deepened into an "internal struggle of growing intensity which preceded the violent measures of Antiochus Epiphanes." Of that struggle Psalm cxix. "in particular contains traces" (p. 51).

The tests for the Maccabean era are very marked. They are clearly enunciated on pp. 16 and 95, and need not therefore be repeated here. Prof. Cheyne is cautious and temperate on the vexed question of Maccabean psalms. While avoiding the exaggerations of Hitzig and Olshausen, he has yet to my mind conclusively proved that such psalms there are. Of the twenty-seven Psalms which he allocates to this

¹ This is Hitzig's theory too as regards Psalm lxxii.

period, he is able in almost every case to suggest a probable incident or person to which or to whom they refer. Most generally interesting will perhaps be his ascription of Ps. cx., together with xx., xxi., lxi., lxiii. to Simon. As regards cx. his hypothesis seems to me extremely probable. The appendix "Last words on Maccabean Psalms" conveniently "chronicles the results of some former writers" (including Graetz); and then "sums up" his own.

Many scholars of different schools will have to study and sift Prof. Cheyne's conclusions as to the "Origin of the Psalter." Even if he is right, as I personally think that he is, in relegating the entire collection to the post-Exile era, the allocation of the separate Psalms to their respective periods will naturally need occasional correction, and certainly incur criticism. Of course Prof. Cheyne himself admits, nay, even emphasizes, that many of his results are only probable or tentative. It is not always possible for him to decide whether a given Psalm is of the Greek or Maccabean period, or again of the Persian or the Greek.

Difficulties here and there easily suggest themselves. Why, for instance, are the very earliest Psalms in the Psalter—i.e. xcvi.-c. (written, according to Prof. Cheyne, at the completion of the second temple, 515) not found in the "earliest of the minor Psalters," but in the latest collection? Are they not poems as striking as Psalm cxxxvii.? (p. 70 init.).¹ Sometimes again the tests for the respective periods strike one as insufficiently marked, or it seems as if the same tests were occasionally applied to more than one division. Thus for instance, in assigning Psalms vii. and xvii. to the second half of the Persian period, it is stated that "it is no objection to this [date] that a strong consciousness of legal righteousness is expressed" in them (page 229; cf. p. 91). On page 119 the contrast between lxxxvi. 2, in which "the speaker pleads for preservation on the ground of his piety" and cxliii. 2, in which "he deprecates judgment because before God no man living is righteous," is noted as a significant difference, fortifying the opinion that Psalm cxliii. belongs to the Persian period, and Psalm lxxxvi. to the succeeding or Hellenic age. It seems odd, though the contradiction is not much more than verbal, to read on page 48, "in itself the term *Khasidim* is not distinctively Maccabean," and on page 49, to find the words "that distinctively Maccabean term *Khasidim*." Occasionally one doubts whether to the troublous times of Artaxerxes II., and especially of Artaxerxes III. there has not been given too rich and manifold a productivity. The second half of the Persian period may tend to

¹ Hitzig and Olshausen's relegation of these Psalms to the Maccabean period is not impossible.

become perhaps "somewhat too full of literature, especially considering the troubles of the time," just as the seventh century did with previous critics (page 135). But such criticisms as these are comparatively insignificant. The point remains that Prof. Cheyne's allocations are upon the whole intelligible and explanatory. They throw light both upon the Psalms themselves and upon the general course of post-Exilic Judaism, and it may be expected with some confidence that a large number of them will stand the test of present criticism as well as of future study.

The Psalter being thus proved to be a manual of post-Exilic piety, it has become the most valuable and sincere exponent which we possess of varying church opinions in matters religious and theological from about 516 to 136 B.C. Prof. Cheyne's last three lectures deal with the religious contents of the Psalms, and as the eighth lecture has been greatly expanded since its delivery, this second portion of his work constitutes about four-ninths of the whole. The necessary limits of a review do not allow me to enter with any adequate fullness upon the consideration of this second, and to many readers more interesting section.

It would have been more satisfactory if at least as many lectures as were devoted to the "origin" could have been allotted to the "contents." For the exposition is at times too sketchy, and the transitions not marked with sufficient clearness. Divers points of interest have to be relegated to the notes (Psalmist's conception of sin; God's holiness, etc.). The three most important subjects dealt with, though at very unequal length, are: first, the Messianic element in the Psalter; secondly, the influence of Zoroastrianism upon post-Exilic Jewish thought; thirdly, and in close connection with this, the question whether and in what form the doctrines of immortality and judgment after death are to be met with in the Psalms.

The second part of the sixth Lecture is mainly occupied with a discussion upon the anthropomorphisms of the Psalter, the name Yahveh, or Jehovah, and its meaning to the Psalmists; and lastly, with the universalist and particularist elements so curiously mingled in the Psalter. Here, so far as our knowledge of the Psalter itself is concerned, there is little new, but the remarks upon the word Jehovah, and the justifications for its modern use are very interesting and suggestive (pp. 287—291). The same may be said of Lecture VII., Part I., which discusses, without much novelty but in a fresh and stimulating way, the Psalmists' conceptions of heaven and the temple, together with the various divine agencies, such as the Word, the Spirit, and the Angels, that became as it were the links between the transcendental God and the world of nature and of man. Prof. Cheyne is thoroughly in his element when-

ever he touches on the mythic elements of, or on the conscious employment of mythic terms in the Bible; and so here again we find some useful and excellent remarks. Characteristic is the close of the penultimate paragraph of this part:—

..... Myths are not necessarily fables, and are wholly exempt from the criticism of the lower reason. Some myths at least were regarded in the early Church as symbols of truths which could not otherwise be expressed. And can it be shown that the capacity of man for apprehending supersensible facts has been materially widened? Cannot poetry still enter where dogmatic theology stands without? (p. 326).

Lecture VII., Part II., discusses the deepened and purer conception of God in the post-Exilic period, and how Israel's divine shepherd was now no mere chieftain or ruler, but an educator and friend. At the close of the section there are some very good remarks upon the Law, both in a narrower and wider sense, as one of the means whereby "Jehovah guides or educates his flock." These remarks are introduced by the pregnant sentence: "The religion of Israel could never have risen so high [as it did in the post-Exilic period] had it been always under the tutelage even of prophets like Isaiah" (p. 348), and they are ended at the foot of the next page by its being pointed out, in words that will, I fancy, even satisfy Mr. Schechter, that the Jewish conception of Law had "become transformed."

To the early Israelites a law was an ordinance and nothing more, but to restored Israel it formed part of a rule of life, divine in its origin, but human in its exquisite adaptation to the circumstances of the people. Penalties might give this rule a frowning aspect, but only to those who saw not that righteousness was the one condition of Israel's continuance and of the Messianic salvation. It was from the consciousness of this that more and more the Israelites regarded the Law as the crowning proof of Jehovah's love. "He declared his word unto Jacob, his statutes and ordinances unto Israel" (Ps. cxlvii. 19) is the climax of thanksgiving to a contemporary of Simon the Maccabee; and one of the oldest prayers in the Jewish liturgy calls upon 'our Father' and 'our King' to "teach us, as thou didst teach our fathers, statutes of life" (p. 349 fin.).

In the first section of the eighth Lecture it is, however, ably shown that "it was not possible to erect the 'Mosaic' Law into an absolute standard of religious truth." For "the growing regard in the Church for the records of the old prophecy protested against it" (p. 364). Leviticus vi. 8, "This is the law of the burnt-offering" was in too flagrant a contradiction to Jeremiah vii. 22, "I spake not unto your fathers . . . concerning burnt-offerings or sacrifices," and "how could Jeremiah and (the Second) Isaiah be said to be on a lower level than Moses? Hence 'Moses and the Prophets' together were honoured as the Torah in the wider sense, and were fully recognised as such in the Sabbath lessons of the Synagogues" (pp. 364—366).

Prof. Cheyne goes on to point out that "the inevitable result of the variety in the contents of the Torah was the growth, first of all, of schools of thought," subsequently in post-Psalter times developing into "societies and sects or parties." The varying "schools of thought" he illustrates from the Psalter's varying attitude towards sacrifices, touching with marked sympathy upon the Psalms of the "Puritan school" (xl.a, l, li.). Psalmist conceptions of repentance and obedience, and lastly, as conditioning the former, of the Divine loving-kindness (ידין), conclude the section (pp. 363—374). On such semi-technical words of the Psalter's religious vocabulary as ידין, Prof. Cheyne is always at his best, and his remarks upon ידין in this lecture, with the accompanying notes, may be profitably compared with and added to his discussions upon the same word in his commentaries both upon the Psalms and Hosea.

The three main points of interest indicated above in the "religious contents" portion of Prof. Cheyne's book are precisely those on which least can here be said, as each for its proper discussion and criticism would involve an essay for itself. My remarks can therefore be but brief and purely analytical in character.

"The Psalter," says Prof. Stade somewhere, "is the most Messianic book in the Old Testament." Prof. Cheyne takes a different view. First, as to the question of a personal Messiah. He now holds that no Psalm directly foretells or alludes to the coming of any such *individual*. Psalms xlv. and lxxii. refer to a present and not to a future king, i.e., Ptolemy Philadelphus. Thus, when the poet of the latter Psalm says: "His name shall last for ever; while the sun shines his name shall be perpetuated; and men shall bless themselves in him, all nations shall tell of his felicity," all that is meant is, "May the Messianic promises be visibly fulfilled in and through this kind and equitable ruler" (p. 145). Psalm cx. is "a glorification of Simon" the Maccabee (p. 24). The writer regards his own Maccabean times as "germinally Messianic. . . . The Asmonæan family will, as the Psalmist believes, furnish a line of Messianic princes, whose victories will become more and more splendid till they correspond to the grand description in Psalm ii." (p. 22). Psalm ii., on the other hand, is a "dramatic lyric." In it "the writer throws himself back into a distant age," namely, "the Davidic or Solomonian."

In Psalm xviii. the idealising poet speaks in the name of David, as if the world's dominion were already his. It was only a step further for another poet to speak in the name of the king (see Ps. ii. 7-9), as if that dominion not only had been won, but was now being disputed by rebel kings. Psalm ii. is therefore the complement of Psalm xviii., but written from a later point of view. [It belongs to the late Persian or early Greek period.] Like that Psalm it prophesies of the Messiah, but only to one who can 'pierce below the

surface,' and recognise that spirit or tendency which carries a poet beyond himself, and makes his words symbolically prophetic (p. 239 fin.).

Secondly, such Psalms as xxiv. and xlvii. Prof. Cheyne interprets of the present or immediate past, not of the future (p. 350, note c). Lastly, in such Psalms as xxii., just as in the Servant passages of II. Isaiah, the "I" is a personification. I ventured in 1888, while reviewing Prof. Cheyne's Commentary, to doubt whether an interpretation "naturally delightful to a Christian" had not suggested his then individualist and prophetic interpretation of Psalm xxii. The present lectures justify the suspicion of three years ago. It is now stated that "the complaints of Psalm xxii. are uttered by the faithful in Jerusalem, who are the kernel of the restored nation, and in whom the genius of Israel is most adequately represented" (p. 263). "In Isaiah liii. likewise it is the genius of Israel as personified, not in one historic personage alone, but in the Israel *κατὰ πνεῦμα*, which speaks" (p. 264, cp. 275, note h).

Of all the various groups of Messianic Psalms Prof. Cheyne justly sums up the character in the following weighty paragraph :—

All these Psalms are (let me say it again, for it concerns modern apologists to be frank) only Messianic in a sense which is psychologically justifiable. They are, as I have shown, neither typically, nor in the ordinary sense, prophetically Messianic. What is the fundamental idea of the Messianic Psalms? Simply this—that the people of Israel is to work out the Divine purposes in the earth, and to do this with such utter self-forgetfulness that each of its own successes shall add but a fresh jewel to Jehovah's crown. Whether a king (past, present, or future), or the people of Israel, is referred to, makes no difference. The Messianic king is primarily the representative of the Messianic people. Special gifts are only granted to him that he may the better lead the people to the conquest of the nations. And the final aim is that with or against their will all mankind may be united under the righteous sway of Jehovah. Even in that grandest of the more strictly Messianic Psalms, in which the king enthroned on Zion is called the 'Son of Jehovah' Himself (Psalm ii. 7), the concluding verses point us to the heavenly King as the true Lord of the nations, and pronounce those alone happy who take refuge in Him (p. 340).

The second point of special interest indicated above was the influence of Zoroastrianism upon post-Exilic Jewish thought, especially in the direction of the doctrine of the future life. Certainly Prof. Cheyne should have increased the sale of Avesta translations and expositions! He will surely have sent many of us to a perusal or re-perusal of those Gathas he praises so warmly. The generous catholic spirit in which Prof. Cheyne speaks of the religions and great men of the East is always a delightful feature of his books. It is nowhere better illustrated than in the present lectures (pp. 268, 269, 271, 280 note y, 397—401). The "critical historian of Israel" does not limit God's inspiration to the ranks of a single people.

Spiritual prophecy is not peculiar to the Semites; Zarathustra was as true and as original a prophet as Isaiah and Jeremiah. The two latter consciously received a call from Jehovah, and so did Zarathustra from the same true God under his name Ahura (p. 435).

But enthusiastic as Prof. Cheyne is about "Zarathustra" and the Gathas, he is very temperate in his estimate of the influence of Persia (as of the influence of Babylon) on the religion of Israel (pp. 269—272). His conclusion is shortly given in the analysis. "Where the same or analogous belief existed in Israel and among the Babylonians or the Persians, the development of these must have been helped forward in Israel by its contact with born adherents of the other religion" (p. 256). I do not, however, clearly gather that any important *belief* was, according to Prof. Cheyne, and, in spite of his analysis, "helped forward" in its "development" by contact with the Babylonians. His language is not quite plain upon this point, but I do not understand him to mean that II. Isaiah's uncompromising monotheism was partly produced or "helped forward" by that "genuinely Babylonian" idea of "a moral conception of God as the ruler of the universe, all powerful and all wise, just and yet compassionate" (p. 269). It would be interesting to have his judgment upon this question more distinctly defined. As regards Persia, "excluding for the present the resurrection belief" (p. 256), "it is only on such secondary points as the time of the first prayer, the number and personality of angels, and the existence of demons and evil spirits that we can imagine Jewish believers to have been directly and absolutely indebted to their new lords. To say that the lofty mysticism of the Psalms is of Persian origin is only a few degrees less rash than to derive it from Babylonia" (p. 272).

But how then stands the case with regard to that very "Resurrection belief," purposely left over in the sixth Lecture, but fully treated in the expanded second section of the final chapter of the Professor's book? That section must be read in conjunction with the two lectures on "Possible Zoroastrian Influences on the Religion of Israel," delivered in the spring of this year, and published in the June, July, and August numbers of the "Expository Times." Our author's theory is that "no important belief of the Jewish Church was in the strict sense borrowed, but that without foreign influence some of its greatest beliefs would not, so far as we can see, have been fully reached" (p. 402). Of these greatest beliefs, then, the most important are the doctrines of Resurrection and Immortality. Existing germs were quickened by contact with Zoroastrianism. Those who read Lecture VIII. part 2 (with its notes) repeatedly, together with the "Possible Zoroastrian Influences" in the "Expository Times," will I think, be much inclined to believe that, so far as such hypotheses are

capable of proof, this one has advanced several steps in that direction. But what does "contact with Zoroastrianism" mean? Not, of course, that "any of the Jews actually read the Gathic hymns" (E. T., p. 204, col. 2), but rather that "Zoroastrian ideas were in the air, and circulated freely throughout the empire. This was facilitated, so far as Israel was concerned, by the constant intercourse which existed between the Jews of Persia and Mesopotamia and those of Palestine" (E. T., p. 224, col. 1, n. 1). And "even now the ideas of book-religions are not propagated merely by their religious books" (E. T., p. 225, col. 2, n. 1).

Now in the next place, what were the germs which were developed under Zoroastrian influence? They were certain "surmises" to which Prof. Cheyne all the more willingly appeals, because "the surmises of one age become the anticipations of the next" (p. 383). There are three groups of them. (1.) Expressions such as those in Hosea vi. 2, and Ezek. xxxvii. 1-10, which "directly refer only to a national resurrection, but which imply the possibility of the resurrection of individuals." (2.) The Elisha miracle in 2 Ki. xiii. 21, the ascension of Elijah in 2 Ki. ii. 11, and the story of Enoch in Gen. v. 22. (3.) The "tree of life" story in Genesis, which "attests a belief among the Israelites as well as in Babylon in the possibility of escaping death." All these passages are either pre-Exilic or Exilic, all therefore prior to the quickening contact with Zoroastrianism.

At this point in the argument Prof. Cheyne proposes this question:—

Now, assuming, as we must, that the thinkers of the post-Exile Church brooded over these surmises, this was the question which they must have sought to answer, Can an ordinary Israelite, who is neither an Enoch nor an Elijah, and is but too apprehensive of 'secret faults,' hope so to walk with God in perfectness of heart that Sheol shall not finally prevail against him? (p. 384).

Many thinkers answered this question in the negative, but it was at least possible to answer yes, just as (perhaps it should have been added) it was even possible to ask the question, not only because of contemporaneous Zoroastrianism, but also because of an internal and native religious development by which Jehovah's covenant had now "explicitly or implicitly been extended to the individual" (p. 385). The Psalms that witness to this extension and illustrate it are those the authors of which "so strongly realise the hidden and yet revealed centre of the highest spiritual truth that I venture to call them the mystical school." And it is among the mystic psalm group, that three out of the four great test passages occur which criticism and exegesis alike may fairly interpret as referring to communion with God, or moral compensation after death (p. 390). Every student knows which these passages are, and it is unnecessary

to do more than name them, viz. : Ps. xvii. 15, xvi. 10, 11, and lxxiii. 23-26. The fourth passage is xlix. 15, 16, the first of these verses appearing to refer to a judgment-resurrection, but the second to an individualistic immortality.

Criticism, as I have just suggested, here helps exegesis. Exegetically it is possible to deny that these passages contain any reference whatever to any kind of life beyond the grave. But assuming the post-Exilic date in the late Persian or pre-Maccabæan Greek period, the contrary interpretation, exegetically at least as possible, becomes of equal, if not of greater, antecedent probability. Whether in these four passages it is implied that the "fellowship with God" shall begin immediately after death, just as the question in what bodily or spiritual condition the death-emancipated personality shall enjoy the divine communion, may be left at present uncertain. But as regards the second point, Prof. Cheyne rightly notices that the dualism of spirit and body, arising out of the dualism of God and the world, began "slowly to be recognised" in the post-Exilic period, as Ps. lxxiii. 26 clearly indicates (p. 422).

The wider interpretation of the test passages in Ps. xvi., xvii., lxxiii., as well as xlix., is therefore justified in the light of their late post-Exilic origin and the presence of Zoroastrian influences. For in the religion of "Zarathustra" there can be found the ideas (1) of personal immortality, the moral compensation of good and bad, and (2) of a subsequent bodily resurrection and of a universal judgment. A sympathetic presentment of Zoroastrian teaching on these subjects is given on pp. 394-401, with which may be compared E.T., June (pp. 204, 205).

Such being the character of the Zoroastrian ideas "in the air," to the influence of which the Jews were subjected, Prof. Cheyne then essays to show that the Psalm passages quoted above imply not only the "idea of the future moral compensation of the good," but "a general re-adjustment of circumstances," or "general retribution after death" in what was afterwards called the 'coming age' (p. 390). For the Jewish church was not uninfluenced by the profound Zoroastrian doctrine, "which came to it from a religion so congenial in some respects to its own" (p. 401). Under God's providential ruling there arose in the late Persian period "both prophets and psalmists who were able to select precisely what was needed to fill up the Church's theology. Prophetic writers eagerly assimilated the belief in a final and complete re-adjustment of circumstances to character, and Psalmists the hope of a nearer sight of God after death" (p. 402 init.).

In the Book of Isaiah there are three passages, each belonging, according to Prof. Cheyne, to the late Persian period, which

contain prophetic parallels to Psalm xlix. These are Isaiah xxv. 8, xxvi. 19, and lxvi. 22—24 (cp. lxxv. 17—22). The first two distinctly refer not to immortality in our modern sense, but to the annihilation of death and the rise of the righteous at the opening of the Messianic age. As to lxvi. 24, Prof. Cheyne argues that this verse, when taken in conjunction with lxxv. 17—22, and lxvi. 22, implies another part which "we have to supply for ourselves. Must not the joys of those who rest from their labours be as intense as these tortures? Must not everlasting life (localised we cannot say how) correspond to everlasting 'abhorrence'? Otherwise, the principle of compensation affirmed in Is. lxxv. 13, 14, will be imperfectly carried out. Such thoughts as these must have vaguely stirred in the prophet's mind" (p. 405).

And, returning to the Psalms, it now becomes probable that the "dawn" of xlix. 15 is "a figure for the opening of the new order of things which later Judaism called 'the coming age'" (p. 406 fin.), while the "awakening" of xvii. 15 "probably means the passing of the soul into a resurrection body. The 'sleep' from which the soul awakens is, in this case, not the sleep of life, but the so-called 'sleep' of the intermediate state, which is not without a quiet and unearthly bliss, and which is described again and again in subsequent literature, and hinted at, not indeed in Ps. cxlix. 5, but perhaps in Ps. xxii. 30" (p. 407, cp. p. 430, note *p*). As regards xvi. 10, 11, and lxxiii. 24—27, it is not certain whether these passages also refer to a renewal of life not immediately after death, but only at the Judgment Day or Messianic era, and thus, like the authors of xlix. and xvii., "assume an intermediate state of departed souls."

In this case, they leap over the 'sleep,' in their eagerness for the 'awakening.' But in the light of Zoroastrian belief it is permissible to think that the soul, according to these writers, passes directly from this world to the Beatific Vision. It would be absurd to dogmatise on such a point. The latter opinion seems to tally best with the high mysticism of Ps. xvi. and lxxiii., and, in spite of what has been said above, we may, if we will, interpret Ps. xvii. on the same theory. . . . Still there is nothing in the former theory to which the mystic Psalmists might not, in deference to the majority, have accommodated themselves. The world's great change was expected so shortly that the brief waiting-time might easily be leaped over, and, as we have seen, the interval was not one of gloom and distress for the righteous. The fate of the wicked in both worlds is possibly alluded to in Pss. xvi. 4a, lxxiii. 27; at any rate, the Psalmists must have known that some of their readers would suppose this (pp. 407 fin., 408 init.).

With these results obtained from the four test Psalms, Prof. Cheyne proceeds to argue for the presumption of the "largest view" in some other passages of far more doubtful interpretation, *i.e.*,

xxxvi. 10; xi. 7; cxl. 14; xli. 13; lxiii. 9, 10; xxi. 5; xlv. 3; lxxii. 5. (p. 408; cp. E.T., August, pp. 248-253).

The general conclusion that "among the religious ideas of the Psalter are those of immortality and resurrection" (p. 409), found already in the late Persian period, is then confirmed and justified by parallel but more developed passages in the subsequent literature. Such parallels are not to be traced in the Wisdom literature, whether of the Old Testament or of the (Palestinian) Apocrypha, but from the Maccabæan age onward there is a rich ingathering of them to be reaped from other sources. First comes the famous passage in Maccabæan Daniel, xii. 2, which surely should have been considered here rather than among the Isaiah quotations of the Persian period. Here, in 164 B.C., "we have a definite doctrine of resurrection expressed in a way which shows that it was no novelty. The seeds which Zoroastrianism and some earlier Jewish writers had sown had sprung up" (p. 406). Then in order are briefly discussed illustrative passages in the Psalms of Solomon, the Book of Enoch, the New Testament, the older Rabbinical literature, the Targums, and finally in Josephus' statements respecting the Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes. Here, however, the student must follow the Professor for himself. I would only call attention to the slow growth of the conception of "a foretaste of the Beatific Vision prior to the judgment" (p. 413), of "an immediate vision of God by the departed righteous soul" (p. 414). For this conception, which Prof. Cheyne rightly calls the "goal," is practically the only form of a future life which has any meaning or reality to the modern world. Both conceptions, however, whether that of judgment resurrection, or personal and immediate immortality, can be illustrated in Palestinian Jewish writings, and are there the product of Persian influence and not of Greek (p. 423-425). With a brief argument to sustain this theory the lectures are brought to a close.

Unable as I have always been to cordially accept the narrower interpretation of Psalms xvi., xvii., xlix., and lxxiii., while yet almost equally unable to clearly see my way to an emphatic acceptance of the contrary hypothesis, I confess that the arguments and illustrations in Prof. Cheyne's eighth Lecture have largely enabled me to understand how criticism may urge us on towards that fuller interpretation which is, at any rate, possible, if not even probable, on purely exegetical grounds. I hope that other and riper students who were similarly undecided may be similarly helped forward in the direction of Prof. Cheyne's view. For though it is of no great intrinsic importance whether the doctrine of immortality was reached in Israel a few decades earlier or later, it is pleasant to think that we need not go beyond the Old Testament (even so far as the Wisdom of

Solomon) to greet its first appearance. It is even more pleasant to find the doctrine in the Psalter, the devotional Encheiridion among the Biblical books, and reclaimed there for those Psalms in which from childhood we were taught to seek it.

My analysis of the Bampton Lectures has spread to greater length than I had at first intended, and I have no space to call attention to any of the numerous subsidiary points of interest scattered throughout the book. In conclusion I would only indicate, as is but just in the pages of a Jewish magazine, the full knowledge shown by Prof. Cheyne of the researches of modern Jewish scholars. A glance at the Index reveals the names of Castelli, Derenbourg, Frankl, Freudenthal, Geiger, Golziher, Graetz, Halévy, Joel, Jost, Kalisch, Kohut, Krochmal, Neubauer, Sachs and Zunz, some of whom are repeatedly quoted in Prof. Cheyne's pages. Lastly, treading for one moment upon dangerous ground, I should like to ask unprejudiced Jewish readers of Prof. Cheyne's book to a careful consideration of the three opening paragraphs of the seventh Lecture. I have above quoted the closing words of the same lecture as an illustration of the author's candour and sympathy on a subject which Christian scholars are naturally accustomed to treat in the light of Christian prepossessions. The outset of the lecture may enable Jewish readers to set themselves a lesson in the same essential qualities for the student of religious history. To the great questions opened up by those initial paragraphs I hope, should life be granted me, at some future, even if distant, time to return.

C. G. MONTEFIORE.

Santa Caterina, August 11th, 1891.

The Jews of Russia.

Les Juifs de Russie: Recueil d'articles et d'études sur leur situation légale, sociale et économique. Paris: Librairie Léopold Cerf, 1891. Pp. 447. Pr. 3fr. 50c.

M. ISIDORE LOEB, the learned and accomplished secretary of the *Alliance Israélite*, has made a noteworthy contribution to the literature of the Russo-Jewish question in this volume. The work is partly original, and partly a compendium of the chief articles that have already appeared on the subject. Some of these are translations of well-known English essays and pamphlets, as E. B. Lanin's famous *Fortnightly* article, "The Jews in Russia"; *Blackwood's* article on "The Czar and the Jews"; the Russo-Jewish Committee's pamphlet on "The Persecution of the Jews in Russia"; the report of the Man-

sion House meeting, and extracts from the *Times* article of October 9th and 13th, 1890, on "The New Laws against the Jews," and from the *Daily Telegraph* article of August 4th, 1890, on "The Jews of Russia." Upon these there is no necessity to comment, as they are all familiar to the English reader; but the remainder of the work, being new to him and of considerable importance, calls for attention in this review.

There is, first, the article of M. Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu, on "The New Laws against the Jews," reproduced from the *Journal des Débats* of August 15th, 1890. Few will dissent from the view Beaulieu puts forward as to the nature and source of the antipathy of which the Jewish population of Russia are the objects. It is not, he says, religious fanaticism from which they suffer, but rather "Nationalism"—i.e., the spirit of racial exclusiveness—a sentiment which is fostered for purposes of political aggrandisement. This tendency, which is not altogether peculiar to Russia, is known in Russia as Panslavism, in Germany as Teutonism, in Hungary as Magyarism. It assumes a religious character in Russia because of the identity of Church and State; but its object is really to unify the numerous races which constitute the Russian Empire. The unity of the State is to be promoted by religious unity.

This essay of Beaulieu is followed by another, on "The Russian Jews and their Ghetto," taken from the third volume of the writer's *L'Empire des Tsars et les Russes*, and important for the views it expresses as to the fitness of the Jews for agriculture. He says:—

The Jew, it is true, is not a cultivator. This is just one of the difficulties of the Semitic question in the East of Europe, where, urban life being as yet little developed, agriculture is the great resource of the population. Why has the Jew abandoned the plough for centuries? The whole history of the Jews answers, Because for two thousand years he has been divorced from the soil. The laws themselves have throughout the Middle Ages imprisoned him in the ghetti of towns. But we know that urban populations never return to field labour. The inhabitant of a city never becomes a peasant again. This is a law of history which is only too truly confirmed by all our civilisation and social development. In this respect the Jew is not different from other races. The hard labour of the soil is one of those things to which man never goes back once he has quitted it. The Jew would not even always have the physical force for it. His muscular energy has been enfeebled. His urban life, his confinement in ghetti, have debilitated and anæmiated him for centuries. The military statistics of Russia are proof of this. Proportionately more Jews have to be exempted from service than Russians, Poles, or Lithuanians. A large number of Jews are not of the regulation height, or do not possess the necessary width of chest. The race has suffered too long from that physiological weakness which is the inevitable consequence of economical evils.

If this theory be correct, there must be an end, and a speedy one, to all schemes for establishing agricultural colonies of Jews in the Old

and New Worlds. But surely the Jewish race possesses greater aptitude for such pursuits than Beaulieu gives it credit for. In the case of the Jew, whose very existence after so many centuries of vicissitude is an anomaly which baffles explanation, it is always hazardous to argue on the basis of historical laws. As a matter of fact, the latest and most authentic accounts that have reached us testify strongly to the agricultural capacity of the Jews of Russia. We know how successful Vineland and some other colonies have been in America. And now Mr. Arnold White, who has just been studying the condition of the Russian Jews on the spot, assures us that in the Jewish agricultural colonies of Chertov and Ekaterinoslav there is a population of 30,000 souls subsisting entirely by agriculture. (*Spectator*, July 11th, 1891; *New Review*, August, 1891.)¹

Interesting as are the contributions of Beaulieu, greater significance must be attached to an essay by Prince Démidoff San Donato, on the Jewish Question in Russia (St. Petersburg, 1883). This essay comprises a most valuable *resumé* of the history of the Jewish Question up to the present time, a brief outline of which, as the subject has never been adequately treated in English, will not be out of place in these pages.

Up to the end of last century, Jews were rigorously excluded from Russia proper, for fear they should convert the masses from Christianity. For this reason it was prohibited in 1676 for Jews to pass from Smolensk to Moscow, and an order was issued to expel any Jews found in the Ukraine (Little Russia), and other parts of the Empire. A similar ukase was published in 1742, in the reign of Elizabeth. In the following year (1743), it was sought to modify this restriction by representing to the Senate that the presence of Jews in Little Russia and in Riga would be useful to the State. But without effect. The Empress declared that she desired no pecuniary advantage from the enemies of Christ! Her successor, Catherine II., did not dare to relax these laws for fear of displeasing her subjects.

When in 1772 White Russia (Vitebsk, Mohilev and Smolensk) and other Polish and Lithuanian provinces were annexed to Russia, it was found impossible to expel the Jews, who were already settled in large numbers in these regions. Then for the first time it became necessary for the Government to deal with the Jewish Question. The first law which treated of their position was passed in 1786, in the reign of Catherine II. It declared that everyone should enjoy the rights and advantages conformable to his state and position without distinction of religion or nationality. It permitted Jews to join corporations of merchants and trade guilds, and to enjoy equal rights with them, but

¹ M. Loeb gives some statistics (p. 366) to the same effect.

this was restricted to those provinces which have since been marked out as the Jewish Pale of Settlement. This restriction is formally mentioned in the ukase of 1791. In 1794, Jews who wished to avail themselves of this privilege were ordered to pay double the taxes due from other merchants and workmen. In the reign of Paul II., the same benefits and restriction were extended to Courland, where Jews had resided for 200 years. In 1804, in the reign of Alexander I., a new and important Jewish law was passed, and it evinced strikingly liberal sentiments. It authorised Jews to send their children to public seminaries, and to purchase and rent lands, so that they might devote themselves to agriculture and manufactures. Moreover, it promised to restore single taxation. The exploitation of village inns belonging to Jews was strictly forbidden, and in order to discourage such exploitation, it was decreed that the Jews should be transferred from the villages to the towns. But such transference was matter of no slight difficulty, and in 1808 the Minister of the Interior reported to the Emperor that it would be impossible to carry it into effect without causing the Jews to die of starvation. Accordingly, the same year (December 29th, 1808), the measure was suspended, and in the following year a commission was nominated to advise how the same object might be attained by other means. This commission met under the presidency of Privy-Councillor Popoff, and after sitting for three years issued a report. The report stated that in former times the Jews of Poland, deprived of the right of possessing land and practising agriculture, had come to be employed in different operations by their landlords, and to devote themselves exclusively to commerce and the distillation of spirits. It then proceeded to show what would be the result of transporting the Jews to towns. Drunkenness would not diminish, it being as general in the governments of St. Petersburg, Livonia, and Esthonia, where there were no Jews, as elsewhere. The miserable condition of the peasantry in White Russia was caused by the general state of the country, not by the Jews. In the Governments of the South-West, where Jews resided, the peasants were prosperous. Their removal would therefore only aggravate the position of the peasantry, deprived, as they would then be, of these useful intermediaries in their sales of corn, and purchases of salt and iron. The sale of spirits did not enrich the Jews themselves, but their Christian landlords, from whom they obtained the licence to distil. If the Jews were transported to towns, not being able to find a sufficiency of work, they would die of hunger, or if they obtained work, it could only be at the expense of their co-religionists already settled in the towns. The Commission, therefore, recommended the abrogation of Article 34 of the Ukase of 1804, but the Government contented itself with allowing the article to fall into disuse.

At the same time, several expulsions took place on the application of commercial rivals of the Jews. In 1829, the merchants of the Baltic provinces, in 1846, the blacksmiths of Zitomir, and in 1853, the inhabitants of Kamenetz-Podolski, petitioned for this object. At times such petitions were granted, at times refused. In 1829, even the Karaite Jews were expelled from Trok, though ordinarily this sect has been specially favoured by the Russian Government. In 1838, an enactment was revived, which prohibited Jews from living in the best parts of Wilna. Generally, when their expulsion from a particular place was petitioned for, the report of the local authorities would prove favourable to them. That of Kiev in 1827, *e.g.*, stated that the demands of the merchants were simply inspired by envy. In 1833, the official report asserted that the presence of Jews was useful to the Christian consumer, who paid less for his goods than he would have had to pay to a Christian dealer.

The Government had not abandoned the idea of promoting agriculture among its Jewish subjects. In 1804, it assigned territory for this purpose in New Russia, and in 1810, between three and four thousand persons of both sexes had been transplanted, at their own request, to farms in the Government of Cherson. The establishment of Jewish agricultural colonies continued down to 1860. Similar attempts were made in Siberia, in the Governments of Tomsk and Omsk.

It was altogether impossible, considering the circumstances in which they were made, that such attempts should generally succeed. In the first place, instead of establishing the Jewish colonies in neighbouring territories, they were transported to distant places, whose climate they were quite unaccustomed to. Belonging to the poorest classes, and already debilitated by suffering, they had to undergo the privations of long and toilsome journeys. Then, also, they were ignorant of agriculture, and without agricultural implements, houses, and utensils, and they were set down in the midst of deserts, on a barren soil which required to be treated by the most experienced methods. Of course, mortality and disease made severe ravages among the colonists. As almost anyone could have foreseen, the experiments hopelessly failed, while the officials charged to carry them out did their best to contribute to the failure. The Government allowed 175 roubles to each family, thirty being given to the colonists themselves, and the remainder kept in hand by the administration for the purchase of houses and agricultural implements. But so corrupt were the administrators that everything they provided was worthless. Some of the houses were not big enough to receive a middle-sized man; many of them fell to pieces as soon as they were set up. The settlers suffered terribly from cold and damp and scurvy. Those who went to Siberia were cruelly

treated by the officers in charge of them, and on arriving at their destination, perished in great numbers, having received neither the corn nor live stock that had been promised them.

A new law, marking an epoch in the history of Russian Jews, was promulgated in 1835. While embodying the substance of previous legislation concerning them it marked a new departure in their treatment, which has continued in force down to the present day. The characteristic of this enactment was that it distinguished the Jews as a class apart from other Russians. For the ordinary Russian, what was not actually prohibited was assumed to be permitted, but for the Jew, what was not expressly permitted was illegal. It is this enactment which has confined Jews to the Pale of Settlement, prohibited them from acquiring or managing landed property, and ordered that every Jew, even if he would live in a village, must be enrolled as member of an urban community of his co-religionists. Even Jewish villagers were to be separated from the Christian inhabitants. Jews were to be taxed collectively. Their conscriptions to the army were to be furnished in the same way. In each case the *Kahal* ("Jewish congregation"), was liable to the Government. Moreover, the Government expressly authorised these congregations to draft into the army every Jew who had rendered himself obnoxious to his community. Thus Jewish congregations had forced upon them almost unlimited powers over their members. Such arbitrary authority must necessarily lead to tyranny and abuse, and it is to this circumstance that we must look for the origin of the powers and secret proceedings (largely mythical) that have often been attributed to the Russian *Kahal*.¹ Further, the law of 1835 gave Jews who had completed their University studies the right of entering the service of the State, after the consent of the Emperor had been obtained in each case.

Numerous exceptions to the laws in favour of the Jews continued to be made. But being prompted by expediency they were of a temporary nature, and liable to be revoked as soon as they ceased to benefit the Christian population. Thus the right accorded in 1819 to Jewish distillers to settle in the interior of Russia, which had need of them, was revoked seven years later. Jewish artisans were expelled from Nicolaiev in 1829, and recalled in 1830, when they were found to be indispensable. In 1846, Jewish workmen were allowed to settle temporarily, and as long as they were needed, in the North-Eastern ports of the Black Sea. Finally, the laws of March 16th, 1859,

¹ See correspondence in the *Guardian* of January 14th and 21st, 1891, on "The Jews in Russia." The institution of *Kahal* was suppressed in 1845 (*Revue des Etudes Juives*, vol. iv., p. 314).

November 27th, 1861, and June 28th, 1865, authorised Jewish merchants of the first guild and University students who had gained diplomas to reside anywhere in the Empire, and the law of 1865 set forth the intention of improving the status of Jewish artisans.

An enactment of 1867 permitted Jewish soldiers, retired or on unlimited leave, to settle anywhere in the Empire, but since the promulgation of the decree of 1874, which makes military service obligatory on all males, Jewish soldiers have been deprived of the privilege under the pretext that the decree of 1874 makes no mention of it. A law of 1879 authorises Jewish chemists to live in the interior of Russia, but it has been interpreted in such a way that they are only allowed to settle there on condition of not exercising their profession.¹

It was by a law passed in 1876 that Jews were prohibited from living within 50 versts of the Western frontier. The law was given a retrospective force. By enactments, dated 1864 and 1865, Jews were prohibited from acquiring, renting, or managing lands in the governments of the North-East and South-West. The famous May Laws (3rd May, 1882) prohibited their quitting the villages in which they had been residing, except to establish themselves in the towns, and disallowed their acquiring, renting, or managing any fresh estates from that date. This legislation has produced a frightful congestion of Jews in the Pale, parts of which contain 2,730 Jews to the square mile, while in other districts of Russia the average population (except in five Governments) varies from 473 to 816 to the square mile.

All official reports and all travellers and statisticians protest against this congestion. It was already noticed by Desjavine, in the reign of the Emperor Paul, and in a ukase addressed to Privy-Councillor Popoff in 1809. In 1817 it was found necessary to exempt Jews from payment of arrears of fines. In the same year Prince Galitzin addressed the Senate on "the extreme misery" of this people. In 1865 the governors of various districts within the Pale described how Jewish workmen were without even employment. M. Lablotzki has shown in his statistical studies that while the mortality of Christians within the Pale rose between 1840 and 1843 by 17½ per cent., that of the Jews increased 37 per cent.

Prince Démidoff concludes this most instructive historical sketch by exposing the hollowness of the exploitation cry by which it is sought to justify the measures taken against the Jews, and he urges that the only remedy for the situation is the abolition of all exceptional laws against this section of the Russian population.

¹ This decision was, however, reversed by a decision of the Senate of November 15th, 1883.

From the pen of the editor himself we have, besides notes to various parts of the books, some profound statistical studies of the utmost possible importance for the understanding of the Jewish question. We gather that the Jewish population of Russia in 1881 was about four and a-quarter millions, and in 1886 about four and a-half millions, being 5 per cent. of the non-Jewish population. But the contingent of Jews called out to military service constituted more than 6 per cent. of the non-Jewish population, and the number actually incorporated into the army exceeded $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The Jewish population does not appear to have increased since the latter date. Possibly it has diminished, yet in 1889 the number of Jews enrolled reached $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. So that in proportion to their numbers Jews furnish an excessive contingent to the army, a circumstance which is calculated to encourage desertion.

On the subject of Jewish deserters, M. Loeb calls our attention to some striking facts. The statistics show that the bulk of this class are furnished by four out of the fifteen Governments which comprise the Pale of Settlement, viz., Bessarabia, Volhynia, Kovno, and Podolia. These departments contribute two-thirds of the Jewish deserters, although their quota to the army is less than a half of the Jewish contingent of the fifteen Governments. Now, one of these four Governments—Bessarabia—has only recently been incorporated into the Russian Empire, and is inhabited by another race, and this partially explains the abnormal number of deserters belonging to these four Governments, so that, making allowance for this circumstance, the proportion of Jewish deserters is really less than it appears. And there are other qualifying circumstances to be taken into consideration. Several of the so-called Jewish desertions are really cases of emigration. How considerable has been the influx of Jewish immigrants to America and England in recent years everyone knows. To New York alone, from 1884 to 1890, it amounted to 110,000.¹ Again, a Jew is often entered on the conscription registers more than once. He will sometimes be inscribed for his birth-place, and as many times as he has changed his residence. But as he can only be enrolled in the army once, he appears as a deserter in respect of each of the other registrations. Sometimes even deceased Jews remain on the conscription-roll, and, not answering to their summonses, are entered as deserters. Occasionally, also, women with apparently male names, are registered for military service.

M. Loeb likewise adduces statistics on the number of Jewish artisans, which go to show that the supposed dislike of Jews for manual labour is not based on fact, and that Russia contains

¹ Reports of the "United Hebrew Charities" of New York.

a larger relative number of Jewish than of non-Jewish artisans. In some provinces Jews are the only workmen. In Odessa, Jewish workmen are to other Jews in the proportion of one to thirteen, while Christian workmen form but one twenty-ninth of their community.

Thus it is with other accusations against the Russian Jews. As general statements they pass muster, but no sooner are they examined in the light of statistics than they collapse. Take, *e.g.*, the question of liquor-shops, which are said to be entirely in the hands of the Jews, who employ them to demoralise the general community. Since the manufacture of spirits has ceased to be a monopoly of the nobles, and has become subject to excise, it appears from the work of Prince D  midoff, already referred to (Vol. III.), that the taxes on spirits have increased by 17 per cent. in Great Russia, where there are scarcely any Jews, and by only 2 per cent. in the Pale of Settlement. The quantity of alcohol manufactured has *increased* by more than 60 per cent. in Great Russia, and *diminished* by 8 per cent. in the Pale. The number of distillers has *increased* by 45 per cent. in Great Russia, and *diminished* by 34 per cent. in the Pale. The deaths from alcoholic poison (according to the report of the Minister of Finances), were, between the years 1858 and 1862, far less, in proportion to the population, in the Pale of Settlement than in Great Russia. When, in 1844, the Jews were expelled from the villages, the consumption of brandy immediately rose by about 50 per cent., the price rising in the same proportion.¹

M. Loeb has similar statistical notes on Jewish commercial morality, on Jewish artisans, soldiers, and merchants, on the physiological deterioration of the Russian Jews, on their housing, and various other matters that enter into the consideration of the Russo-Jewish problem; and he brings the work to a close with an exhaustive index of the subjects treated of. We take leave of this deeply learned and interesting compilation with regret. To all who feel an absorbing interest in the fate of the Russian Jews it will prove of value, while those who wish to master the complicated Jewish question will find it indispensable to their researches.

ISIDORE HARRIS.

¹ *Aktenm  ssige Darstellung des j  dischen Zust  nde in Russland.* Hannover, 1883, pp. 6, 7.

Moses had-Darschan aus Narbonne. Fragmente seiner literarischen Erzeugnisse nach Druckwerken und mehreren Handschriften mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen, von ABRAHAM EPSTEIN (Wien, 1891) — ר' שמעון קרא והילקוט שמעוני (*R. Simeon Kara and the so-called Yalqut Shimeoni*), by the same (Krakau, 1891).

THESE two monographs by Herr Epstein, although small in size, are of great importance for the Midrashic literature. The first, which is dedicated to M. Joseph Derenbourg, member of the French Institute, on the occasion of his eightieth birthday, gives a clear and an exhaustive sketch of Moses the Darshan's literary productions. This Rabbi lived in the first half of the eleventh century at Narbonne; he was one of the best-known Rabbis in Northern France, as can be seen from Rashi's and his grandson's (R. Jacob Tam) quotations concerning him. It seems that Moses worked in many fields of learning. He wrote commentaries on books of the Bible, quoted under the title of *Yesod*, a copy of which, it is said, has been lately found. He compiled many Midrashim, among which are the *Midrash Tadshe*, according to Herr Epstein's ingenious conjectures, and the *Midrash Major* on Genesis, according to Raymundus Martini. An epitome of this latter *Midrash* will soon be edited with critical notes by our learned author. As to Talmudical commentaries, although some of his interpretations are quoted by later authorities, and more especially by the famous author of the *Arukh*, Moses of Narbonne did not write any special treatise on the Talmud. The same conclusion must be drawn with regard to a commentary on liturgies. Herr Epstein, after having made collections with the diligence of a bee, produces a ידיו attributed to our Moses, but he is right in doubting the authorship of it; the same may be said of No. 5 of Herr Epstein's collection, which treats of notes on astronomy and astrology. The collection concludes with a *Midrash* on the Ten Commandments, which is to be found in a MS. commentary of a *Mahazor* in possession of Herr Epstein. Notwithstanding the exhaustiveness of Herr Epstein's inquiry concerning quotations from Moses the Darshan, there is no doubt that some others will be found, when MSS. are thoroughly investigated. For instance, in No. 260 of the Paris National Library, which contains *Tossafoth* on the Pentateuch, we find the following passage quoted in the name of Moses the Darshan. It is said there on folio 49: והרמב"ם הדרשן אומר לפי שיצחק היה עולה תמימה לפיכך לא היה רשאי לצאת לחוצה לארץ אחר זוגתו והיה צריך לשלוח את אליעזר;

In the second essay, which is dedicated to Dr. A. Jellinek, of Vienna, on the occasion of his seventieth birthday, Herr Epstein shows conclusively that Simeon Kara is not the compiler of the *Midrash Yalqut*, as suggested with great ingenuity by Rapoport, and accepted by Dr.

Graetz. Our author makes it evident that in all the quotations adduced by Rapoport in proof of his conjecture, the name of Kara does not occur in MSS., and even for Simeon we often read Samson. From the extracts of late Midrashim found in the *Yalqut*, e.g., the *Rabba* on Deuteronomy and the *Abkhir*, Herr Epstein is right in concluding that the *Yalqut* was compiled, at the earliest, at the beginning of the thirteenth century; this was also the opinion of Zunz, but our author adduces many more proofs for his conclusion. The bibliography of the *Yalqut* in print and in MSS., partially and entirely, with which Herr Epstein finishes his learned monograph, is a very welcome addition to the essay. A. N.

[P.S.—We are glad to find an opportunity for correcting an erroneous statement made in our Review on Herr Epstein's *Eldad* (JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, III., p. 542), and to which he kindly drew our attention. We there stated, following a quotation in the *Journal Asiatique*, that R. Jonah, in his dictionary, speaks of *Danites*, whilst in our edition of this Arabic text we adopted the reading of the Rouen MS., where it said: רנל הרני, the Danite, a reading which is also confirmed by Thabbon's translation, who gives הרני (See JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, I., p. 98, note 6.)]

Thomas Aquinas and Judaism.

Das Verhältniss des Thomas von Aquino zum Judenthum und zur jüdischen Litteratur (Avicbron und Maimonides). Von Dr. J. GUTTMANN. Göttingen: 1891.

THOMAS AQUINAS was no philosophical fanatic. As Dr. Guttman shows, he adopted Maimonides' theory of creation, though it was opposed to the current and traditional theology of the Church. His tolerance, moreover, was extended to Jews, as well as to their doctrines. He objected to any violent attempts at the conversion of the Jews, and maintained that the persecution of them was only lawful if necessary in self-defence—"Ut eos compellant ne fidem Christi impediunt." He pronounced most emphatically against the forced baptism of Jewish children without the consent of their parents, partly on the prudential ground that the Church would suffer in prestige if these children subsequently relapsed to Judaism, and partly on the generous plea that such baptisms infringe the natural rights of parents—"Contra justitiam naturalem esset, si puer, antequam habeat usum rationis, a cura parentum subtrahatur, vel de eo aliquid ordinetur invitis parentibus." Jews ought to be allowed the free exercise of their religion and the observance of its ceremonies. Necessary intercourse with Jews was quite permissible to pious

Christians, provided that the latter were sufficiently firm in their faith to incur no danger of being shaken in it by familiarity with unbelievers. As to the right of Jews to possess Christian slaves, Thomas gives a twofold answer. On the one hand, no new right of this kind should be granted; but existing rights must not be set aside: "*Jus autem divinum, quod est ex gratia, non tollit jus humanum, quod est ex naturali ratione.*" A similar distinction was drawn by Aquinas on the question of usury, which greatly exercised the Mediæval Church. With regard to the Jewish usurers, Thomas points with satisfaction to the case of Italy, where the Jews did not practise money-lending, being permitted to engage in other enterprises, and suggests that the Jews should be "compelled" (how willingly would they have undergone this compulsion!) to earn their livelihood by industrial occupations. In his *De regimine Judæorum*, Aquinas justifies a less tolerant policy; but Dr. Guttman plausibly urges that he was answering the questions of the Archduchess Margaret of Flanders in her sense rather than in his own. Aquinas favours the retention of the degrading Jew-badge, and bases this opinion, as so many other theologians have done, on the fact that the Mosaic law had already enjoined a distinctively Jewish dress. But the Mosaic fringes were no longer worn by the Jews of his time on their outside garments, and a voluntary uniform is quite another thing than a legally enforced and rather hideous yellow patch.

Turning from Aquinas' views regarding the Jews to his relations with their literature, Dr. Guttman points out that Aquinas escaped one fruitful source of Jew-hatred—he was not instructed by converted Jews. Only in one solitary passage does he quote the Talmud. His knowledge of Judaism and of Jewish interpretations of Scripture was derived from Maimonides and Jerome. In his philosophy he was influenced from the Jewish side by the former of these, and by Ibn Gebirol (Avicbron), and it is to these influences that Dr. Guttman devotes his main attention. The author's present *brochure* is terser and less laboured than some of his previous works. He wisely adopts the newer fashion of displaying in full in the foot-notes the original passages commented on in the text; and, as a secondary advantage, Dr. Guttman's essay will thus be quite intelligible to readers who can read Latin but not German. Interesting, however, as are Dr. Guttman's parallels and contrasts, the interest lies rather in the fact that Aquinas consciously studied the works of two leading Jewish philosophers, and drew occasional inspiration from them, than in the actual points of contact themselves. Therefore I shall only briefly indicate what are the precise parallels elaborated by Dr. Guttman with his usual breadth of philosophical knowledge and depth of critical insight.

Aquinas devotes a special treatise, *De substantiis separatis*, to a full criticism of Ibn Gebirol's characteristic doctrines ("quem," says Thomas, "multi sequuntur") regarding the distribution into matter and form of *substantiæ separatae* (angels, spiritual beings lower than the divine grade), and Ibn Gebirol's theory that the same identical substance is the underlying basis of material and spiritual beings. Aquinas and the Thomists after him reject these doctrines, but they continued to exercise an influence, since they formed one of the battle-grounds between the Thomists and their opponents the Scotists. Aquinas, however, owed much more to Maimonides than to Avicbron; and Dr. Guttman occupies two-thirds of his brochure (pp. 31-92) with this topic. It is not merely in the adoption of isolated philosophical doctrines that Aquinas shows his indebtedness to Maimonides, for, as Dr. Guttman shows, the whole theology of the Christian scholastic was tinged and moulded by that of his Jewish predecessor. To the Patristic school Plato had been the guiding light, and the teachings of the Church had gradually been brought into harmony with the Platonic system. In the 13th century, however, Aristotle regained the supremacy, but the more pronounced that the predominance of Aristotle became, the more difficult grew the task of reconciling philosophy with religion, the Bible having been proved to agree with Plato and not with Aristotle. Moses Maimonides in his *Guide to the Perplexed* had largely solved this urgent problem by elaborating a harmony between Aristotle and the Scriptures. Maimonides' work was translated into Latin at the beginning of the 13th century, and gave a strong impulse to scholastic movements in the same direction. In this tendency, Saadiah, Judah Halevi and Abraham ibn Daud had led the way, but their works, says Dr. Guttman, were inaccessible to Aquinas, who was, however, well acquainted with the *Guide* of Maimonides. This is no doubt true, but Thomas, it seems to me, if under no direct obligation to Saadiah, shows a remarkable coincidence with Saadiah's method. In the *Summa Theologica* Aquinas always comes forward with a text, and then proceeds to prove his case by arguments based on reason. This, occasionally in the reverse order, is Saadiah's invariable course; it is certainly not that of Maimonides. Dr. Guttman takes the points of contact between Maimonides and Aquinas in the following order:—Reason and Revelation, Knowledge of God, God and his Attributes, The Doctrine of Creation, Angels and Prophecy, on many of which subjects Dr. Guttman shows that Aquinas adopted the conclusions of Maimonides. The third part of the *Guide* is occupied with a more or less rationalistic explanation of the Mosaic ordinances, which are thus forcibly wrenched into accord with the Maimonist philosophy. Aquinas adopts a large part of this section of Maimonides' work. He fully accepts the Jewish philosopher's

doctrine that all the Pentateuchal laws had a rational justification, and were intended to promote a reasonable worship of God. Aquinas accepts Maimonides' well-known theory of the sacrifices, but adds to it in place of the Jewish philosopher's rational exposition a mystical reference to types. He utilises Maimonides' views on many other rites and ordinances; but for a detailed account of these points of agreement I must refer the reader to Dr. Guttmann. His essay is a distinct contribution to the history of the influence of Jewish on general philosophy, and forms a worthy continuation of Jellinek's publications regarding Aquinas, and of Joel's able inquiry into the relation of Albertus Magnus to Maimonides.

I. ABRAHAMS.

באורים, *Erläuterungen der Psalmen-Haggada von R. Jedaia Penini Bedarschi, lebte im 14. Jahrhundert. Herausgegeben und mit einer Einleitung versehen.* Von SALOMON BUBER, Krakau, 1891 (in Hebrew).

WE have lately mentioned this author's indefatigable zeal for the Midrashic literature (JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, III., p. 769). The present edition of Jedaiah's commentary on a part of the Midrash on the Psalms, issued in honour of Dr. Jellinek's seventieth birthday, will be welcomed by scholars, since the old edition of 1559 is not to be easily obtained. Of course, Jedaiah's philosophical commentary on chapters i.—xxxvii., and cix., will not give us a better understanding of this Midrash, but the work belongs to the better class of rabbinic literature, and the author of it is well known by his ethical work in rhymed prose, called *Behinath Olam*, or "Examination of the World." Herr Buber follows here his usual method in giving a preface on the life and the writings of the author whose work he edits. He enumerates first the MSS. in which this commentary is to be found, continuing with the commentator's biography, and the enumeration of his works. The editor was well prepared for his task, having derived his information from libraries and from various catalogues, and, above all, he had the advantage of being able to make use of the advanced sheets of the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, x., xxxi., not yet published, a work which will contain a very detailed article concerning the poet and philosopher of Béziers, the son of the poet Abraham of Béziers, based upon the latest researches.

A. NEUBAUER.

NOTES AND DISCUSSION.

Hebrew Sentences in Ecclesiasticus.

MR. SCHECHTER, in his able essay on the quotation of Ben Sira in the Talmud and the Midrashim (JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, III. p. 689), refers to the forthcoming edition of R. Saadiah Gaon's *Sepher hag-Guluy*, by Dr. Harkavy. Our learned friend has favoured us with his provisional edition of Saadiah's *Sepher Agron*, *Sepher hag-Galuy*, and some others of his fragmentary polemical treatises which have appeared in a Russian periodical. We reserve a detailed notice on this important publication, which greatly elucidates Saadiah's attitude towards his adversaries at the time, for Dr. Harkavy's final edition with Hebrew translation and critical commentary, which will appear amongst the next publications of the Society, *Meqitse Nirdamim*. We shall only give here the quotations from Ben Sira found in the *Galuy*, in order to make Mr. Schechter's essay on this subject more complete, and possibly he will be able to make use of them in his promised subsequent essay on Sirach. Mr. Schechter has already given the bibliography concerning the *Galuy* (JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, III., pp. 685-89). In an able article by Professor David Kaufmann (*hak-Karmel*, Second Series (1871), I., p. 61 *sqq.*), who made use of Firkovitz's MS. of Saadiah's treatise, he mentions that there are seven quotations from Ben Sira, and he gives the text of the three quotations in it from the "Book of Wisdom," by Eleazar ben Iri or Irai; the latter name Saadiah gives in his commentary on the book *Yezirah* (p. 6 of the text and p. 20 of the French translation, edition of M. M. Labert, Paris, 1839). Who Eleazar ben Irai was remains a riddle at present; certain it is that the one quotation beginning with the word במפלא (JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, III., p. 690, No. 4) is to be found in Sirach and not in the "Book of Wisdom," as already observed by Mr. Schechter (*op. cit.*, p. 686). We see also from Mr. Schechter's parallel passages that many quotations from Sirach in the Talmudic literature are introduced by the words, "Says R. Eleazar"; whether this Eleazar is meant by Saadiah we cannot affirm. The two other following quotations from the "Book of Wisdom" are not to be found in our Apocryphal book; thus we must conclude that Saadiah alludes to another "Book of Wisdom." They are the following :—

1. בלי בכף סלעים הם ירצו כי לפוצצים פטישים יחליקו כי כליות חטה יודקו במורן וצקלון אביב ביד יתמוללו.

"Unless they break rocks with the hand, indeed the breakers have to smooth with the hammer. The fat of the wheat is crushed with

the threshing-flail, and the husks of the ears are broken off with the hand.”¹

כרעם קול על מיכל המים אפס ואפע כל דבריה מבלי עצה תפלו (יפלו):—2.

“As the voice of thunder upon a brook of water has no effect, so all her words without counsel will fail.”²

The following sayings are quoted in the *Galuy* from Ben Sira:—

ואל סליחה על תבטח להוסיף עון על עון • ואמרתה רחמיו רבים.—1.
לרוב עונותי יסלח • כי רחמים ואף עמו ועל רשעים ינוח עזו.

“And to forgiveness do not trust by adding sin unto sin, in saying, His mercies are great, the multitude of our sins he will forgive; for mercy and wrath are with him, and upon the wicked will rest his might” (Ecclus. v. 5-7). See for variations JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, p. 695, No. 20. Saadiah's text confirms Dr. C. Taylor's emendation, *ibidem*, p. 704, note 88.

רבים יהיו אנשי שלומיך • נלה סוד לאחר מני אלה.—2.

“Let many be those who are at peace with thee, but reveal thy secret to one of a thousand” (JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, III., p. 692; Ecclus. vi. 6).

קנית אוהב במסה קנהו ואל תמהר לבטח עליו • כי יש אוהב כפי.—3.
עת ולא יעמד ביום צרה.

“If thou acquirest a friend, acquire him by proof, and be not hasty to trust him, for some are friends for a time, but will not abide in the day of the trouble” (Ecclus. vi. 7, 8).

לפני מות אל תאשר נבר כי באחריתו יתנכר איש.—4.

“Before death judge no man blessed, for at his end a man will be known” (Ecclus. xi. 28).

משנאיך הברל ומאוהבין הוהר.—5.

“Separate thyself from thine enemies, and take heed of thy friends” (JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, III., p. 686; Ecclus. vi. 13).

אל תאמר מאל נסתרתני ובמרום מי יזכרני • בעם כבד לא אודע או.—6.
מי נפשי בקצות רוחות.

“Do not say, I am hidden from God; and above who will remember me? Among many people I shall not be known; or what is my soul in the esteem of spirits?” (Ecclus. xvi. 17).

¹ The exact translation of the passage is difficult to give. The saying means, according to Saadiah's introductory words, that man obtains his necessities of life by hard work.

² This passage is also difficult in many respects. The meaning is, according to Saadiah that the words of a fool are like to the murmur of rapid waters.

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H. GRAETZ, THE JEWISH HISTORIAN.

FOLLOWING on the fall of the first Napoleon, came a period of European reaction in which the sun of Jewish favour suffered a temporary eclipse. In many directions the emancipation of the Jews was stayed, and their hard-won and dearly-prized rights threatened. But there was this difference between the old and the new, between the mediæval and the modern trouble. The Jews had recovered courage and found voice; they dared to speak in their own behalf, and Europe was ready to give a fair hearing to their defence. At the moment when the hour sadly needed the man, was born one whose works were destined to plead eloquently for the people he loved, to enshrine its past in volumes of enduring value, and to show what manner of future its present foreshadowed.

Hirsch (or Heinrich) Graetz was born at Zerkow, in the province of Posen, in 1817. His early life, however, was passed at Xions, to which place his parents removed soon after the birth of the future historian.¹ His experiences at school were not altogether agreeable ones. The principles on which the training of the Jewish youths of the district was then conducted may be seen from the method of the Rabbi of Zerkow, about whose eccentricities so many

¹ For the facts of Graetz's early years, I am indebted in great part to the information supplied by Mrs. Graetz, and to Dr. Rippner's articles in Brüll's *Monatsblätter*, 1887.



anecdotes are current. It is said that on every Friday afternoon he would range his pupils in a line and regularly proceed to flog them all in order. If any embryo philosopher among them, with a sense of what was just, protested against his unmerited beating, the teacher would reply, "If you have so far done nothing to deserve it, you are certain to do something sooner or later." Graetz does not seem to have come under a pedagogue of this character at first, for his earliest studies were directed by one for whom he felt a keen affection. When, however, he had passed beyond the elementary stages, he fell into the hands of a man who thought that the proper instrument for opening a lock was a hammer and not a key. A sensitive child could not thrive under such a system, and, as legend says of Maimonides, Graetz acquired throughout the town a general reputation for stupidity. But a liberator soon appeared on the scene. His former teacher, who had a high opinion of Graetz's abilities, one day suddenly entered the school-room, and without a word to the presiding tyrant, bodily carried off his beloved pupil.

Graetz remained with his parents in Xions for some years, but his mother then took her son to the neighbouring town of Wollstein, her own birthplace. She was the daughter of a *dayan*, and knew that her son would be thoroughly grounded in the Talmud in Wollstein. In that town, too, she had relatives, and to their charge she committed the boy, whose talents it was by that time impossible to doubt. He passed an interval of some duration in Wollstein, where he studied the Talmud and also attended the Gymnasium. But the methods pursued in the study of the Talmud, and the one-sided training of those to whom this instruction was committed, could not fail to dissatisfy a clever lad who had imbibed the new together with the old. The time had come for Graetz, now growing to manhood, to find a teacher who would combine a reverence for the Talmud with an appreciation for modern culture and scientific method. Such a teacher he thought he had found in Samson Raphael

Hirsch. Hirsch had unfurled the banner of enlightened conservatism in Oldenburg, and was attracting to himself a number of young and gifted Jews who were eager to reconcile the old and the new; who were devotedly attached to traditional Judaism, and yet could not regard without loathing the narrow policy that would shut off Talmud students from a knowledge of the world and of its literature. Graetz remained in Oldenburg for some years, and the love for Judaism which already animated him was strengthened by contact with Hirsch's vigorous enthusiasm. Later on, the teacher became his pupil's critic; but that was when the cleavage between parties had become more pronounced. In Oldenburg Graetz completed his preparation for the University, and then proceeded to Breslau, in 1840, where he graduated and for a time settled. He had in the interim become acquainted with the lady whom he afterwards so happily married.

Graetz's first appearance as a writer occurred in 1844-5. Chiefly in the latter year he contributed to Fürst's *Orient*, a periodical which contains much of permanent literary value, two series of critical articles directed against Geiger's *Lehrbuch zur Sprache der Mishna*. These essays at once brought the writer into prominence. The learning, the style, and the control over large masses of material, which distinguished his later work, are already displayed in his earliest production. The verdict pronounced on Geiger's work was immoderately severe, and this is not surprising. To Graetz, the suggestion of Geiger that the language of the Mishnah was an exotic, the product of the schools, was intolerable. This language was a natural growth, and so far from embodying an ossified, artificial, and merely learned terminology, responded to the thoughts and consciousness of the people. Even at this early stage of his literary activity, Graetz gave evidence of his appreciation of the crying need for a comprehensive grasp in the treatment of the history of Jewish tradition. The settlement of every special point in that history, he maintained, pre-

supposed the capacity to deal with all points. In his defence of the Rabbinical writings, Graetz offered, too, the acute remark that the Talmud wreaked its revenge on those who scoffed at it by remaining a sealed literature to them. Two points call for notice in this first essay of Graetz. It is a striking fact that Graetz made his *début* practically as the champion of orthodoxy. This attitude, when contrasted with the view presented in the fourth volume of his history (1853), seems to betray a glaring contradiction. But it must be remembered that the real and fundamental divergence which existed *ab initio* between the schools of Frankel and Hirsch only gradually revealed itself. At first, all who felt an attraction towards traditional Judaism, were ranged together on one side. In the presence of the common enemy, their private differences were ignored, or rather, were overlooked, for reform was laying the axe at the very root of the tree. But it was not long before the allies settled in separate camps. "Orthodoxy" and "Historical Judaism," which had at the outset seemed synonymous, were found to constitute very different things, for while the one party became ever more orthodox, the other became ever more historical. On the theoretical side, the historical school recognised no fixed dogmas; on the practical side, the oral law consisted of a series of customs or *minhagim*. This attitude became very clear when Frankel, in his *Darke Hanmishnah* (1859), explained *halachah le-Moshe Missinai* to mean old halachoth dating from immemorial times. Hirsch, Auerbach, and others of his party instantly proclaimed Frankel a heretic, for with them these halachoth were actually revealed to Moses on Mount Sinai, and were as divine as the Decalogue itself.

In the second place, Graetz's hostile judgment on Geiger's book led to reprisals. Graetz was himself the object of a strong attack in an organ of the Liberal party, *Der Israelit*, in which a clever, but bitter attempt was made to cast ridicule on the youthful critic. Whether this article was

actually written by Geiger may be doubted; Graetz himself thought so, and indignantly resented the personalities with which he was assailed. But like the subsequent invective of Hirsch (1855-6) from the opposite side, this attack was far from proving detrimental to Graetz. Surely, one whom it was thought worth while to assail in this manner must be a man worthy of note; personalities are not usually hurled except against personages. The relations between Graetz and Geiger were never cordial in after years, but this early passage of arms prepared the learned Jewish world to receive with attention Graetz's first independent work, *Gnosticismus und Judenthum*, which appeared in 1846, and established his reputation as a historian from whom much was expected. Previously, his progress had interested the community of Wollstein; the hopes in him had now ceased to be local. In his work on Gnosticism, Graetz showed how the influence of the gnosis had found its way into Jewish circles, and how even the Tanaim had either accepted or combated it. To the former category belonged Acher, and in a more limited sense, Ben Azai and Ben Zoma; to the latter, Akiba, who alone of the four came safely through the hazards of a journey through the "Paradise" of Gnosticism. The *Sefer Yetsira* was, according to Graetz, the work of Akiba; but he subsequently abandoned this opinion. With characteristic honesty he calls attention to this change of view in the fifth volume of his History (p. 281).

Graetz soon afterwards removed from Breslau to the small Austrian town Lundenburg, in Moravia, where he filled an unimportant post as director of a school. Here he was free from the turmoil of party conflict, and, like Saadiah in his desert exile, steadily amassed materials and made preliminary studies to serve the great purpose which he had already planned. These six years were not, however, unproductive, and the essays that he published during this period of retirement indicate the direction of his thought. An essay on the "Septuagint" (1845), with

special reference to its religious interest, had preceded, but papers on "Jewish History" (1846), the "Current Methods of treating the Talmud," "Studies in Jewish History" (1852), "Talmudic Chronology and Topography" (1852-3), are among his contributions to Frankel's periodical publications subsequent to the appearance of his Gnosticism. It was expected by many that Graetz would become a "Rabbiner," but this was not his destiny. It has been argued that the world gained by this fact, in that the Rabbinical office to a certain extent robs a man of his independence, and may compel him to withhold from the world part at least of the truth. This would be a valid enough argument had Graetz remained unattached; but it is hard to see how he enjoyed as teacher at the Breslau Seminary greater freedom than he would have possessed as Rabbi. In fact he *was* somewhat trammelled by his official position in after years, though he but hinted at his discontent. In his lecture before an English audience in 1887 he used these words: "There are at present, thank God, seminaries for Jewish theology, in which these studies [viz., 'Biblical Exegesis,' 'Talmud,' 'Philosophy and Ethics,' 'History and Archæology'] are pursued, in London, Paris, Berlin, Breslau, Amsterdam, Buda-Pesth, and recently also in Rome. But, for various reasons, the teachers at these institutions cannot deal with these studies with that thoroughness which modern science demands. Even the teachers would be glad to have the results worked out for the purposes of their own teaching. Only such scientific workers as are *entirely free from every yoke* can produce really academic results." This was Graetz's feeling when he had long earned the right of free speech, and he was too clear-headed to fail to see that his position in the seminary was not one that permitted him the luxury of complete independence. If he was not himself a Rabbi he was the producer of Rabbis, and the deference which he was spared from owing to a congregation of his own, he felt constrained to show to the prejudices and sentiments of congregations

over which his pupils would preside. There is some injustice, therefore, in the charge of reticence that is levelled against Graetz. He could not forget that the seminary would suffer for his sins if he offended by speaking out his whole heart. He was too chivalrous to willingly force others to fight his battle with him ; and whether that battle was against anti-Semitic professors from the outside, or against discontented co-religionists from the inside, Graetz asked to stand alone, so that if he fell, on his head would come the disastrous consequences. How victoriously he passed through the ordeal, how he single-handed maintained his position, his whole later career proves. Genius always implies a certain element of solitude. Graetz was indeed no recluse, and his ideas were not those of a bookish student. His marriage was a very happy one, and his beloved wife shared his aspirations and his triumphs. But outside his family circle, Graetz made none of those intense friendships which have given completeness to the lives of lesser men. Graetz won the admiring regard of the many rather than the love of the few, and this isolation, due in part to the unapproachable height to which his fame raised him, in part to his regard for the interests of others, was easily mistaken for mental reserve.

But the Breslau seminary was only a dream when Graetz settled in Lundenburg. In the interim he was working at the fourth volume of his history, the volume which was the first to see the light. With this MS. he went to Berlin in 1853, and readily found a publisher in Veit. Scholars and "general readers" agreed in hailing the new history as a work of genius. It brought the Talmudic heroes to life again, and it promised to perform the same service for the even more dimly seen and imperfectly understood Jewish worthies of later times.

Throughout the twelve (or rather thirteen) volumes of his history, Graetz's astounding mastery over his materials, his lucidity, his vigorous style, his power of vivid description, are as remarkable as his minute learning, his pains-

taking quotation of authorities, his ingenious and complicated yet sound combination of apparently disconnected facts. He worked on a gigantic scale, yet there was no scamping of detail. But this conscientious accuracy alone would hardly have saved his work from becoming obsolete. He added and altered in later editions it is true, he expanded and withdrew, though in the latter process he was more sparing than in the former. But his work has remained on the whole unaffected by the course of time, for he had given it immortality by his living imagination. The time has gone by when to attribute imaginative power to a historian would be tantamount to attempting to discredit him and his work. Graetz was himself the wandering Jew, whom he himself so well described.¹ "You might call him the youngest brother of Time. This wandering Jew understood all languages, knew all Christian and Moslem dynasties, their rise and fall, their follies, and their aimless actions. He had been at the Court of Vespasian, and spoke of the catastrophe that brought about the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem. This wandering Jew had passed through the tortures and horrors of the Inquisition in Spain, Portugal and Rome, and at this his auditor is astounded, as at a miracle." But Graetz's past had been even more of a miracle than this.² He had been redeemed amid marvellous signs of God's love and his anger from Egyptian bondage, he had wept by Babel's streams when in a second exile he thought of Jerusalem; with the heroic Hasmonean brothers he had fought and won his people's liberty, he had been led in chains to grace the triumph of his Roman conqueror. With the martyrs of all ages he suffered; he was assaulted by the soldiers of the Cross, and well-nigh perished by the hand of those whom the Black Death had spared; he stood by while his brethren were driven from England and exiled from Spain;

¹ Lecture before Anglo-Jewish Exhibition, 1887.

² Cf. Prof. Kaufmann in the *Pester Lloyd*, September 12th, 1891.

he saw them fall before the Cossacks' unbridled violence; when the new Jerusalem opened its doors to his race he too took ship to Holland with them; when England's shores were no longer forbidden soil he trod them too. He was at Sinai when the law was given; he sang psalms with David; became a Hellenist in Alexandria and a Tanaite in Babylon, a poet in Spain and a philosopher in Cairo; shared the enthusiasm of Jehuda Halevi and the troubled wanderings of an Ibn Ezra in search of a home and of truth; with Spinoza he merged his being into the All-being, with Mendelssohn he craved free air and found it, with Heine he laughed and cried by turns.

It has become almost a commonplace to speak of Graetz's History in this way; and if he so affects his Jewish readers it was because he felt deeply what he expressed so strongly. Graetz's "History of the Jews" itself belongs to Jewish History; it is no longer possible to dissociate the facts from the narrative. Some of his critics were unable to appreciate the truth of Graetz's reconstruction of the past; they thought him arbitrary and, slow of perception themselves, maintained that he seized upon incidental points and converted them into characteristics. "What does Graetz know of the character of Jochanan ben Zakkai? What *can* Graetz know?" naïvely asked Hirsch, in 1856. Ten years before Graetz had dedicated his work on Gnosticism to Hirsch, "the high-minded champion of *Historical Judaism*, the unforgettable teacher, the fatherly friend." But now Hirsch discards his pupil and will have none of him, for he had sought to write the history of Jewish tradition. With Hirsch the Rabbis were simply the bearers of tradition, with Graetz they were in a sense its creators also; or rather they developed the tradition as they bore it on. Here we see the rift between Orthodoxy and Historical Judaism betraying its presence; hence the discord between master and pupil. As Graetz proceeded with his history, volume by volume, he was attacked from other sides. He was supposed to have slighted his prede-

cessor, Jost, and he certainly spoke with some disrespect of Zunz in the original preface to his fifth volume. But in the preface to Volume I. Graetz described Zunz as a "Genialer Kritiker," and he had some ground for resentment if it be true that Zunz, when asked for his opinion on the merits of Graetz's early volumes, remarked that Jost had already done the work as well. In 1870, when publishing a second edition of Volume V., Graetz omitted the reference to Zunz which had aroused so much animosity, and in his eleventh volume he did posthumous justice to Jost, as he had done to Basnage in Volume X. It was hardly Graetz's fault that his own "History" so entirely superseded those of his predecessors that they are now practically unread. That Geiger should prove a severe and unfriendly critic was only to be expected, but it is rather hard to understand why so loud a charge of plagiarism was raised against Graetz. There never was less of a plagiarist than Graetz. The truth is, that the specialists thought themselves plundered if the historian seized upon one of the minute facts that they toilsomely collected, fitted it in a proper setting, and gave a place in history to what had before been an item entered in a bibliographical index. Though Graetz was as sound a specialist in every field as any of them in one particular domain, facts were not of value to him just because they were facts; they only became truly important when they had been classified and placed. When in the course of his 6,600 pages he did occasionally use chips from other people's workshops to give completeness to his own mosaic, he was sharply called to account, while his own creations were pilfered by others to an almost incredible extent, and yet he never uttered one word of protest.

If Graetz had a weakness in this matter it was that he systematically refrained from quoting, at least by name, those who had treated him ill or whom he thought his foes. There are, as Carlyle pointed out, Artists in History and Artisans, men who work mechanically in a definite depart-

ment without eye for the whole, "not feeling that there is a whole; and men who inform and ennoble the humblest department with an idea of the whole, and habitually know that only in the Whole is the Partial to be discerned." But Carlyle, wrong in supposing that it was impossible to find the two functions combined, was absolutely right in distinguishing between them. Graetz, it may be soberly said, was at once Artist and Artisan; he had acquired a manual dexterity for parts, yet retained his control over the whole.

What Graetz perceived was that History included "the art of interesting the affections and presenting pictures to the imagination." How else should its philosophy teach than by examples? Hence the efforts that Graetz put forward were turned in this direction; to interest his readers in his heroes, to make them realise who they were, and what they did. There is nothing more brilliant in the pages of secular history than Graetz's character sketches; his Solomon Molcho, his Moses Chayim Luzzatto, his Samuel the Prince, Immanuel of Rome, John Pfefferkorn, Gracia Mendesia Nasi, Pablo Christiani, Saad-Addaula, Don Pedro (whom Graetz refuses to nickname "the Cruel"), Dunash ben Labrat, and the "burrowers" Uriel da Costa, Leon Modena, and Joseph Del-Medigo—to mention a few of his *dramatis personæ* who played lower than leading parts. Graetz always maintained that, though it was the duty of the historian to trace identities in the course of events, so as to enable him to explain their current logically, it was as clear a part of his function to detect contrasts, and to set these contrasts in a prominent light. In both these directions, the life-like portraiture of persons and the due admixture of light and shade, Graetz succeeded admirably, and almost universally. Where he somewhat erred was, on the one hand, in his habit of making a striking epithet do the duty of a more humdrum, but, perhaps, more complete verbal picture; on the other hand,

in what looks like a conscious aim at *discovering* contrasts beyond the mere duty of *describing* them when found. There is something a little irritating in Graetz's constant harping upon his epithets; scarcely a man in his pages but has his character labelled on to him, and the label never by any chance slips off. In the eleventh volume of his history this labelling of men who had lived near enough to our own times to still belong to the realm of party politics, naturally excited violent attack. But the habit runs through the whole work, like a golden thread that has become here and there frayed, and has been bound together with less valuable material. Graetz's love of contrast is also shown throughout; whether he is setting the Kabbalists against the philosophers, or a Holdheim against a Zacharias Frankel. One cannot refuse a meed of admiration to the audacious and grotesque originality that could dare to set the names of Spinoza and Sabbatai Zevi together in the headings of two successive chapters—a rather extreme instance, which, however, the author bravely justified. Did it not arrest the reader's attention; did it not fix in his mind most securely the directions of the very sharply opposed dangers that threatened at one and the same time to engulf Judaism? Graetz's style is florid to excess, and is marred by the use of inappropriate and confused metaphors. But his vigour, his sureness of touch, and his eloquence are far more noticeable than his faults; and if a certain sense of disproportion is felt in his treatment of successive epochs, this is rather due to the inequalities of the style than of the actual handling of the material. "His work," said Geiger, speaking of the earlier volumes, "contains *Geschichten*, which are loosely strung together, but are not *Geschichte*." Like many of Geiger's judgments, this utterance, prejudiced though it be, is at least partially true. But only partially. For it is but necessary to read the eighth and ninth chapters of Vol. VI., in which Graetz takes a wide and comprehensive survey of the pre-Maimunist condition of the Jews, in which the threads are gathered

from every land of East and West, and woven together into a brilliant many-coloured web, stretching wide as Jewry's own contemporary horizon—if these and similar chapters be read in the light of Geiger's criticism, it will be seen how little truth there is in it after all. Sir G. Trevelyan, in speaking of Macaulay's painstaking industry, recalls how Leonardo da Vinci would walk the whole length of Milan that he might alter a single tint in his picture of the Last Supper. Graetz would travel amid his books far greater distances than this to write a sentence; nay, to fix an epithet in those general summaries, the merits of which a child can appreciate and a learned scholar might envy. Like Macaulay, Graetz drew no pedantic distinction between the learned and unlearned; and this both historians accomplished by the "downrightness" and unequivocal tendency of their judgments on men and things. No one but a partisan can write impartial history; if by a partisan is meant one who judges careers by their consequences, and who refuses to accept the dictum that truth must necessarily be on the neutral border-line between parties—a border-line which, in many cases, has no more real existence than the Equator. Impartial history does not mean history that must please all parties, or remain indifferent to each.

In a word, Graetz wrote, not merely the History of the Jews, but the Philosophy of that History. "Why does he not narrate the facts; why must he always pass sentence on them?" These questions are often asked by readers in disparagement of Graetz, but the answer is not so hard to find as the questioners suppose. He cannot omit the verdict, because the present and the future of Judaism are conditioned wholly and absolutely by the past; because that past is never dead, but locks the present in its eternal embrace. A Christian historian might deal with Christian mysticism in a calmly scientific spirit; not so a Jewish writer with the Kabbala. The Kabbala holds sway still; its influences ramify throughout the Jewish ceremony and

belief of to-day ; it is yet a strong practical force for good or evil. Must not the Jewish historian unhesitatingly pronounce whether it be good or evil ? Can he contemplate what its effects have been without condemning *it* too, without warning the future to steer clear of the follies of the past ? Graetz had too little sympathy with the spiritual elevation produced by what he slightly designated *schwärmerei* ; he slurred over the fact that the Kabbala itself was in some of its phases a mystic protest of pure religion against formalism, that neo-Chassidism was an ennobling enthusiasm, seeking direct communion with God, that many an imposter must have had fascinating elements of greatness in his character. To the glance of the philosopher of history, the excesses of the Kabbala leading to tyrannous slavery over the intellect, the speedy degeneration of Chassidism into the worst of formalisms, the cruel injuries inflicted on Jews and Judaism by these imposters, coloured the initiation of the one and the motives of the others, and in very sooth deserve the condemnation which Graetz meted out to them. Besides, Graetz would not allow Jewish history to repeat itself. A simple and naïve Rabbi was in place in the fifth century, but Graetz resented the recurrence of the type in the thirteenth. At the earlier date, Graetz found much to praise in the very class of men who, in their later guise of anti-Maimunists, were scornfully branded by him as "Stock-Talmudisten." The future will show that very few of his judgments will be reversed by the court of appeal of posterity. With his eleventh volume the matter stands otherwise. Here Graetz was a prophet rather than an historian ; here he had to deal with causes which had not yet worked out their full effects. If this section of his work be not quite worthy of the rest, it is because, as he himself so often says in the book itself, when discussing the growth of controversies which still rage within Judaism, "Wie es steht . . . gebührt nicht mehr der Geschichte zu erzählen ; es gehört der unmittelbaren Gegenwart an."

Alas, that he should have to conclude the fifth volume of the forthcoming English edition of his History, with a similar statement regarding German anti-Semitism.

The publication of Graetz's History occupied the author for many years; indeed, between the issue of the first edition of Volume IV. to the issue of the third edition of Volume VIII, there extends an interval of nearly forty years (1853-1890). Excepting the fourth volume, all the early parts of the first edition were produced under the auspices of Philipssohn's "Institut zur Förderung der israelitischen Literature," which has a glorious record of useful and brilliant work. In the meantime, however, the author had done much in other fields; and it is time that we resumed the thread of his career.

A most important incident in directing the current of Graetz's activity was the foundation of the Breslau Seminary in 1854. The need for such an institution was pressing. After a sleep lasting for three centuries the awakening had come, and with it an inevitable period of bewilderment. A strong feature in the Mendelssohnian movement was the effort to arouse once more among the Jews that love for secular learning, that refined desire to speak the literary languages of Europe, which had distinguished the Jews before the period of dismal desolation that followed in the wake of the Black Death. Civil rights were in part gained, a wave of enlightenment spread over the Jewries of the West, and for the moment blinded their denizens with excess of light. Jewish learning was pursued by a few scattered enthusiasts, such as Rapoport and Zunz, but serious internal divisions threatened to wreck Judaism when the ship which had weathered so many storms was well within sight of port. How fallen was the state of Jewish learning may be seen from the preface of Graetz's *Gnosticism*, in which the author actually apologised for offering a volume which did not deal with any of the controversies raging at the moment between Jewish parties. The Cheder and the Yeshiba had lost their hold on the

eager youth of Germany.¹ Prague, Frankfort, Furth, Metz, and Hamburg, which had attracted *bachurim* by the hundred, could now count their Talmud students by units. Great Rabbis like Jacob Lissa, Akiba Eger, and Moses Sofer still found many disciples, but the latest of these died in 1840, and left none of the same calibre to supply their places. At length leaders of all the Jewish parties in Germany realised the danger; Judaism needed a rallying-point, a Zion from which might go forth teachers of the Law. It was no longer possible to ignore the new conditions under which Judaism existed. There was but one alternative. Either the Rabbinical and other Jewish literature must be subjected to *scientific* treatment, or it must be allowed to fall into lasting neglect. It was no easy task to convert the Melammed into a Lehrer and the Rav into a Rabbiner; yet the former feat was successfully attempted by Mendelssohn's immediate disciples, the latter was the work of the new Jewish Rabbinical Seminaries.

Seminaries had been already established outside Germany, and the one in Padua, the first of its kind, had, since its foundation in 1827, produced good fruits. But the Breslau Seminary far surpassed its predecessors in importance and in the width of its aims. In Jonas Fränckel, Judaism found a noble benefactor, who, under the guidance of enlightened advisers, rendered an inestimable service to his religion. It is needless to recount the difficulties that delayed the accomplishment of his design, nay, threatened its very inception. Suffice it to say that conferences between recognised Jewish scholars and men of communal experience were held, formally and informally, during the years 1847-1854, and resulted in the inauguration of the Seminary in Breslau on August 10th in the latter year. Graetz was not the Director of the new institution; for that post there was but one fitting claimant, viz, Zacharias

¹ Strassburger, *Geschichte der Erziehung und des Unterrichts bei den Israeliten* (Stuttgart, 1885), p. 231.

Frankel. But Graetz took part in the Dresden conference of March, 1853, at which the organisation and programme of the Seminary were settled. He never filled the position of Director, for the post was, I think, invariably conferred only on those who had already served as Rabbiner. But to the end of his life Graetz was the man who, in an especial sense, was identified with the high reputation that the Seminary gained. Of all the original staff of the Seminary, he remained longest at his post. Death claimed Frankel in 1874, and between that time and the present year several distinguished men have provisionally or regularly occupied the vacant headship. It was Graetz's presence, his name and fame, that secured the continuity which was so essential to the growth and development of the institution. Sad is it to think of the irreparable loss that the Seminary has now suffered. It is generally asserted that no man is indispensable. Let us hope that the Breslau Seminary will not be fated to speedily disprove this comfortable optimism.

As a teacher, Graetz possessed many merits. His lectures stimulated his pupils; he not only gave them a helping hand, but he taught them how to go alone. He was not dogmatic in the class-room; he encouraged his pupils to criticise his views in their periodical exercises, and he would smilingly listen while he heard his own published statements questioned. He would stimulate original research by the best of all means, for he would set for his pupils' treatment subjects on which the last word had not already been spoken. Or, again, he would select points that Jewish historians had already discussed; he would clearly indicate how far previous research had gone, and would suggest the directions in which fresh inquiry might be profitably pushed.¹ Teaching such as this goes far to account for the brilliant array of original work to which the Breslau Seminarists may proudly point. If one

¹ See Dr. Rippner's remarks in Brüll's *Monatsblätter*, 1887, p. 246.

had nothing more to point to than the books written by the pupils of Graetz and of his colleagues, one would still have to assign the teachers a high place among the benefactors of Jewish learning.

The best justification of the Breslau Seminary lies in the scholars that it has produced during the past forty years. It has recently been said that a Rabbinical training college must produce men of character. This, it seems to me, is a fatal error. A college can produce scholars, it cannot manufacture saints. If it tries to accomplish the latter feat, it will gather in a fine harvest of hypocrites. Frankel and Graetz were under no such absurd delusion; their duty was to turn out Rabbis who knew something of Judaism, who knew a good deal of Jewish literature and philosophy, and this they did. Geiger certainly looked askance on the work of the Seminary, and he had some just cause for bitterness. He and Philippson more than any others were instrumental in persuading Jonas Fränkel to endow the new institution, yet he was excluded from the management. Not long after its inauguration Geiger resigned the Breslau Rabbinate, and transferred his enlightened activity to Frankfort. He described the Seminary as a cram-shop for Rabbis; but surely it was better that it should succeed in that than that it should try to become a cram-shop for cant. The "Breslau Judaism" was, indeed, a curious product of compromise; it would examine Jewish tradition, piece it out into its component parts, show how it developed, date it, but still loyally go on observing all that it enjoined as though Jewish science had never applied the crucible. In religious matters Graetz was fond of talking of the *juste milieu*; and for the Judaism of to-day extremes are no doubt dangerous. But to some of us it seemed as though Graetz, while equally condemning unbending conservatism and extravagant liberalism, found his *juste milieu* forsooth in *both* extremes, binding his conduct to the one and abandoning his thought to the other. There was origin-

ality no doubt in this species of compromise, but it need hardly be added it had no elements of permanency. It served its purpose of reconciling the old with the new for nearly half a century. But new phases of spiritual vacillation need ever new varieties of practical compromise, and these saving waters will be drawn by future generations of Jews from the deep unfailing well of truth that Graetz dug out, though it may be necessary to first remove the stone with which he himself covered its mouth.

The labour connected with the revision of his History, and his duties as teacher at Breslau, did not absorb the whole of Graetz's energies. He never ceased to correct and expand his great work, and lived to enjoy the unique gratification of publishing a fourth edition of one volume and a third edition of several others. But in the meantime he took some interest in the affairs of the Breslau community, and added to his other functions two important offices, the "extraordinary" professorship of history in the Breslau University (1870), and the editorship of the *Monatsschrift* (1869). The latter monthly was founded by Frankel, and at the time of its discontinuance, in 1887, had been in existence for thirty-six years. This was a very long life for a literary journal, and for the last twenty years of its existence it owed its vitality almost entirely to the contributions of Graetz himself and of his colleagues and pupils.

A complete list of Graetz's essays is given at the end of these pages, and a striking list it is. In one direction a certain poverty may be noted, even amid so much massive wealth. Few of Graetz's essays deal with the history of the Halacha, and the same omission may be charged against some portions of his History. The progress of the Halacha in Judaism after the era of the first codifiers was but lightly treated; yet the Talmudic Halacha received very adequate discussion in Graetz's volumes. The reason for this difference is easily found. The Halacha, after

the time of Alfasi, became more and more objective, while Graetz's glance, keen to detect every subjective trait that marked the characters of his heroes, somewhat turned aside from their objective religious life. There is the less ground for regret that Graetz pursued the course he did, for Weiss' *Dor dor Vedoreshov*, or History of the Jewish Tradition, might otherwise have remained unwritten. It is pleasing to find in Weiss' fifth and last volume, which was printed before the death of Graetz, so frequent a reference to the services rendered, even on the Halachic side, by the great Jewish historian.

Of the essays that Graetz contributed to the *Monatsschrift*, some were preparatory studies for portions of the History, but most were independent treatises, and some attained to the size and importance of set volumes. The topics treated are mainly historical or grammatical subjects, and points of Biblical exegesis. Some were quite popular in character, such as his "Shylock in der Sage" (1880) and "Die Schicksale der Talmud" (1885); for in the last decade of his life Graetz felt a strong impulse to reach the general community. One of Graetz's most meritorious performances was that he rescued Jewish science from becoming the property of the few. Hence his own "popular" edition of his History in three volumes, and the eagerness with which he lent his countenance to the translation of his work in an abridged form into English and French. These translations were not mere abridgments; he carefully re-read the chapters, and made frequent additions and emendations, sometimes of considerable moment. A work of his—the title of which would lead one to anticipate a book for the recreation of an idle hour—"Blumenlese neuhebraischer Dichtungen" (1862), consists, however, entirely of Hebrew texts. In one of the poems occurring in this volume a printer's error disarranged the half lines, so that, as published, the verses make nonsense. It was amusing to find how this slip was pounced upon by Graetz's keen-eyed critics, who made very merry over the pro-

digious blunder! Referring to this poetry, Graetz well remarked in the preface:—"A people that was able to lament, to sing, and to laugh in rhythmic measures; that, moreover, possessed the faculty of pouring forth its feelings and thoughts in beautiful forms, is not spiritually dead. And these poets did not sing in solitudes, but found a numerous audience." These lines prepare us for the space devoted by Graetz in his History to the birth and development of Jewish poetry. Jewish history, he maintained, was a *Culturgeschichte*, and it may be safely predicted that this will be the direction in which most advance will occur in the near future. The social and "cultural" history of the Jews is far obscurer than their literary history, and the work of the future will be to light up fully, as one of Graetz's own disciples¹ has so ably done in part, the pages which even the master himself left dark.

Of the tourists who go to Palestine but few are Germans; and twenty years ago their number was even smaller than it is at the present time. To make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land was one of Graetz's most cherished longings; but it was not till 1872 that this hope was fulfilled. Popularity had not brought with it large pecuniary gains. His History was in every Jewish library, and in many a non-Jewish one; in George Eliot's, for instance. Yet the author of the work that rapidly earned a European fame was only in a position to visit Palestine after several years' careful saving. One often hears lamented the decay in the modern student-world of the devotees to letters who once made learning an end in and for itself, who served their master without thought of material recompense. Yet Jewish scholarship remains and must needs remain its own and only reward. In the spring of 1872 Graetz, with two companions, trod the soil sacred to a great memory. In Palestine the pilgrim sees what he is worthy of seeing. To

¹ Gttdemann: *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens*, etc. See also his Obituary of Graetz in the *Neue Freie Presse*, October 20th.

one it looks a desert dotted with poverty-stricken hovels; to another's eyes it is so many thousands of acres of soil needing scientific farming; to one a hope, to another a misfortune; to most of those who visit it, a place to die in. Graetz did not go to spy out the land, to make discoveries, or to identify sites. He went there to find courage. He went there to come into real contact with the scenes he had not yet dared to describe. With the Hebrew text in his hand to serve as guide-book, he fixed his gaze on the changeless hills, the eternal valleys; he heard the murmur of the streams, saw the bright sky reflected in its lakes, and as he looked he saw Joshua crossing the Jordan, he saw all the rush of incident that showed Providence working out its purposes through the chosen race as its instrument. "Love for the people to which I belong by birth and training, accompanied me on my journey; but I hope that the reader will not find that this love has misled me into partiality and disingenuousness." The desire to see Palestine with loving eyes was the author's own justification for commencing his *History* in the middle. Less honourable explanations have been suggested for this deferment by Graetz of volumes I. and II. It has been said that he felt constrained to wait until after Frankel's death before giving to the world his heretical views on the Bible. But his conduct needs no defence. The early history of Israel is interpreted in part by its later history; and moreover, the historian might be pardoned for relegating to the end the treatment of that portion of his work which demanded the most delicate touch, the most matured powers.

Graetz's visit to Palestine was not without its humorous side. While at Jerusalem he received a formal certificate of merit: he was promptly excommunicated by some local Rabbi. Twenty years ago these bulls were still plentiful, but no one took them seriously. Graetz would tell the story with keen enjoyment, and with a genial smile would relate how once, in a German watering-place, he went to

the Jewish restaurant to get his dinner. "O, I know you," said the good-natured landlady, "you are welcome, but you are a wicked man!" "How do you know that?" asked Graetz, with a smile. "I read it in *Der Israelit*," was the answer; but she gave him an excellent dinner. What might have proved a more serious conflict arose at an earlier date in Vienna, where an effort was made to suppress by aid of the law an essay in which Graetz called the doctrine of a personal Messiah into question.

The attempt to appraise Graetz's position as a Bible critic must be left to a future number of this REVIEW, and to a more competent judge. Graetz's editions of the *Psalms*, *Ecclesiastes*, and *Song of Songs*, the essays on other Scriptural passages which he contributed to his own and to other periodicals, and, above all, the forthcoming critical edition of part of the Hebrew text will, for a long time to come, form the theme for discussion. Day by day for many years Graetz was engaged on this last work, and our readers will be glad to learn that, so far as chapter xxiv. of the Book of Proverbs, the edition was left ready for publication.

The omission of all reference to the history of early Christianity in the first two editions of his famous third volume was explained by Graetz in the preface to edition three. The fifteen years that had elapsed had opened up a new field, and had clearly shown the importance of New Testament times as a page in Jewish history. Renan's *Histoire des Origines du Christianisme* had turned general attention to that period, and the critical problems connected with it had been more sharply defined and in part solved. In 1867 Graetz had published his *Sinai et Golgotha*, and two years earlier he expressed his hope that the time was near when no one would be permitted to write on the origins of Christianity who was unacquainted with the Jewish Hagadic literature of the first and second centuries, and who did not appreciate the Hagadic character of certain parts of the early Christian writings. It is no ex-

aggragation to say that the fourth edition of Graetz's third volume (1888), contains the best account of the material that Jewish scholarship has so far contributed to the subject.

Graetz was very little affected by personal abuse; he used strong language himself, and was not weak enough to cry out when others used the same instrument against him. But in 1879 he did reply to an attack that was levelled with equal violence and venom. He broke silence because the blow was aimed through him at the general body of the Jews of Germany. At the time of which we speak, German patriotism was in a very sensitive condition. Anti-Semitism had reached an acute stage, and the two weapons were hurled simultaneously against the Jews. Professor Heinrich von Treitschke wielded considerable influence in learned circles, and his anti-Jewish articles in the *Preussische Jahrbücher* attracted the more attention from the author's assumption of studied moderation. Graetz was singled out for attack. He was declared anti-German and anti-Christian; he was at once unpatriotic and filled with an insatiable hatred to Christianity, which he had described as the "Erbfeind." It was noteworthy that Graetz found few Jewish champions to plead his cause; but there was only one who in set terms discarded him, and weakly sought to shelter himself and other Jews behind the absurd argument that Treitschke had erred in calling Graetz's History "a standard work." Graetz, however, was fully able to defend himself, and his two articles in the *Schlesische Presse* (7th and 28th December, 1879) were as brilliant as they were triumphantly successful. His dignified tone, his protest against Treitschke's sin towards humanity, his brave justification of his own strong condemnation of mediæval persecution, were worthy of the great historian. He challenged his detractor to quote the passage in which he had applied the term "Erbfeind" to Christianity. He protested that he had uttered no word of disrespect against primitive or modern Christianity. "I had to deal with the past, I had

to relate the thousand-fold bloody and merciless persecutions which my brethren in race and religion suffered, and I sought to tell the story truly. Was I to falsify history? If you have read my history, can you point to an irreverent word in my account of early Christianity? I had to speak of later, of false Christianity, which had become loveless, hard-hearted and oppressive, which had given the lie to its Master's word of sympathy, love and humility. I had to describe the long drawn-out sufferings which this Christianity had inflicted on the Jews; I described them with a warm heart, and I spoke my thoughts freely." Indirectly Treitschke's charge of hatred to Christianity was shown to be ridiculous by the conduct of the Spanish Academy of History, which elected Graetz an honorary member.¹ The third edition of volume VIII. (1890) contains, in augmented form, the history of the Jews from 1205-1492, and deals largely with the martyrdom of the Jews in Spain and their final expulsion from both parts of the Peninsula. This volume Graetz, "*observantissimus ac grato animo*," dedicated to the Madrid Academy.

Treitschke could not fail to be keenly stung by an historian's appeal to an historian; a reply to Graetz's "open letter" was inevitable. He admitted that he was in error as regarded the "Erbfeind" incident; he could *not* point to the passage in which the term occurred. But he carefully picked out some expressions from Graetz's eleventh volume, in which Germany was roughly handled, and quoted a sentence in which Graetz actually said of a Jew converted to Christianity that "he went over to the enemy's camp"! On grounds so flimsy as these, Treitschke reiterated his charge against the German Jews in general, and Graetz in particular, of hatred towards their country and towards Christianity. "Herr Graetz is a stranger in the land in which it was his accident to be born; he is an Oriental who neither understands nor wishes to understand

¹ Cf. Güdemann: *Neue Freie Presse*. *Ibid.*

our people; he has *nothing* in common with us except that he possesses our rights of citizenship and uses our mother-tongue—for the purpose of calumniating us.”

Graetz, in his final rejoinder, exposed the weakness of Treitschke's Chauvinistic logic. He reminded his opponent that converted Jews did mostly “go over to the enemy's camp,” for the Jews had suffered cruel hurt from the persecution often instigated by their former co-religionists. And so he met Treitschke point by point, vindicating himself with combined dexterity and boldness. The paragraph with which Graetz concluded his unanswered and unanswerable defence, charmed all who had followed the controversy by its simple manliness. “I have now done. If the fancy suggests itself to you to return to the attack, you may slander and abuse me right soundly, for I will utter no further word of reply. One request I make of you. If you have a spark of conscience, do not hold my brethren in religion and race answerable for anything that I have written. If I have offended, I will alone pay the penalty.”

The manifold occupations of his later years left Prof. Graetz but little leisure for travel. Yet in June, 1887, he accepted the pressing invitation of the Committee of the Anglo-Jewish Exhibition to pay a visit to England. The year was a memorable one in Graetz's life. In 1887 he celebrated his seventieth birthday, and the congratulations that flowed in from all parts of the world proved that his fame was wide as well as deep. In his honour, a large number of the most distinguished Jewish scholars compiled a *Jubelschrift* (a form of publication that bids fair to become fashionable), in which they brought some of the fruits of their talent and industry to lay before Graetz as an offering. The volume, said its authors, was at once an act of a homage and a testimony; homage to the great Heaven-blessed historian, and a testimony that his contemporaries had not relegated to posterity the proclamation of his fame. “Of those who have contributed essays to

this volume, many are in a special sense pupils of Graetz ; but there is none on the list but is ready to acknowledge in Graetz his master." Though Graetz never sought applause, yet it was sweet to him when it came. His was that finest form of vanity that is too conscious of its own supreme claims to find praise needful or even fitting. But he was as warm-hearted as the genius of his race ; his sympathies were quick, his interests wide. He did not need to unbend in society with ordinary folk as some scholars condescend to do ; he was unbent by nature, he was as genial a companion as he was a painstaking student. His accomplished wife, who acted as her husband's secretary, and spurred on his ambition, was an amiable hostess, and Graetz's home was one of the most frequented in Breslau. His keen sense of humour made him an admirable society man ; he was very ready with witty epigrams, while his fund of flowing anecdote was apparently inexhaustible. He thoroughly enjoyed telling a good story if the point was directed against himself, but he disliked scandal. He took a part in the local affairs of the Breslau Jewish community, unlike some other Jewish scholars who give up to their books what was meant for mankind. Thus Graetz was as ready to visit the Albert Hall in 1887 as he had been to go to Buda-Pesth with Dr. D. Rosin ten years before to represent Breslau on the inauguration of the new Jewish Seminary in Hungary.

Graetz was received in England with an extraordinary degree of cordiality. All were as amazed at his youthful elasticity of body and mind as they were charmed by his manner and his conversation. His presence gave the Exhibition completeness, and his lecture will, it may be hoped, become an inspiration for English-speaking Jews. Graetz had formed a strangely high estimate of the work that the Jews of England are destined to do for Judaism. Some have felt inclined to explain this by assuming that the magnificence of his reception in London coloured all that he saw, and led him

to an unduly flattering prophecy. But Graetz's lecture, as I have reason to know, was written before he left Germany, and a passage that he cancelled was perhaps more glowing in its hopeful tones than any that he uttered. Recently Graetz's prediction has been echoed by Mr. Schechter, and it will remain for the future to decide whether Graetz read aright the signs of the time when he fancied that they foretold how with the English-speaking Jews the future of Judaism lies. The last essays of the great historian were all written for England.

Graetz's visit to England coincided with the cessation of the *Monatsschrift*, but he himself suggested that the continuity was not long broken, for the JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW would take its place. The editors hardly aspired to so ambitious a success, but Graetz's hearty approval and his promise of active co-operation were strong factors in encouraging us to proceed. On two points he had long discussions with us. He applauded our intention to admit into our pages articles dealing with current religious controversies, but he was somewhat doubtful as to the practical consequences. His and our pains might have been spared, for we have not found ourselves exactly overwhelmed by the mass of controversial contributions offered to us. Graetz suggested that the new Review should be international, that the articles should be printed in the various languages in which their authors wrote them. But it was felt that the Review would look too grotesque with its contributors writing in English, German, French, Italian, and Hebrew. Graetz himself had a sufficient knowledge of English to read the language easily, and so have many Continental Jewish scholars. The example of the *Letterbode* was not one that suggested itself for imitation.

Another of the proposals that Graetz made during his English journey was one for the formation of a Jewish Academy. Two years before, he had written in his *Monatsschrift* of the need for an Encyclopædia of the Talmud to be undertaken jointly by a band of scholars. This pro-

posal he repeated at the Albert Hall, and he expanded it until it became a matured plan for a Jewish Academy. It is unnecessary to give the details of his scheme, for the time is not yet ripe to discuss them. Whether the proposal will ever take practical shape it is hazardous to predict.

The last years of Graetz's life were perhaps the most productive. His intellect betrayed no mark of decrepitude, and his latest work was also among his best. His Biblical researches were prosecuted with youthful vigour. His "History" received its finishing touches, and was in part rewritten. He saw his "Popular Edition" in German through the press, and he regularly revised the proof sheets of the English translation of his *Geschichte*. For this translation he composed a *Retrospect*, which contains the last lines that he wrote, and forms a testament bright with sure confidence in the permanency of the Mission of Israel. The pure rationalism that seeks to distinguish between the ethical and the mystical elements of religion can, according to Graetz, find no home outside Judaism. Judaism proclaimed the holiness of life, and made for all that may be summed up in the term humanity. Graetz never wearied of insisting on the moral influence of the monotheistic idea, but nowhere has he done this more powerfully than in the last *Retrospect* that he took of the history of his race. In its very poetry he saw a lever for the attainment of ethical culture, in its career an eternal token of the Divine Providence. Though in his later years he came to see more and more clearly that all religious traditions must be made the subject of strict scientific examination, though he came to think that the Bible itself was in a large sense the faulty work of man, he never ceased to believe in its inspiration, he never doubted that its underlying impulses to moral progress came direct from God. He saw the finger of God in the latest as in the earliest phases of Jewish history; in the events of the nineteenth century after, as in those of the nineteenth century before the Christian era. No one who fails to detect in it the

handiwork of Providence can write the history of the Jews; and it is because the future will hardly give us again the same combination of religious love and scientific truth-seeking that Graetz's "History" will never be superseded. Graetz's own attitude towards contemporary Judaism was not that of a constructive thinker; he will not be numbered among the great religious forces that have made Judaism what it is. He stood at the parting of the ways, and told the passers-by in each direction that they were all going on the wrong path! But he will always remain an inspiration; from his quarries will be dug the foundation stones on which the future of Judaism may be built. He wrote a History for the Jews—and the world at large has accepted it. He will be remembered as one to whom universal praise was but a new stimulus to higher effort, who, when at the summit of his unique repute, bestowed the same diligent and tireless care on his work as when his spurs were yet to win. His last essay was a protest against the verdict that "Judaism is a wandering secret." Graetz will stand foremost among those who made Judaism what he himself called it, "a wandering revelation."

I. ABRAHAMS.

THE WRITINGS OF PROFESSOR H. GRAETZ,
CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED.¹

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¹ A list of Professor Graetz's works up to 1879, was given in the official report published in Breslau on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the opening of the Seminary (August 10th, 1879). The present list supplies some omissions and corrections, and continues it from 1879. Prof. Graetz's critical edition of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament will, it may be hoped, be soon issued. My thanks are due to M. Isidore Loeb, Dr. Neubauer and Prof. Kaufmann for kind assistance in completing this list.

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DR. FRIEDLÄNDER ON THE JEWISH RELIGION.¹

WHAT is orthodox Judaism? What are its tenets and its practices? If any Englishman had sought an answer to these questions, it would have been difficult to tell him of any book where he could have found one. Now, at last, a book has been written, not for children, but for adults, containing a full answer, and calling itself emphatically "*The Jewish religion*." That is naturally what orthodoxy claims to be. It cannot recognise any other phase of Judaism except its own.

The importance of the work before us lies therefore partly in its uniqueness. It is, so far as I know, the only book of the kind in the English language. Nor are there, I believe, many books like it in either France or Germany, written, that is, from the same frankly orthodox point of view, and for grown-up people, not for children. This last qualification is by no means superfluous. For in a textbook for children, one never knows how far a man may have either expanded or watered down his own belief to suit the supposed needs and faculties of children. In a book written for adults there is no reserve or qualification of that kind. It offers us food for men, and not pap for babes. But there is another reason why Dr. Friedländer's book is of such grave importance, and deserves to be scrutinised with the most anxious care. Its author occupies a place of peculiar trust and responsibility. He speaks with authority. He is the head of what is practically the only theological college in England for the training of Jewish ministers. Through his hands almost

¹ *The Jewish Religion*, by M. Friedländer. London: 1891.

every aspirant to that high office passes; his influence and his teaching are therefore disseminated throughout the very numerous congregations which own the sway of the British Chief Rabbi. When such a man writes a book of some five hundred pages on the Jewish Religion, his work is at once invested with a peculiar interest. It may be assumed that the matter and spirit of the written page reflect the matter and spirit of his oral teaching. In Dr. Friedländer's book we not only learn for the first time what modern Jewish orthodoxy in England actually is, but we learn also what is the Judaism of the Jews' College, what is the Judaism which nearly every Jewish minister for the last twenty-five years has been taught in the past, and which nearly every candidate for the ministry is still being taught to-day.

All this we do unquestionably learn from Dr. Friedländer's book. If the book is a faithful description of orthodoxy—and the author's position would lead us to suppose that this it must be—no one, having read it, can be in any doubt as to what orthodox Judaism really is. One of the most prominent features of the work is its transparent sincerity. Nothing is kept back; there is no hedging, and there is no reserve. The author tells his story fully, and reveals to us his entire creed. His touching and child-like faith enables him to state all his belief with perfect and absolute simplicity. He is never afraid of his opinions, and seldom, consciously perhaps never, attempts to cover them, however strange they may sound to the uninitiated, with any veneer of rationalistic explanation. I shall have to criticise Dr. Friedländer's book in some detail, but before passing on to criticism, I felt impelled to record straightway my admiration of the author's frankness and sincerity, and of the obviously perfect combination in him of rigid orthodoxy in belief with rigid orthodoxy in practice.

Rigid orthodoxy? Yes, that unfortunately is the word. Upon those who have any interest in the welfare of Judaism, and yet do not share Dr. Friedländer's opinions, his book leaves an impression of sadness and disappoint-

ment. The gulf which separates him from the modern spirit is so yawningly wide. No attempt is made to ignore the existence of that gulf; it is rather emphasised and insisted on. It is difficult not to believe that Dr. Friedländer sometimes purposely expresses his orthodoxy in the crudest, abruptest words, in order that there may be no possible mistake as to the uncompromising position which he takes up. He throws down the gauntlet to anything that savours of criticism, reform and progress, with a noble confidence, but also with a certain satisfaction. In reading his book we seem transported out of the nineteenth century. Its philosophy, so far as Dr. Friedländer goes in for philosophy at all—and we shall see that he does not greatly approve of it—is almost confined to the scholastic Jewish theologians of the Middle Ages. Passages from their works are continually quoted, and the author does not seem to realise how different the problems which they sought to answer were to the problems of our own day, and still more how valueless, except from the historical point of view, those answers and solutions really are. As Dr. Friedländer thinks that “it may fairly be said that Maimonides has done far greater service to his brethren by the composition of a systematic code of laws than by his philosophical Guide,” and even maintains that “the Guide would scarcely relieve any one of his perplexities in matters of religious belief” (p. 3, n. 1), it seems a pity that these unrelieving philosophers are so often referred to as if they were not merely examples of mediæval Jewish Aristotelianism or Platonism, but of philosophy itself. When Dr. Friedländer leaves the Middle Ages, he does not advance far. It seems odd to get the theory of innate ideas brought forward again in a book which bears date 1891; yet we find it stated quite simply, “The existence of God may be regarded as an innate idea which we possess from our earliest days. This is the origin of Natural Religion” (page 22).

But enough of introduction. Let us now see what our

author's book actually contains. It is divided into two nearly equal parts, entitled severally, "Our Creed" and "Our Duties." This division is justified and explained in a short introduction. The author distinguishes two elements in religion: "The notion of man's dependence on, and responsibility to, a superior Being, and the influence of this notion on his actions; religious belief and religious practice, or faith and duty" (p. 1). Consequently, the answer to the question, "What is Judaism?" resolves itself into the answer to the two constituent questions, "What does Judaism teach its adherents to *believe*, and what does it teach them to *do*?"¹ (p. 2). It is at once characteristic of the purely Jewish point of view, that the two elements are believing and doing, not as moderns would rather say, believing and being. And this point of view will be illustrated again from the ethical sections of Dr. Friedländer's book, where the required object is always the production of a number of separate actions of various degrees of ethical importance, instead of that more harmonious and comprehensive good, the production of noble character. But of this more hereafter. It is most satisfactory to notice here that Dr. Friedländer does not shirk or minimise the position of faith in the Jewish religion. There are dogmas—or principles, as he usually prefers to call them—as well as rites. "We have certain dogmas, without which the laws can bear no meaning," and not all of these dogmas or truths "can be made evident by logical demonstration" (p. 18). Why, under these circumstances, it is any satisfaction or excellence that "there is no precept, 'thou shalt believe,'" or that "nowhere in our law, whether written or oral, is a *solemn declaration of our creed* demanded"² (*ibid.*), it is very difficult to understand. Clearly the old Mendelssohnian theory has not been entirely got rid of. The current opposition to a

¹ Throughout the quotations the italics are mine, not the author's, unless specially stated to be his.

² Italics the author's.

supposed fixed type of Christianity still makes itself felt now and again in Dr. Friedländer's book; here it is particularly meaningless. If Judaism implies a belief in certain dogmas, it practically does say, "Thou shalt believe." You can't have your cake and eat it too. This attempt at an impossible combination is not often visible in our author's work, but we shall be compelled to notice one other instance of it almost immediately.

How do we get to know what is the faith of Judaism? The answer practically is, From the Bible and from tradition. "The main source of our creed is the Bible, and among the Biblical books, chiefly the Pentateuch" (p. 19). The Bible is "the Divine Word" (p. 31). How do we know that it is so? Among the many supposed sacred books of the world, among the many alleged divine words, how do we know that the Old Testament is the only genuine work? To this question Dr. Friedländer, like the advocate of every other "divine word," can give no rational answer. But the worst of it is that he does in a sort of way attempt to give one, and lo and behold, it is the old answer of the Jewish mediæval philosophers over again (p. 47). It is really amazing to find the circular argument, that because all Israel heard God's voice proclaiming the Ten Commandments, the trustworthiness of Moses was thereby tested and established for ever, revived and put forward with absolute good faith in the nineteenth century. Assuming Exodus xix. to be verbally accurate, it follows that the whole Pentateuch is verbally accurate, and that the Bible is the divine word!

Why not say frankly, I choose to believe the truth of the Bible, and of the Bible only, although I am unable to prove it? Why not, in the next place, say frankly, I choose to believe that all that the Bible says is true, although it be contrary to science, although it be contrary to reason? Dr. Friedländer is tolerably willing to accept this second antinomy; but he still is on the look-out for some half-and-half reconciliations.

On the one hand, we are told that while, in answering the question what does Judaism teach its adherents to believe, "recourse may be had to philosophic speculation . . . the result must be rectified by the teaching of the Torah" (p. 2). Then, again :

All attempts to substitute human reason for Divine authority have failed (p. 29). In all things that surpass our power we cannot do better than follow the guidance of the Divine word (p. 31). We must not presume to criticise the Divine decrees therein recorded (p. 327).

But on the other hand we are told :

There is no real conflict between faith and reason (p. 6). [The truths taught in the Bible] are not contradicted by common sense, or by the results of scientific research (p. 3). The examination of our doubts will prove that none of the truths which the Almighty revealed to mankind are contrary to reason (p. 7).

But what does all this mean? Simply that, in our author's case, faith has so completely got reason under control, that Dr. Friedländer's faith is not in conflict with Dr. Friedländer's reason. But if I, coming to Dr. Friedländer, say to him, Your faith conflicts with my reason; miracles, for example, are to me irrational, and yet you show that the belief in them is part of Judaism—will he tell me to sacrifice reason to faith, or faith to reason? Or may I "suspend judgment," and believe neither faith nor reason, halting irresolute between the two? Or may I interpret miracles "figuratively"? For in a very curious passage Dr. Friedländer tells us that—

When we discover a contradiction between a Biblical statement and the dictates of our reason, we are sure that we have erred either in the right understanding of the words of the Bible, or in our reasoning. On finding the mistake in our reasoning we abandon what we have hitherto considered as fully established; but so long as we are unable to discover where our reasoning is faulty, we either suspend our judgment for the present, and consider the question as one of the problems which we have not yet been able to solve satisfactorily, or, whenever possible, we attempt to reconcile by figurative interpretations the teachings of the Bible with the results of our research (p. 176).

Then, too, how about faith and science, which, by the way, so far as we believe in its results, is only a synonym for reason? The conflicts between Genesis and Geology, between Genesis and Astronomy, between Genesis and Biology, are too obvious to have escaped our author's attention. Indeed, on p. 34, he summarises the discrepancies very fairly. But, alas, why does he not content himself with an assertion of his preference for Genesis over science, and with pointing out how, as one scientific theory has so often given way to another—

There is no reason why we should not in the present conflict assume, *prima facie*, that the scientific and philosophical dogmas now in favour, alike with Jews and non-Jews, will have their time, and will ultimately give way to other theories, and the present conflict will then likewise terminate, dying a natural death (p. 36, cf. p. 178)

Unfortunately Dr. Friedländer has apparently an uncomfortable suspicion, either that the theories "now in favour" will not "give way" to others for a long time, or perhaps that the others may be no more tender to Genesis and Faith than their predecessors, for on one point he goes out of his way to reconcile Faith and Science with a new theory of his own. The theory is devised to meet the scientific dogma of Evolution. It is intimately connected with Dr. Friedländer's conception of God, as the perpetual worker of miracles, that is, of "deviations from the regular course of nature." Now, the ascertained laws of nature at present in existence, and all the evidence of geology and zoology, point to a slow and secular evolution of the earth and its inhabitants, in violent contradiction to the first chapter of Genesis; but we may all the same believe that—

The Word of God produced in a moment what the natural forces established by the Creator would effect [or, could have effected, *ergo*] by gradual development in millions of years (p. 37).

The evidence of the earth, with its fossils and fossilised animals, seems to show irresistibly that the World was not

created in six days. But Dr. Friedländer gets over the difficulty by the following statement:—

The various strata of the earth, *whatever forms they contain* [i.e., pre-Adamite animals and all!], cannot with certainty be described as the results of development; they may *just as well* have come directly from the hand of the Creator (p. 182).

Apparently, therefore, God's only object in creating the fossils was to lead man astray in the deductions he would draw from them, to mock poor, human reason that has formed the false conception of a changeless God. But, seriously, is it not painfully obvious that this strange idea of God creating the world by one set of laws, and then keeping it going by an entirely different set, degrades the conception of Deity to that of an Almighty conjuror, a deceiving, if omnipotent, magician? To such curious straits is the purest faith driven, when, not content with its own province, it attempts to argue with science and devise impossible reconcilements.

Equally unsatisfactory is it when difficulties are met by harmonising. This method does no harm to science, but no good to faith. . An instance of it is the way in which the other difficulty suggested by the first article of Maimonides' thirteen—nobly taken to include the literal truth of the first chapter of Genesis—is met and explained away. The difficulty itself is stated most clearly and succinctly:—

In the Bible man is described as the aim and end of the whole creation. ...Earth is the centre round which the whole universe revolves (pp. 34, 182).

Science contradicts both these propositions. The explanation of the discrepancy is as follows, and it may be left to the reader to discover what relation this explanation bears to the difficulty which it is supposed to explain. Dr. Friedländer's statements conflict possibly neither with the Bible nor with science, but do they in the least degree reconcile the one with the other?

It is true that the earth is one of the most insignificant bodies in

the universe [can it then be the centre?], and man is a small portion of the creatures on earth, and yet it is neither impossible nor unreasonable to believe that the benefits which man derives from the various parts of the creation—from the sun, the moon, and the stars—were essential elements in the scheme of the All-wise Creator (p. 37). Whatever view the authors of the Biblical books held as regards the systems of the universe, whether they placed the earth in the centre or not, whether all the stars and systems of stars existed, in their opinion, only for the sake of the earth and for the benefit of man [*in the Bible man is described as the aim and end of the whole creation*, p. 34], their object was to address man, to instruct him, and to teach him the omnipotence, wisdom, and goodness of God. For this reason the account of the Creation is given in such a manner that man should be able to reproduce in his mind the work of each day of the Creation, to view it from his standpoint, and to recognise the benefits each day's work bestowed on him. The fact that other beings are benefited at the same time, and that the benefit they derive is likewise part of the Creator's design, is by no means denied by those who believe that the well-being of man was included in the design of the Creator (pp. 182-183).

While pointing out that as regards the truths of the Bible "it matters little how we arrange them . . . provided we believe in them implicitly" (p. 19), Dr. Friedländer accepts the Articles of Faith drawn up by Maimonides, and groups all the details of "our Creed" under one or other of the Maimonidean thirteen. The Jewish doctrine of God—apart from the doctrine of Revelation—is thus subsumed under the first five of these principles, as well as under the tenth and eleventh.

Under the first four articles Dr. Friedländer speaks of God as the Creator, and of his Unity, Incorporeality, and Eternity. Under the tenth falls his Omniscience. This practically contains the whole of what our author has to say about God in himself and in his relation to the world. The general effect produced is not entirely satisfactory. It might be said that at the present time nobody doubts the eternity and incorporeality of deity. These are not the questions on which clear exposition is needed. What we want to know about is the attitude which orthodox

Judaism takes up in regard to God's relation to the world. Does it teach an immanent or a transcendent God, or a God who is at one and the same time both? Now Dr. Friedländer is painfully silent upon this momentous question, but the general impression is that his conception of the deity is very transcendental. He seems to rule the world as from without—rule it, too, as we have seen, now in one way and now in another, and frequently, as we have still to see, changing his purpose in answer to the petitions of man. Dr. Friedländer succinctly, if too one-sidedly, states the relation between Deism and Theism thus:—

Theism and Deism have this in common, that both assume a spiritual power, a divine being, as the cause and source of everything that exists. They differ in this: to Theism this power is immanent in us and the things round us; Deism considers this power as separate from the things (p. 29).

Dr. Friedländer rejects both Deism and Theism, but unfortunately nowhere informs us which of the two is right in the vital point of difference, or whether there is a third doctrine which combines the truth in each by raising them, Hegelian-wise, to a higher unity. Thus it is that the doctrine of God's omnipresence, so far more difficult and important than his eternity, is nowhere definitely stated or explained. This is a very serious omission. Dr. Friedländer alludes in a few places to God's ubiquity (*e.g.*, pp. 42, 423), and quotes (p. 149) "David's" great psalm (the 139th) approvingly, but he never explains or expounds the attribute which yet, as I have said, craves exposition and explanation so far more urgently, both in itself and for the present time, than the doctrine of God's bodilessness or eternity. God is one, and yet he is near; he is everywhere throughout the infinity of space. How is all this possible if it be not precisely because, as the Theists hold, God is "immanent in us and the things around us"? Because this grave question of the divine Immanence or Transcendence is ignored, that which Dr. Friedländer has to say

about God's unity is vague and negative. The divine Unity seems to have become a sort of fetish, of which no rational and soul-satisfying explanation can be given. In the sense that there is only one divine Being, God's unity is obvious. But what does the attribute mean in itself, and as instinct or inherent in the divine nature? We know what Plato meant by it—self-consistency and changelessness—but that is precisely what, as regards God's relation to the world, Dr. Friedländer does not and cannot mean. All we get is some scholastic argumentations on the divine attributes, with indirect reference to the doctrine of the Trinity.

Attributes are assigned to God both in the Scriptures and in our Prayers. We must not, however, forget that such attributes do not describe anything inherent in the Divine Being, but only God's relation to man and His actions in such terms as are intelligible to human beings. Most of the attributes are interpreted as being of a negative character, indicating what we must not say of God. When we speak of the Will, Wisdom, and Spirit of God, we do not speak of anything separate from the Divine Being, but of the Divine Being Himself. The Jewish doctrine of the unity of God does not admit any kind of dualism in the Divine Being, and therefore rejects the existence of Divine Attributes as distinct from God Himself. He is One, simple and indivisible. Even this property of being One seemed to some theologians to be contrary to strict unity, and we are therefore taught that we must not understand it in the sense of a numerical unit, in which sense the term is used when applied to created beings (pp. 39-40).

Will an averagely intelligent person get any clear idea of the meaning of the last sentence in the foregoing paragraph? I fancy that the God of Dr. Friedländer's book, to most of his unsophisticated readers, will still be only a "magnified and non-natural man" with the great addition, indeed, that he "makes for righteousness." It is perfectly true that for a large proportion of mankind this anthropomorphic God is the only God whom they can ever hope to realise. Nor does this conception of God exclude a grip upon the essentials of religion. But this is not enough. We want to be able to present an acceptable religion to

these who have begun to think, to those who—more or less consciously—find it hard to assimilate the God of childhood with the principles of science, to those for whom the conception of the external heavenly Ruler has become a philosophical impossibility. Such people must be preserved for religion and Judaism by a presentation of the doctrine of God at once less child-like and less scholastic than that put forward by Dr. Friedländer. God's ubiquity and immanence must be brought into connection with his self-consciousness and will. It must be shown how his co-extension with the infinite does not preclude those essentials of personality which must be retained in any living system of religion. I see no reason why a conception of God answering to these requirements is beyond the power even of Orthodox Judaism. Let us, therefore, for the present hope that Dr. Friedländer's conception is by no means Orthodoxy's last word.

Better than nothing is even the bald statement that apparently opposite ideas must be united in the composite conception of God. The Mishnah, for example, does this, as regards the relation of God to man, in the famous adage: Everything is foreseen, yet freedom of choice is given; and the world is judged by grace, yet all is according to the amount of the work (*Aboth*, iii. 19). Dr. Friedländer, however, is not quite bold enough to imitate the Mishnaic sage: he attempts a reconciliation, and ends in a contradiction in terms. Thus, on p. 149, he says:

It is the will of God that man should have free-will and should be responsible for his actions; and His foresight does not necessarily include predetermination.

But also:—

The *entire* past and future lies unrolled before His eyes, and nothing is hidden from Him (p. 148). The misdeeds of the wicked and the sufferings of the pious are foreseen by God (p. 117).

And finally:—

We should not call it a defect in God if His Omniscience were restricted to things knowable; a *prescience of things to be determined*

by man's free-will is contradictory in itself and illogical, and to say that God would not be omniscient if He did not know them is as absurd as to say that God would not be omnipotent if He could not make twice two to be three (p. 221).

But are not the "misdeeds of the wicked," on p. 117 "foreseen by God," on the accepted authority of the book of Daniel, among the "things to be determined by man's free-will," a prescience of which by God is, on p. 221, declared to be "contradictory and illogical"? Surely *Aboth* iii. 19, is better than this: the old Rabbi grasped the nettle firmly and escaped unscathed.

Maimonides' fifth article declares that to God, and to God alone, it is right to pray. It implies, therefore, according to Dr. Friedländer, that "God can fulfil our petitions." "We believe in the efficacy of prayer" (p. 183). Our author's doctrine of prayer is to be gathered not only from the notes to this article (pp. 183-189), but also from other places where prayer is treated as one of "our duties towards God with reference to speech" (pp. 278-285), and, again, where it is discussed as an element in divine worship (pp. 418-444). It will be convenient to consider these various passages together.

On the subject of prayer Dr. Friedländer is severely uncompromising. He has apparently been irritated—and perhaps not without some justice—by the attempts of those who would seek to retain prayer and yet to eliminate the miraculous basis upon which, as he supposes, it rests. He dislikes vague phrases about communion with God, spiritual aspiration and the rest. He, therefore, says quite plainly and curtly:—

The immediate effect sought to be obtained by this act (*i.e.*, by prayer) is the fulfilment of our wishes. Every such fulfilment implies a miracle, a deviation from the regular course of nature (p. 184).

Later on Dr. Friedländer, in a kindlier mood perhaps, so far modifies this vigorous statement as to say that the desire to obtain from God "certain things which we have not" is only one "among the various motives that impel

us to seek communion with our Father" (p. 422). But, on the whole, it may be said that the main idea of prayer to Dr. Friedländer is that of a request, prayer for something. Those who not only "thought," but still think "it incompatible with the notion of God's Unity and Immutability that he should be moved by man's prayer to do something which otherwise He would not have done" (p. 184), feel something painfully repellent in Dr. Friedländer's attitude. He seems to say to us: Hands off; you have no part nor lot in this matter; you do not believe in the efficacy of prayer. I turn to the early work of a great living Christian teacher; he also speaks of the efficacy of prayer, and yet we seem to hear in him a different note, and we can follow and accept his words.

Of what nature that prayer is which is effectual to the obtaining of its requests is a question of the same kind as what constitutes a true faith. That prayer, we should reply, which is itself most of an act, which is most immediately followed by action, which is most truthful, manly, self-controlled, which seems to lead and direct, rather than to follow, our natural emotions. That prayer which is its own answer, because it asks not for any temporal good, but for union with God. That prayer which begins with the confession, "We know not what to pray for as we ought"; which can never by any possibility interfere with the laws of nature, because even in extremity of danger or suffering, it seeks only the fulfilment of His will. That prayer which acknowledges that our enemies, or those of a different faith, are equally with ourselves in the hands of God; in which we never unwittingly ask for our own good at the expense of others. That prayer in which faith is strong enough to submit to experience; in which the soul of man is nevertheless conscious not of any self-produced impression, but of a true communion with the Author and Maker of his being.¹

¹ Prof. Jowett, *The Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians, Galatians, Romans, with Critical Notes and Dissertations*. Second Edition, 1859, Vol. II., p. 247. Compare also this statement from the recent work of another Christian teacher belonging to a very different school: "The very sequence of petitions in the Lord's prayer contradicts as forcibly as possible the crude notion that prayer is an arbitrary process, by which we induce God to do what we happen to want, and drag His action down to the level of our short-sighted desires. . . . [It] makes it impossible

Apart from this question as to the object of prayer, we find a double tendency at work in Dr. Friedländer's mind. On the one hand, he is well aware of the spiritual nature of prayer, and says some excellent things about it. Thus, he tells us that "it is not the language that determines the value of prayer, but the devotion of the heart" (p. 420); and, again, that "equally indifferent with regard to the value of prayer are its length and its form" (p. 421). But, on the other hand, there exists the established ritual, with its fixed and lengthy prayers, which it is a "duty" for every Israelite to repeat daily. Thus it is that we find the marked and even strained effort to reduce prayer to "audible speech," and then to written formulæ. His main argument is well worthy of attentive consideration, though it would take too long to inquire into its exact measure of truth:—

Thoughts and feelings that remain unspoken are seldom permanent. We soon cease to be conscious of them ourselves, and they often disappear without leaving any trace behind them; whilst sentiments and ideas expressed in words become strengthened, and take a deeper and firmer root in our hearts. The relationship between our lips and our heart is, therefore, of mutual benefit to both. The words uttered with the lips receive their value and importance from the heart, and the emotions of the heart derive strength and support from the lips. . . . Our desire to please Him whom we love sincerely, our longing for an opportunity to do what is good in His eyes, ought not to remain hidden and silent. The sooner and the more frequently we give expression to these wishes in audible words, the sooner do they become realised, and the sooner are the promptings of our heart followed by deeds (pp. 279, 280).

Private devotion, "alone to the Alone," is, I fancy, the true touchstone and test of prayer, without which public worship would want its basis, to which it is at best but

to attribute any arbitrary power to prayer. Its power, we learn—the power of our sonship—is not power to override God's law, but to co-operate with it it depends on our intelligent co-operation with the divine method." *The Incarnation of the Son of God*; Bampton Lectures for 1891, by the Rev. Charles Gore, pp. 125, 126.

complementary. Probably no one gains the full benefit from public worship who has not the capacity and habit of private devotion—of prayer, that is, without a fixed code of words, spontaneous, the offspring of circumstance. Dr. Friedländer, with very doubtful truth, reverses this relation. He admits, indeed, perhaps somewhat too easily, that—

If, yearning for communion with God, we fervently appeal to Him in solitude, where we are undisturbed by the intrusion of any other person, *it will not be long* before we shall feel ourselves in the very presence of Him who is nigh to all those who call upon Him in truth (p. 284).

But in the very next page he urges that, while “such moments of solitary devotion are very precious, and are by no means to be despised,” “*they are not frequent, and not always successful*. Public worship has this advantage,” etc., etc. (p. 285). And in the section on the ritual, Dr. Friedländer gives full rein to his love of precept and rule in all departments of religion, ending up with the following strange paragraph, which, though it deals only with Blessings, seems to throw a flood of light upon the author's general views as to the relative worth of fixed prayer and spontaneous devotion:—

No restriction is enforced upon us if we desire on our part to give expression to our feeling of gratitude and reverence toward the Almighty in our own words on occasions not provided for in the ancient forms of benedictions and prayers. In order, however, to make a distinction between the forms of obligatory *berachoth* fixed by our sages and the optional ones introduced by ourselves, we do not employ the words, “O Lord our God, King of the Universe,” which are essential in the former (p. 444).

I pass over Revelation for the moment, and turn to the eleventh article. It is of great interest to know what attitude modern Jewish orthodoxy takes up on the question of Divine Retribution; for to the outsider there are a number of contradictory voices to be heard on this subject in the Bible, and one is eagerly expectant to learn which of these is now adopted, and which, therefore, are explained

away. There are few religious questions on which clear teaching is more desirable ; but, unfortunately, clear teaching is just that with which Dr. Friedländer does not here provide us. Is this the fault of Dr. Friedländer, or of modern orthodoxy in general ? Has he not made up his own mind, or is orthodoxy still irresolute ? At any rate, we shall observe in his book an unsatisfactory vacillation, together with, I am sorry to say, a still more unsatisfactory omission.

Says the eleventh article : " I believe, with perfect faith, that God rewards those that keep his commandments, and punishes those that transgress them." This is undoubtedly the general doctrine of the Hebrew scriptures, to which, moreover, it must be added that both reward and punishment are there supposed to be allotted in this world and not in another. In addition, the Old Testament teaches now and again the solidarity of society as regards sin, and the hereditary transmission of punishment. With all these doctrines, contradicted as they so often are by experience, and not infrequently in the Bible itself, Dr. Friedländer refuses to break once and for all ; but neither does he venture to accept them without exception or demur. It is true that our author declares that—

We understand the doctrine of retribution only in its general outlines. We are convinced of the truth of the divine words, " There is no peace to the wicked " ; but how the law is applied in every single case is known to God alone (p. 151).

So far so good ; and it would, perhaps, have been better had nothing more been said on the subject ; but, as we shall soon see, this plan was not followed. Here, again, the sage of the Mishnah grasped his nettle. He says :—" It is not in our power to explain either the prosperity of the wicked or the afflictions of the righteous." Dr. Friedländer, has a shot, so to speak, at several explanations, is not quite satisfied with any, and leaves out the most important of all. To begin with, he asserts the doctrine, " Obedience to God's word is followed by his bless-

ings, while disobedience is the cause of ruin and misery" (p. 143). And not only for communities, but also for individuals: "Our success [*in what* is not explained] depends on our obedience to the will of God" (p. 436). The first explanation of the apparent violation of these alleged principles of divine government in actual experience is that possibly the seeming good are really evil, and the seeming evil are really good. This supposition is illustrated by the story of Cain and Abel. So far, then, the doctrine is still maintained, though Dr. Friedländer has not the courage to allude to and disown the absurd applications of it in *Aboth* v. ii., *seq.*, and the hateful passage in *Sabbath* ii. 6, which still pollutes the liturgy. The second suggestion is that the success of the wicked is only temporary. The third, that it is illusory; while the pious—let me add, what Dr. Friedländer omits—in the midst of trouble, can still enjoy the bliss of their communion with God (p. 153). The fourth suggestion is that, in another world, "everlasting happiness will more than compensate for the absence of material and transient success in this life" (p. 155). The fifth and last suggestion is that the problem is insoluble (p. 154). But is it not a very strange thing that the educational value of suffering is never touched on at all—that this sixth suggestion, which, because it is Biblical, lay ready to our author's hand, is never hinted at or alluded to? Could not something of real value and moment have been made out of such passages as Deut. viii. 5; Ps. xciv. 12, cxix. 67, 71; Prov. iii. 11, 12; Job v. 17? Again, I am no Talmudist, but it appears that this ethical conception of suffering was developed in the Talmud.¹ I find that one Rabbi Huna said, "Him in whom God delights he crushes with suffering." But of all this there is no word in Dr. Friedländer's book. Has modern orthodoxy rejected it?

¹ "The Doctrine of Divine Retribution in the Rabbinical Literature," by S. Schechter. JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, Vol. III., pp. 34-51.

Again, as regards the question of social solidarity and the transmission of suffering or punishment from one member of a community to another, and from one generation to a second, Dr. Friedländer is not sufficiently distinct. On p. 63 the story of Achan in the book of Joshua, with the disastrous consequences of his sin, is considered to be "an illustration of the principle that the whole community is made responsible for the crime of the individual till the crime is discovered and punished." Does Dr. Friedländer then wish us to believe that under such circumstances God habitually punishes many for the sin of one? About thirty-six men die because of Achan's sin before it is discovered. And not only that, but when it is discovered, it is not only Achan who is put to death, but *his sons and his daughters and his oxen and his asses and his sheep*. Is not this solidarity with a vengeance? Why not then frankly disown it, as Dr. Friedländer implicitly does on p. 224, where he says: "Of this we are certain, if death is punishment, everyone dies for his own sin"?

In accordance with this acceptance of the new doctrine of the Deuteronomist and Ezekiel, Dr. Friedländer explains away the Second Commandment, not, as I have always been accustomed to hear it explained away, as meaning only that vice (*e.g.*, drunkenness) has an hereditary tendency, but as meaning, more simply and less obviously modernly, that "the bad example set by a man frequently corrupts his children, grandchildren, and great grandchildren. In that case (*i.e.*, but only then) they will all receive their punishment" (p. 251). (By the way what a singularly vicious old man our author must have had in view who positively corrupts even his great grandchildren!) The truth is that what Dr. Friedländer is really combating when he so emphatically affirms that "if death is punishment, everyone dies for his own sin," is not the transmission of punishment by virtue of the solidarity of society, (against which theory, to judge from his remarks on the story of Achan, he has little objection), but the doctrine of

Vicarious Atonement. Yet here in his opposition to Christianity he goes too far, and not only offends grammar in the interpretation of a famous passage in Scripture, but neglects a most important ethical truth, which has both Biblical and Talmudical sanction.

The virtue of self-sacrifice is ignored in Dr. Friedländer's book. Hence it is that while we hear a great deal of duty, we hear little of renouncing love. Yet the doctrine of sacrifice, of suffering voluntarily undergone for the sake of others, is not only taught in Isaiah liii., but also in the Rabbinical literature.¹ Dr. Friedländer has apparently not found himself able to realise the difference between *Vicarious Suffering* and *Vicarious Punishment*. Let me quote on this point from Professor Butcher's delightful essay on Sophocles :—

We notice an important distinction between suffering for another and being punished for another. The first is a natural and physical process (let me also add, "or a voluntary and self-chosen act"), a fact proved by experience. The second implies a judicial act—one which, when ascribed to the Deity, is an unauthorised inference from, or interpretation of, a fact. Punishment implies guilt, and the notion of an innocent man being punished for the guilty is a moral contradiction. The innocent man may and does suffer for the guilty; that he should be punished for the guilty is inconceivable, for guilt and with it moral condemnation are intransferable. To speak, therefore, of *Vicarious Suffering* has nothing in it to shock morality: *Vicarious Punishment* (if the full meaning of the idea is realised) is immoral.²

"It is emphatically declared in the Talmud that the reward of good deeds is given to the righteous in the future life" (p. 222). Dr. Friedländer is commendably reserved in his remarks about this future life, though he emphasises its material aspect as a scene of reward and punishment somewhat too prominently (p. 166). I am

¹ JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, Vol. III., p. 43 fin.

² *Some Aspects of the Greek Genius*, by Prof. S. H. Butcher. 1891. p. 120.

very glad to see that orthodoxy no longer categorically asserts the resurrection of the body. You may believe in the resurrection of the body or in the immortality of the soul as you please. God "gives life to things dead."

But how this will be done in reference to our own selves, whether we shall enjoy the same life, whether our future life will be an improved edition of the present one, whether *all* will be restored to life, or whether the new life after death will be enjoyed by the soul alone, or by body and soul jointly: these and similar questions transcend the bounds of human knowledge (p. 164).

To those who, with Maimonides, consider that the doctrine of the immortality of the soul is "more rational and more acceptable to thinking man," Dr. Friedländer acutely and sensibly replies:—

This may be the case, but we, human beings, a combination of soul and body, are, in reality, as unable to conceive the separate existence of our soul as we are to comprehend the resurrection of our body (p. 165).

On one point, however, connected with this subject, I was greatly astonished by Dr. Friedländer's book. From the pulpit of my own, the Reform Synagogue, I have been so accustomed to hear excellent and eloquent denunciations of the doctrine of eternal punishment, as not only in itself grossly inconsistent with the idea of a merciful or even a just God, but also as un-Scriptural and un-Jewish, that I had come to the hasty conclusion that the teaching which I heard there was the general doctrine of modern Judaism, whether orthodox or reformed. I deeply regret to find that this is not the case. Dr. Friedländer does not assert, but neither does he deny, this horrible doctrine. He says:—

The question has been asked, How long shall the punishment of the wicked last? Will it be eternal? And if so, is it compatible with God's goodness? *This and similar questions do not concern us in the least.* Our task is to do what the Lord has commanded us to do, and to trust, as regards the future, in him who knows best to combine goodness and justice. We must here bear in mind that God's thoughts are not ours (p. 224).

We have now to retrace our steps, and turn to the four middle Maimonidean principles—the group which deals with Revelation. With them may be classed the twelfth principle, the doctrine of Messiah. Here Dr. Friedländer's rigid orthodoxy makes itself most painfully felt. I say "painfully," because I am convinced that this uncompromising attitude is pregnant with misfortune. One might have hoped that orthodox Judaism, like orthodox Christianity, though as yet in a less degree, would have thought fit to make some attempt at reconciliation between criticism and itself. That hope is cruelly disappointed by Dr. Friedländer's book; there is not the faintest sign of concession. If, then, Judaism cannot be reconciled with criticism, what, in the eyes of all but Dr. Friedländer and those who think with him, will become of it? But this sad reflection is by the way. Let us return to our subject and see what Dr. Friedländer's orthodoxy as regards the Bible involves:—

The contents of the (Biblical) books are holy, free from all blemish and error. The books vary greatly in character, in style, and in purpose, but truthfulness is common to them all. *Whether they narrate events* or proclaim God's decrees, or instruct and edify their hearers, what they say is true (p. 57).

Chronicles, then, is as "truthful" as Kings, even when it contradicts Kings.

Again :

The whole *Torah*, including both history and precepts, is of divine origin ; nothing is contained in the *Torah* that was not revealed to Moses by the Almighty. . . . The whole *Torah* (except the last few verses, added by Joshua) is the work of Moses (pp. 134, 135).

And lastly :

Those prophecies that referred to the proximate future have been verified by subsequent events, and so also will those prophecies that refer to the remote future and have not yet been fulfilled (p. 132).

We are not therefore surprised that Dr. Friedländer believes in the literal truth of the Paradise story—"Adam heard the voice of God" (p. 47), in the story of the

flood and in the supernatural origin of the rainbow (p. 48). Canticles and Ecclesiastes, to say nothing of Proverbs, were written by King Solomon (pp. 113, 114), while the Book of Daniel is also perfectly authentic; indeed, "the last six chapters seem to have been written by Daniel himself." (p. 117). Even Jonah is no parable, but a literally true story, the crisis of the hero's fortunes being thus elegantly and euphemistically described: "during a storm he was thrown overboard, swallowed by a fish, and again brought to the shore"! (p. 81.)

Dr. Friedländer is, however, aware that there exists such a naughty thing as Biblical Criticism, and that silly attempts have been made to disintegrate the Pentateuch. This criticism he essays to demolish on pp. 205-215. The less that is said about these pages the better. I shall only allude to them once or twice when dealing with the peculiar exegesis which is revealed by Dr. Friedländer's book; here I will only add that our author's open-mindedness to understand criticism may be gathered from the two following categorical statements.

1. There is *nothing* in the Pentateuch that betrays a post-Mosaic origin. (p. 209).

2. There is *no reason whatever* to doubt the correctness of the headings [of Psalms, Proverbs, Prophecies, etc.] (p. 56).

From Dr. Friedländer's orthodox point of view it is natural that he should maintain the doctrine of a personal Messiah, the restoration of the Jews to Palestine, and the re-institution of the sacrificial system. Having regard to certain violent nationalists of our own day, it is very important and satisfactory to find Dr. Friedländer insisting that for the fulfilment of prophecy the restoration of the Jews to Palestine must be miraculously accomplished.

Even if a band of adventurers were to succeed in reconquering Palestine for the Jews by means of arms, or re-acquiring the Holy Land by purchasing it from the present owners, we should not see in such an event the consummation of our hopes (p. 162).

Such a secular restoration would also happily not require the revival of sacrifices. Dr. Friedländer says distinctly :

The mere acquisition of the Temple Mount or of all Palestine by Jews, by war, or political combinations, or purchase, would not justify the revival (p. 417).

But as a dogma we must believe in their revival. Dr. Friedländer from his point of view is not unreasonably sarcastic upon those who, believing in the eternal validity of one portion of the law, deny it of another. What right have we "to criticise the Word of God, and to think we are too advanced in culture to obey the divine commands" ? (p. 416). We ought, therefore, to educate our feelings, and with Dr. Friedländer to train ourselves conscientiously to say that :

However contrary the slaughter of animals, the sprinkling of their blood, and the burning of their flesh be to our taste, we . . . look forward with eagerness and pleasure for the revival of the full Temple service as an event that will enable us to do the will of the Almighty revealed in the *Torah* (p. 417).

It is perhaps an inevitable result of Dr. Friedländer's uncompromising orthodoxy and of his attachment to the traditional explanations of a pre-scientific age that his Biblical exegesis is so curiously mediæval. One way of "employing speech in the service of the Lord," is the reading and study of the Holy Scriptures and their *commentaries*. We cannot but fear that the *Exegetisches Handbuch* is not one of these commentaries. Homiletic use of Scripture is one thing ; exegesis is another. In "The Jewish religion," and it is therefore to be feared in the class-rooms of the Jews' College, they are frequently confounded. Take as instances the strange explanations of the musical headings of the Psalms (pp. 92-94) ; or again of the heading of the third chapter of Habakkuk "'Prayer of Habakkuk on account of errors ;' for in it he rectifies, as it were, his previous erroneous opinion" (p. 83¹).

¹ Very odd too is the mountain of meaning attached to the particle *ו* (and) in the repetition of the Decalogue, Dent. v. 17 (p. 269).

Sometimes the unnatural exegesis is due to a desire to rationalise or explain away Biblical statements with which even Dr. Friedländer is not quite in harmony. So, for instance, as to Lev. xvii. 11 (p. 416), or Deut. xxiii. 21 (p. 296). So also as to the second clause of the fifth commandment, which is explained to mean that as pleasure and content contribute to health and well being, while anger and trouble produce ill-health and weakness, "*the mutual affection between parent and child is therefore the cause that the days of both the parents and the children are prolonged*" (p. 258). The obvious, retributive meaning of the clause, which conflicts with experience, is thus deftly done away with. Once or twice opposition to Christian interpretation suggests strange explanations. Thus we may account for the translation of Isaiah liii. 4, *אִכֵּן חִלֵּינוּ הוּא נִשָּׂא וּמַכָּאֲבֵינוּ סְבָלָם*, "*Surely he hath borne griefs caused by us, and carried sorrows caused by us,*" (p. 224), or the interpretation of the child promised in Isaiah ix. 5, as a "figurative representation of the faith of Israel in the omnipotence of God"! (p. 68, n. 1). Critical difficulties have suggested other perversions of natural exegesis. The obvious inference from the words *עַבְרַת הַיַּרְדֵּן*, where it means the eastern side of Jordan, in such passages as Deut. i. 1, etc., is got over by saying that "the phrase only means the banks of Jordan" (p. 209). As disingenuousness in Dr. Friedländer's case is utterly out of the question, such a statement only shows how preconceived opinions may influence translation and exegesis. Other instances are to be found on pp. 207, 214, 374, n. 1 and 423. Is exegesis of this kind the necessary concomitant of orthodoxy?

Maimonides' ninth principle, according to Dr. Friedländer, means "that *both* the written and *the Oral Law* are of Divine origin, and that nothing may be added to or taken from it" (p. 21). We are naturally very curious to know what attitude Modern Orthodoxy takes up with regard to the Oral Law. In sermons and addresses it

seems to be rather kept in the background, but Dr. Friedländer is by no means disposed to abandon its claim to Divine and to Mosaic origin. It is necessary to scrutinise our author's words on this very important subject in some detail, as they are not always equally clear.

On p. 138 "the laws taught in the Talmud" are divided into five heads:—

(1) Laws directly or indirectly derived from the Pentateuch and called *מִן הַתּוֹרָה* or *מִדְּאוּרֵינָא*, Laws derived from the *Torah*.

(2) Laws which trace their origin to the time of Moses, or in general to the remote past, and called *לַמֶּשֶׁה מִסִּינַי*, Laws given to Moses on Sinai.

(3) Laws originating between the close of the Pentateuch and the close of the Bible, and called *דְּבָרֵי קְבֻלָּה*, words of tradition.

(4) Laws introduced in post-Biblical times and called *מִדְּרַבָּנָא*, Laws introduced by our teachers.

(5) Customs (*מִנְהַג*), i.e., "religious practices which have not been introduced by any authority or based on a particular Biblical text, but in consequence of long usage have become as sacred as a law established by the proper authority" [what the "proper authority" or "any authority" may be is not indicated].

The proof that "oral laws" were revealed to Moses on Mount Sinai (p. 136) is scarcely strong enough to bear its burden. More important it is to ask how many of the above five classes the true Oral Law includes? How many of them are of Divine Origin? Only (2), or only (1) and (2), or (1) (2) (3) and (4)? We want to know this badly, but we are never precisely informed. The practical importance of the answer will be soon apparent. Instrumental music, for instance, is excluded from the Synagogue on Sabbaths and Holidays by Rabbinical Law (p. 428). Now if we knew (*a*) to which class this prohibition belongs, and (*b*) to which classes the stamp of divinity attaches, we should learn whether

there might be some chance that this unfortunate Law could be repealed by the riper wisdom of our own times. Again, in the blessing for Chanukah we read: "Blessed art thou, who hast sanctified us by thy commandments, and *commanded us* to kindle the lights" (p. 410). Now clearly this Law can only have been introduced in post-Biblical times, and falls therefore under class 4, among Laws called מדרבנן. They are then, I suppose, of Divine Origin? But the difficulty does not end here. On p. 141, these very Laws דרבנן, under which the Law of kindling a light on Chanukah *must* fall, are described as implying "*no addition to the Torah*" and therefore as not contravening Deut. iv. 2.

They are merely bye-laws and regulations as regards the method of carrying out the Laws of the Pentateuch, and are designed to facilitate or ensure their fulfilment, and to prevent ourselves from forgetting or disregarding them.

Can the law to kindle the light of Chanukah be a bye-law to a Pentateuchal ordinance? Again, as to the Dietary Laws. (These, I grieve to say, are emphasized by Dr. Friedländer with most vigorous insistence.) The dietary laws, we are told, "are exactly the same now as they were in the days of Moses" (p. 237). Even the Jewish method of slaughtering cattle (as explained in the commandments comprised now in *Hilchoth Shechitah*) formed part of the Oral Law revealed to Moses on Sinai (p. 463). But one more difficulty remains. Quoting the commandment, "Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk," Dr. Friedländer adds, "*Tradition* explains this law as forbidding all mixture of meat and milk" (p. 461). Now, what is meant here by *Tradition*? According to the fivefold division of Talmudical laws, the "words of *Tradition*" are laws which originated between the Mosaic age and the close of the Bible. Their Divine origin is not explicitly mentioned. And anyway, if it is only *Tradition* which explained this law as forbidding all mixture of meat and milk, how can

it be justly said that the dietary laws are "exactly the same now as they were in the days of Moses." We should, at all events, be able to free Moses from the heavy burden of having introduced this unsociable restriction.

Dr. Friedländer acknowledges that the observance of the "second day" is only a *minhag*, but as a custom of long standing it has "become law." As such a custom it would be difficult to abolish, and for all hope of orthodoxy giving way about it, we may as well regard the second day as a Law. According to Dr. Friedländer, its abolition could only be effected "by the national will, confirmed by a *Sanhedrin* which will be recognised by the whole nation as the only religious authority. Until then it is incumbent upon us to adhere firmly to the observance of the second days of the Festivals" (*Ibid.*).

The unnecessary space given by Dr. Friedländer to an analysis of the contents of the Biblical Books (70 pages in all, 9 pages for example being devoted to mere quotation of various adages in Proverbs), is perhaps one reason why divers matters which we should expect to find discussed in any adequate presentation of the Jewish religion are conspicuous by their absence. What for instance is the relation of Judaism to other creeds, more especially to Unitarianism and Theism? We are just told *en passant* that Judaism "is destined to become in its simplest principles the universal religion" (p. 2.) What are its simplest principles? Does a Unitarian such as Dr. Martineau, do Theists such as Miss Cobbe and Mr. Voysey, possess these simplest principles, and if not, in what respects are they in error? Is the Universal Religion to be a creed without embodiment? What is the meaning of the Mission of Israel? Has it only an ethical, and no religious content? All we are told about it is that "It was not by force of arms or by persuasion that they were to influence the whole earth, but by setting an example of noble, pure and holy conduct" (p. 156). Judaism, then, is not to proselytise. But if not, why not? Why was the Psalmist all wrong

when he bade Israel "*declare* God's glory among the nations, and *say* among the peoples that Jehovah reigns"? On all these vital points—no information.

Again, what is the doctrine of Judaism on Sin, Reconciliation, Atonement and Divine Grace? Ezekiel says in one place, "Make you a new heart and a new spirit," and in a second, "A new heart will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you." What is the permanent connection of those two verses with one another in the sphere of human conduct and the relation of God to man? The casual note on Psalm li. 10-13 (p. 148) is surely insufficient:

God's interference is asked for; he helps man to carry out his good resolution; but man has free will, and the author of the Psalm, in seeking the assistance of God, feels nevertheless the weight of his own responsibility.

Is it merely "interference," or, rather, a constant factor?

What is Sin? Is a person who has broken fifteen Commandments necessarily more sinful than one who has broken ten? Is a "*state* of sin" a merely Christian conception? What constitutes Repentance? It is not in the Index, neither is Sin, though Caviare, Magicians, and Tithes find a place there. Is "the peace of God that passeth understanding" un-Jewish? Can a penitent know of that peace sometimes better than the average mortal who has done little evil but also little good? In what sense does Judaism believe in the Divine Forgiveness? What is Atonement? I find Atonement in the Index, but only with the addition—Day of Atonement. Perhaps the doctrine of sin and atonement is given there. Let us see. All that we find stated is shortly the following:—"The Day of Atonement is a day of resting, fasting, prayer, and spiritual improvement." Fasting is only one of the "duties" to be fulfilled on that day; "the other duties are equally essential." Further: "תשובה, 'return,' is the principal object of the celebration of the Day of Atonement; it implies the following four steps:—

1. *Consciousness of Sin.*—We must again and again examine our-

selves, and try to discover our failings; our actions and our words must pass in review, and we must remember that, *however good we may be*, no man is righteous upon earth 'that doeth good and sinneth not.'

2. *Confession of Sin*.—On the discovery of sin, we must have the courage to confess our guilt before him against whom we have sinned; if it is against God alone that we have sinned, we make silent confession before him; if we find ourselves guilty of an offence against our fellow man, we must confess our sin to him.

3. *Regret*.—Having discovered and confessed our sin, we should feel pain and remorse, alike for the evil we have done, and for the good we have left undone.

4. *Amendment*.—The regret should be followed by a firm resolve to abandon the way of evil, and not to sin again, even if occasion be given for a repetition of the sinful act (p. 406).

Now on all this one is inclined, first of all, to ask, why is the definite term Repentance not used instead of the vague word Return? Assuming, however, that Repentance is the object of the Day of Atonement, is the scholastic division of it into four separate steps a satisfactory account of a single psychical process? During the long service in the Synagogue on the Day of Atonement, an ordered system of introspection into separate failings is doubtless useful, and we may conceivably imagine that, by careful intellectual analysis, a man could split up even a sincere and not a formal repentance into four successive acts. But though Dr. Friedländer does not explicitly say so, we may assume that Repentance should not be confined to the single Day of Atonement. Should it not then be rather described as a form of inward prayer, by which we, confessing that our will and, through our will, our deeds are not in harmony with the divine goodness, struggle in thought with our lower, sinful self, and yearn and resolve in one to become capable of uttering with sincere heart and truthful lips the eternal supplication, "Restore unto me the joy of thy salvation; with a willing spirit uphold me"? And this brings me to a second point. What is God's part in Atonement? The Psalmist and Ezekiel already indicate that it is something more and other than the forgiveness

of sin, in the sense of cancelling the punishment which the commission of definite offences might have involved. But Dr. Friedländer, even in his account of the Day of Atonement, tells us nothing about it. Does he think that, like eternal punishment, it is one of those questions which do not concern us in the least? *All* he does is to quote Lev. xvi. 30, and to assert that the tenth day of the seventh month is the most important of all the holy days, for it is the Day of Atonement on which "God will forgive you, to cleanse you, that ye may be clean from all your sins before the Lord." Apart from the general question, in view only of the many superstitions with which the Day of Atonement is surrounded, would it not have been advisable to be a little more explanatory on so crucial a question? Or is there no explanation? Are we to believe that God does really go through a regular process of annual forgiveness? It seems to say so in the *Torah*.

I turn now to the second portion of Dr. Friedländer's book, *Our Duties*, as to which there will be considerably less to say. For what we are chiefly concerned to know about Orthodoxy is, not its Duties but its Creed.

"Our Duties," according to Dr. Friedländer, are simply so and so many laws, a collection of numerous enactments, some moral, some ceremonial. Legalism is here full blown and thorough going. Now I am not going to discuss the general effects of Legalism upon morality; that would need an essay to itself. But I think the readers of Dr. Friedländer's book will find that one effect of it is that, to quote Professor Butcher again, "Morality is divided into its component elements; in Plato's phrase, virtue is 'broken up into small change'"; that it tends to obscure the fact that, though "there are many virtues, yet Virtue is one; that though there are ten commandments in the decalogue, there is still one Righteousness."¹

Dr. Friedländer boldly asserts that all the Command-

¹ *Some Aspects of the Greek Genius*, p. 208.

ments of the Law, be they moral or ceremonial, are equally important. We must not, he says, be misled into thinking

that the Law is divided into important and unimportant precepts. So far as they represent the Will of the Almighty they are all alike, and equally demand our attention and our obedience (p. 234).

Moral righteousness does not compensate for the violation of the dietary laws, neither does strict observance of the dietary laws compensate for the violation of morality. In this respect Piety, to Dr. Friedländer, is an indivisible whole. His words are perfectly simple and commendably frank :

A truly pious man will never imagine that he may freely transgress one set of the precepts, if he strictly obeys another set, that he may, *e.g.*, wrong his neighbour, and compensate for his sins by regular attendance at the place of worship, or by a strict observance of the dietary laws, or the laws of Sabbaths and Festivals : or that he may freely break the latter, if only he is honest, just, and charitable. The precepts have all the same divine origin ; the all-wise and all-kind God, who has commanded us to walk in the way of justice and righteousness, has also ordained the Sabbath, given the dietary laws, and established the sacrificial service. He who selects some of the precepts and rejects the rest substitutes his own authority for that of the Almighty, and places his own wisdom above the wisdom of him who gave us the law (p. 235).

Many Jews who do not share Dr. Friedländer's opinions must have been frequently pained at finding in the nineteenth chapter of Leviticus, the golden rule of morality followed by a minute and now clearly obsolete ritual enactment. But Dr. Friedländer takes the bull by the horns ; he positively glories in the juxtaposition ! It proves his point, and thus he says, with complete satisfaction and complacency :

The commandments "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself" and "A garment of diverse kinds shall not come upon thee" stand side by side in the same paragraph (p. 239).

Some of us, again, are proud that the Jewish prophets ignored and depreciated ritual, making the service of God co-extensive only with morality. Dr. Friedländer denies

that they did so, and as both their words and their silence seem to argue very strongly against this interpretation, he has to invent an explanation, which, if our author's perfect and touching faith were not everywhere so apparent, could only be regarded as a bit of ingenious special pleading (p. 237).

All, then, that can be said of Jews who disregard any portion of the ceremonial law is that they are bad Jews (p. 236). In another passage, Dr. Friedländer, however, displays some feeling that the Ceremonial Laws are, after all, subordinate to the Moral Laws in quality and importance; for the object of the entire Law is shown to be ethical and spiritual, and thus, clearly the Moral Laws are ends in themselves, while the Ceremonial Laws are only means to an end outside them (pp. 243, 253). It is thoroughly satisfactory that in treating of the Dietary Laws, Dr. Friedländer does not regard them as mere sanitary regulations. They are not excellent or to be observed, as some people would have us suppose, because they make people healthy or long-lived. Dr. Friedländer retains, indeed, the old Jewish idea that long life is an end or good in itself (p. 261), but he says emphatically, "Holiness is the only object of the Dietary Laws mentioned in the Pentateuch" (p. 466). So long as these laws are enforced and observed at all, this is a most sensible, religious and timely observation.

Dr. Friedländer's own legalism is pure from one special stain frequently ascribed to a legal system of religion. The taunt of fulfilling innumerable commands for the sake of gain cannot be brought against it. This is most important and most satisfactory. The object of the law is, as we saw, purely ethical, "to make us good in deed, and pure in thought, to bring us nearer unto God" (p. 243). Modern orthodoxy on this crucial point can stand a close inspection. I emphasize this excellence the more, as it is so frequently and unjustly denied. So far as man fulfils the Commandments for any other personal end than his

own moral improvement, his motive is purely spiritual. He obeys the Law for the love of God.

He who is filled with love of God is חסיד, pious; he does not rest content with doing what he is commanded, but *anxiously seeks the opportunity* of fulfilling a Divine Command: he is רודף אחר המצות, 'eager in the pursuit of *Mitsvoth*.' The fear of God is the beginning of knowledge, but love of God is the aim and end of all our religious thinking and striving (p. 274).¹

Here and on p. 243 we have, I am sure, the real Dr. Friedländer, and a true expression of Modern Orthodox Judaism, but the necessity of accepting *all* tradition makes discordant voices now and again heard. The idea of *merit* is not wholly and everywhere removed from the performance of *Mitsvoth*. Thus, for example, on p. 492 we read that "every act of piety in honour of the deceased is a *meritorious* religious act, a *Mitsvah*," and, consequently, that "attending the dead to their last resting-place is one of those *Mitsvoth*, 'the fruits of which a man enjoys in this world, while the stock remains for him in the world to come.'" This comes dangerously near to the supposed Catholic doctrine of "good works." It is a distinct moral blemish and should be removed.

Pure as Dr. Friedländer's legalism is, it seems to the outsider somewhat painfully oppressive. All life is mapped out in endless duties. As he himself says:

Every movement of his (*i.e.*, the pious Jew) is regulated by the law, and wherever he turns he is met by a Divine precept that elevates his heart towards him who gave us the law (p. 467).

Laws. Laws. Laws. All through life and even in death. There are laws for the death-bed—both for the chief actor and for the standers-by. It is even necessary to state (as a law?) that when "life has come to an end, friends and relations give free expression to their grief"

¹ The italics are the author's. I wonder Dr. Friedländer did not here quote the famous adage of Antigonus (*Aboth*, i. 3) or that other fine passage (*Abodah Zarah*, 19a) cited by Mr. Schechter, *JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW*, Vol. III., p. 49.

(p. 491). Even grief, it appears, needs to be told when it may be free; it is ordered to express itself. Perhaps those who have not lived under the law cannot properly criticise it. And no one can be more convinced than I that the law has *not* been a burden to orthodox Jews ever since the early days of Rabbinism. But certainly Dr. Friedländer's presentation of life under the law seems pre-eminently unattractive. Can any other exponent of orthodoxy explain the impression away?

Dr. Friedländer's ethics are set forth to us in the form of innumerable duties. There are duties towards our superiors, our equals, our inferiors, and ourselves. There are duties also towards our fellow men in general, and there are some elements of morality which come under the head of duties towards God. The result of this minute splitting up of virtue is that the end of morality, the production of noble character, is considerably obscured. But not to enter upon the general question, I will confine myself to the following observation, nor will I ask how far the fault is Dr. Friedländer's or how far not his at all, but that of the legal form under which his ethics are presented. It must, however, not be forgotten that this question, here purposely ignored, is of the utmost religious importance. The fault, then, which I find is that Dr. Friedländer's ethics are wanting in spontaneity, warmth and enthusiasm. His virtuous man fulfils a number of duties, but his morality all the same seems cautious and cold, rather negative than positive, and dashed with more than a spice of Philistia. We saw before how the idea of sacrifice was wanting in the creed section of our author's book: it is equally wanting in the ethical section. Is love a too Christian word? And yet she was no orthodox Christian who wrote of the "eternal marriage between love and duty," or how "men still yearn for the reign of peace and righteousness, still own *that* life to be the highest which is a conscious voluntary sacrifice."

There may be an unpractical idealism, but there may also

be ethics which are not ideal enough. Who will be stirred to higher things by such bidding as this?—

In the struggle for wealth we must not entirely suppress the claims of our moral and intellectual wants (p. 321).

“Who steals my purse steals trash,” said Iago, but the villain exaggerated. It should rather be put thus:

Many of us—nay, all right-minded persons—are more anxious for the good name acquired through integrity of character than for the safety of their property (p. 298).

Will the relation between master and man, mistress and maid, about which so many masters and so many mistresses need vigorous ethical castigation, be bettered, will the conscience of the “superior” be quickened, by the following?—

On the part of the master it is necessary that he should consider his servant as a human being, like himself, who has a right to expect due reward for faithful service (p. 316).

Even charity is divided up into classes and kinds, and no part of it seems exempt from the rule of law. And certainly the rich, according to Dr. Friedländer, have an easy time of it. I fully admit that the average decent citizen does no more than what Dr. Friedländer says he ought to do.¹ But the question is, would even he do as much as he does, and would the few above the average do more, if either class were not stimulated by a high, yes, even by an unattainable ideal.

Dr. Friedländer, indeed, objects to almost all extremes. “Avoid extremes, and hold to the golden mean is an excellent rule that leads us safely through the various conditions of life, and wards off many troubles and dangers” (p. 324). He works it out in detail, and the living result would certainly be a “self-reliant,” “modest,” “firm,” “calm,” “discreet,” “temperate,” “economical,” and

¹ “Those who are fortunate enough to possess more than is wanted for the necessities of life are expected to spend part of the surplus in relieving those who possess less than they require for their maintenance” (p. 316).

"dutiful" individual. He would have all the virtues, and be a most model and respectable citizen (p. 325). But I cannot help thinking that he would have a touch of self-satisfaction, though not of self-conceit, and more than a touch of selfishness. His virtues are all too self-regarding. Altruism lies somewhat outside the golden mean.

There are two special points of concrete ethics on which a word or two may justly be said. One concerns the relation of Jew to non-Jew; the other concerns women and marriage. As to the first, it need hardly be mentioned that Dr. Friedländer recognises no difference in the great laws of morality between Jew and Gentile. There is a fine passage about usurers, which makes the reader quite forgive the odd interpretation of Deut. xxiii. 21 :—

If any our co-religionists take this law as a pretext for imposing upon their non-Jewish fellow-men, and injuring and ruining them by exorbitant usury, they pervert alike the letter and the spirit of the Divine command; they do not act in a Jewish spirit, and instead of being members of a holy nation or the people of the Lord, they are guilty of חלול השם, the profanation of the name of God, and do not deserve to be honoured by the name of Jews (p. 297).

It is also interesting to find Dr. Friedländer declaring that the anti-social or uncharitable sayings in the Talmud have now "entirely lost their force and meaning, and are practically forgotten," and that "Jewish censors" should eliminate such passages in future editions of the rabbinical works—a recommendation more ethical than scientific (p. 313).

Again, it is satisfactory that our author emphatically asserts that, "There is no difference between Jews and their fellow-citizens with regard to the duty of loyalty." And he adds :—

We must fulfil all those duties which devolve upon all citizens alike—such as military service in countries that have general conscription—although such obedience may carry with it a breach of some of the laws of our religion. On the contrary, evasion and desertion of all national obligations is a serious offence against our holy Law (p. 311).

Alas that Dr. Friedländer cannot allow it to be meritorious for Jews to enter the army as privates, even where there is no conscription. But I fear that would fall under the prohibition of p. 469. For some time yet official orthodoxy will, I suppose, welcome gallant majors and colonels to preside at the distribution of prizes for proficiency in religious knowledge, while it will turn a cold shoulder to the gallant private, refusing to recognise in him a man who fulfils a "national obligation."

"But gold and meal are measured otherwise ;

"I learnt so much at school,' said Marian Erle."

The "Orientalism" in the treatment of women according to Jewish law is well "explained away" by Dr. Friedländer (cp. pp. 427, 471, 473 n. 1, 481). He is less satisfactory about marriage. It was not, indeed, to be expected that Dr. Friedländer would move an inch towards the abolition of the Oriental and meaningless survivals of נא and נא. Such obsolete superfluities will drop off gradually by themselves. But what might have been expected was that Dr. Friedländer would give no implicit countenance to the Oriental theory of divorce which underlies the Jewish law. It is deeply to be deplored that orthodox Judaism does not definitely say that *its present religious* teaching is that adultery must be the condition precedent to divorce. What would a Christian reader say to such doctrine as this, in which, moreover, it is not definitely stated whether a wife may divorce her husband, as well as a husband his wife :—

In spite of all blessings and good wishes, marriage sometimes proves a failure, husband and wife being a source of trouble and misery the one to the other, instead of being the cause of each other's happiness. *In such a case* a divorce may take place, and man and wife separate from each other (p. 487).

Now, this is not the place for elegant euphemisms. Either "trouble and misery" mean adultery or they do not. If they do, let the misleading euphemism be changed in the next edition. If they do not — then I hope that Dr.

Friedländer may see fit to cancel such dangerous and slippery teaching.

One more word on another part of our author's doctrine of marriage. Believing as I do, that the preservation of the Jewish religion is of advantage to the world at large, I deprecate and disapprove of mixed marriages. The Jews are a very small minority; they can only preserve their religious distinctiveness by intermarriage. Its possible evils must be endured for the sake of a believed spiritual good. So far I agree with Dr. Friedländer; but he is, I conceive, guilty of a violation of that morality which is above and supreme over all differences of creed when he says, "Such alliances are sinful, *and the issue of such alliances must be treated as illegitimate*" (p. 489). This terrible statement is only equalled by the passage on divorce. They are the two—I am glad to say the only two—serious moral blots in a book the moral tone of which is elsewhere commendably high.

The larger portion of the long section dealing with the details of the Ceremonial Law has little interest for the general reader. The only point worth noticing is Dr. Friedländer's treatment of the Sabbath. I fully believe that the Sabbath as so observed is to him a day of delight, but I fear that to ordinary human nature it would be a day of trouble. I note that "*the greater part of it*" must be devoted "to prayer and reading the Bible" (p. 254). On Friday evening "the pious Jew reads the *Sidra* twice in the original and once in the Targum" (p. 476. Fancy when it comes to Leviticus and Numbers). As to prohibitions of work, they are those of the Oral Law. Moreover, here is the undefiled Legalism again—"it makes no difference whether we consider any of them a labour or not" (p. 351). All letter and no spirit, therefore; or if spirit also, then only, as it were, over and above the letter (p. 352). It is interesting that Dr. Friedländer does not appear to sanction the institution of the Sabbath *Goy*. He says: "We must not employ non-Israelites to do our work

on Sabbaths, except in case of need—*e.g.*, in case of illness or fear of illness” (pp. 352 and 359). But though this is apparently the Law, and “there can be no compromise in religion, whether in matters of faith or of practice” (p. 4), we are told that “circumstances force us to deviate at times from this rule” (p. 359). So that we may infer that the strange legal subterfuge of the Sabbath *גוי* is, after all, countenanced by Dr. Friedländer.

In some interesting notes our author has a good deal to say about reforms in the ritual. His remarks are naturally written from a strongly conservative point of view, but they do not absolutely forbid the possibility of improvement and modifications (cp. pp. 447, 454, *n.* 1, and the whole passage from p. 446 to p. 454). It is also interesting to note that Dr. Friedländer does not seem to set his face so strongly against cremation as unfortunately has been done of late by the Chief Rabbi (p. 493). For cremation has clearly a big future before it.

The detailed criticism of Dr. Friedländer's book has taken too long to enable me to make any general criticisms upon it as a whole. Perhaps moreover, after all the foregoing, these are hardly necessary. One takes leave of it with a confirmed impression of its absolute honesty. Dr. Friedländer gives us a picture of the Jewish religion, such as he, at any rate, conceives it to be, both in its belief and its practice. Nothing is extenuated or glossed over. Its virtues are as much truly its own as its defects. Two things more strike me in conclusion. The first is to notice that Dr. Friedländer's religion, intensely legalistic and orthodox as it is, is wholly free from superstition. Many laws and customs in orthodox Judaism there are, which the critical historian knows to have their basis and origin in superstition, but such laws and customs, while vigorously maintained by Dr. Friedländer, are yet, by ingenious explanation, always denuded of their superstitious element (see, for example, pp. 287, 288, 445, 466, and 496). My second point has a wider scope. Do not some of the in-

sufficiencies of Dr. Friedländer's book, which have been noticed in the foregoing pages, arise from this: that orthodox Judaism has not yet mixed enough with the big outer world and with the wide stream of general civilisation? Hence its utterances seem sometimes provincial, and sometimes out of date. And this reflection suggests another. Cannot that at first seemingly undefinable something which we feel to be wanting in Dr. Friedländer's book be perhaps defined after all? Is it not the utter absence of Hellenism? I have already twice quoted from Professor Butcher's new book, but when you have got hold of a good thing why not quote it even thrice? Here, then, is a passage which exactly expresses what I mean, and while it indicates the fault, also points out the remedy:—

It is in the confluence of the Hellenic stream of thought with the waters that flow from Hebrew sources that the main direction of the world's progress is to be sought. The two tendencies summed up in the words Hebraism and Hellenism are often regarded as opposing and irreconcilable forces; and, indeed, it is only in a few rarely gifted individuals that these principles have been perfectly harmonised. Yet harmonised they can and must be. How to do so is one of the problems of modern civilisation;—how we are to unite the dominant Hebrew idea of a divine law of righteousness and of a supreme spiritual faculty with the Hellenic conception of human energies, manifold and expansive, each of which claims for itself unimpeded play; how life may gain unity without incurring the reproach of oneness; how, in a word, Religion may be combined with Culture.¹

C. G. MONTEFIORE.

¹ *Some Aspects of the Greek Genius* (p. 45). I may be permitted to add this personal experience, bearing upon the same subject. One Saturday morning I read out loud to my mother some passages from the Wisdom of Solomon, an early product of that desired confluence of Hebraic and Hellenic streams. On the following Saturday I read her some passages from Ecclesiastical, in its main teaching Hebraism pure and undefiled. In both cases I hopped about, picking out the plums. When I had finished the extracts from Ecclesiastical, she said, "That is fine, but I like what you read me last week better." "Why," said I. Quick as thought came back the pregnant answer: "It seemed to go more to the root of things, and it was much more poetical."

NOTES ON HEBREW MSS. IN THE UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY AT CAMBRIDGE.

II.

MS. Add. 434, small quarto, vellum and paper, 230 pages, Spanish Rabbinic characters, in different hands. After pp. 65 and 73 one or two pages are wanting. From p. 174b onwards some headings of the paragraphs are written in red ink. The MS. contains (A) the Commentary to the Prayers and Benedictions by R. Judah ben Jakar, pp. 1-219; (B) The Commentary to the Haggadah for Passover Evening by the same author, pp. 220-229.

This *unique* MS., only quoted by a few authors,¹ begins with the words מירוש תפילות כל השנה וקצת ברכות חברו החכם ר' יהודה בר יקר נ"ע. Then follows the Preface by the author, which is unfortunately illegible in some places. The following lines will suffice to give an idea of his style:—
 מפני חטאינו גלינו מארצנו ונחרב מזבח המכפר בעדינו והי
 כראות אנשי כנה"ג כי מקור הסליחה נחרבת ויבאו כלם כמלקמי
 שבליים ללקוט זה מפה וזה מפה ויחברו את אהל התפלה בקרשיו וקסיו
 ועמודיו וארניו..... והי כראותי מקור העבודה הנשארת לא (לנו) (read
 סתום ולא נודע מקומו)..... והי אחרי כן התחזקתי ואשים נפשי בכפי
 והתפללתי אל אלהי ישראל לתת לי לב יודע ומבין במוב מקור המים
 הנסתם ולמצוא מקומו ומעלת האהל ועל מה ארניו הטבעו ועל מה

¹ Those are: (a) ארחות חיים, 11d, 41a, 64c, which correspond with our MS. 10b, 14a and 63a. The passage quoted by Graetz (*Monatsschrift*, 1869, p. 151, note 3), is to be found in our MS. 151a; (b) Paragraph 184, in the תמים דעים (comp. Zunz, *Die Synagogale Poesie des Mittelalters*, p. 150), occurs in our MS. on the pp. 18 and 19; (c) The שו"ת הרשב"ש, pp. 11b and 15a, where this Commentary is quoted as מעין ננים, corresponds with our MS. 206a and 154a. For quotations by Nachmanides and other Cabalists, see below, notes 4 and 6.

עמדיו עמדו • ויתן ה' בפי רוח נכון להבין בדבריהם אחת מני אלף וידבר אלי ואני כותב בספר ובריו ואצפה כי בתפלות לפעמים חברו דברי הנבואה כאשר נמצאת כמו יוצר אור ובורא חשך ולפעמים משתים נבואות כמו ערשה שלום ובורא את הכל ולפעמים משלש נבואות כמו ונפוצותינו כנס מירכתי ארץ ובתוך צחות לשונם כללו דברי הדרשות והאגדות המפורות בתלמוד ובספרים החזונים והצופה אחרי אשר יראה (2b). יניד ואלה הדברים אשר העתיקו ידי

On account of our sins we were exiled from our land, and the altar that atoned for us was destroyed. . . . And it came to pass, when the men of the Great Synagogue saw that the fountain of forgiveness was dried up, then they began all to gather gleanings (passages), and erected the tent of prayer with all its pillars. . . . But when I saw the source of the Service left to us stopped up and its place not known, I tried to find it, and I prayed to the God of Israel to give me an understanding heart that might perceive the worth of the fountain that was stopped up, so that I might realise the importance of the Tent and upon what its foundations are fixed, and on what its pillars were based. And God gave me the proper spirit, so that I could at least understand a thousandth part of these things, and I saw that the prayers were compiled of the words of the prophets, sometimes copying the whole verse, at other times combining various parts of different verses. . . . And in the elegance of their language they have also made use of the words of the Homilies and Aggadoth which are scattered over the Talmud and in the external books (mystical works and Midrashic literature?) . . . And these are the things which my hands have copied.

We have here the programme of the author, who thinks that the prayers, though introduced by the Men of the Great Synagogue, are nevertheless based not only on the Scriptures, but influenced also by the Aggadoth and the Midrashim. And these, especially the Midrash Tehillim, the Tanchuma, the Pesikta Rabbathi (under תורה מן תורה), and the chapters of R. Eliezer, are the authorities to which he appeals often in his explanations of the prayers. Of later Rabbinical authorities he mentions the Geonim, R. Amram, the Aruch, R. Judah b. Barzilai's ספר העתים, Rashi, his grandson R. Jacob, and lastly Maimonides, whom he quotes very often under the name of R. Moses. Of more importance are his quotations from

the ספר היכלות, and the ספר יצירה, which greatly contribute to giving his work that mystical or theological character which Zunz ascribed to it.¹ But it must be said that the use he makes of the mystical work which has just been mentioned is mostly confined to such passages as lend themselves to mystical explanations by their angelological contents: the תתברך לנצח and the קדושה in the week-day liturgy or the אל ארץ in the Sabbath prayer, and so forth. Occasionally he sees also in the prayers references and hints to the *Sephiroth*. But in general his interpretation is sober and sound, founded on both Talmudim and the Midrashim, as may be seen from the following quotation:—
 ויש שאומר מיושב מכניסי רחמים הכניסו:—
 רחמינו.....ודעות חלושות הן שהרי לא מצאנו בכל המקרא בצורות ישראל שהנביאים בקשו רחמים למלאכים ולמתיים לבקש רחמים עליהם רק שהיו הולכים לחסידים שבדור להתפלל עליהם.....ובוראי התפלה קרויה עבודה.....וכתוב זוכה לאלהים יחרם בלתי לה' לברו ואין ספק שאסור לזכור לשום מלאך כדי שיבקש הוא רחמים עליו. ולכן יש לפרש כי כשאמר מכניסי רחמים וכו' כנגד חסידו הדור אנו אומ' שירבו תחנונים ותפילות לפני המקום להנן על דורם (64a, cp. 124a).

There are some writers who defend the prayer: "Ye who forward the prayers, bring also our prayers before God, etc." . . . but all their apologies are weak (if by these forwarders of prayers are meant the angels). . . . For we do not find in the Bible that the prophets, even in the time of oppression of Israel, ever invoked the angels or the dead to offer supplications for them. But they used to ask the pious men of their generation to pray for them. . . . Surely prayer is called worship . . . and it is also written: "He who sacrificeth unto gods, save unto the Lord only, he shall be utterly destroyed" (Exod. xxxiii. 19). (The word *Elohim* in this verse is explained by some Jewish commentators to mean angels.) Therefore we must explain that by this prayer are meant the righteous that are still alive, by whose prayers and supplications for the mercy of God they protect their generation.

The explanation of גולל אור מפני חשך is also interesting:—
 לא שיטלנה ממש ויוליכנה למקום רחוק אלא שמבריל בין יום ובין לילה

¹ *Die Ritus*, p. 23.

זאת היא הארץ שמבדלת בין זה לזה כשהיום בינינו והלילה למטה מן הארץ (686) וכשהלילה בינינו היום למטה מן הארץ¹.

With reference to the Evening Service, in which it is said that God makes the light to pass away, it does not mean that he takes the sun and carries it to a distant place, but that God divides between day and night by the earth which separates them. When we have light, there is darkness under the earth, and when it is day there, we have night.

The fact that R. Judah was, as we shall see presently, the teacher of Nachmanides, and might thus have had a great share in the origin of the Cabbalah, makes it desirable to give one or two specimens of R. Judah's mystical interpretations:—

קדושה של שבת ובכללה קדושה של חול מקומות יש המשנים בענין תחילת הקדושה יש אומר נקדישך ונעריצך על שם והקדישו את שמי וקדש ישראל יעריצו • והכי אמר במסכת סופרים אבל קדושה של עמידה כיון שצריך לומר נקדישך אין מן הדין לאמרו פחות מעשרה • המשלשים שלש קדושות בקדש דכתו' בהיכלות משלשים קדושתך בקדושה משולשת במהרה ובעונה כדבר שני' ק ק ק • ויש אומר נקדש את שמך בעולם על שם והקדישו את שמי כשם שמקדישין אותו בשמי מרו' וכן כתו' בהיכלות שלשה פעמים בכל יום במרום מיום שנברא העולם ועד עכשו • ויש אומר כתר יתנו לך ה' אלהי' על שם וכתר שם טוב עולה גביהן ואומר בהיכלות מי כמלכנו בכל תופשי גיאיי (?) מלכות מי כיוצרנו מי כה' אלהינו מי כמוהו בקדושי כתרים • ובמקום אחר יש סגדפון קדש כתרים לקונו וכן נמי כתוב בהיכלות משרתיך יכתירו כתרים לך וישירו לך שיר חדש..... המוני מעלה הם (עם read) המוני מטה קדושה לך ישלשו כרמייתי בנמצא והדר וירעו כל בני אלהים מיד כשהתחילו שישראל לממך מלאכים אומר' למעלה • בסוד שכל הוא סוד של ידיעת הבור' כפי השנתם ועל שם דכתו' השכל וידע אותי ומקור הוא כמו וידע • השכל הוא שם דבר והוא עליוני מן החכמה והו' דכתו' נתן השקל במרומים והיינו דאמ' בתפלה וחנונו מאתך דעה ובינה חכמה והשכל זה הסדר עולה מלמטה למעלה • ויש שאין אומ' שם חכמה אלא דעה ובינה והשכל כי השכל בכל מקום במקום חכמה ושכל והשכל שהוא שם דבר שני דברים • ואל יתמה

¹ See Zunz, *Synagogale Poesie*, p. 150. Comp. *Hechaluz* VIII. 162, the fragment of the well-known הרמב"ן. See also *Ketrem Chemed*, IX, 141-148.

המתמיה אם החכמה עליונית מן הבינה לפי שאין אדם יכול להבין אלא אם כן היה חכם תחילה והחכמה היא כגולם בלי צורה והכל בה אך שאינה נגלית עד אשר תמשכנה המקורות לבינה · שיח היינו שיחה סתומה והוא דבר גדול.....וכן כתוב על יד נביאך וקרא זה אל זה ואמ' על שם שהקדוש עליון הוא קדוש בחכמה וקדוש בבינה וקדוש ברעת¹ (35a-36a).

Again on pp. 85a-86a we read :—(בהשכל—יצרם ברעה בבינה נהשכל—כתוב שם (בספר יצירה) שבע כפולות בַּזְד כְּפֹת חקקו וחצבן צרפן וצר בהן כוכבים בעולם · ומפרש שם אלו הם כוכבים בעולם חמה נונה כוכב לבנה שבתאי צדק מאדים וכך סדר המחבר הזה שסדרי הספירות כסדר תחלה אמור ואל ארון על כל המעשים.....רמז כאן לשם עליון שהוא אל ארון על החכמה שהוא רוח אלהים חיים והוא תחילת כל המעשים².....גדלו וטובו מלא עולם על שם הבינה הבאה מן החכמה דרך אצילות והיא רוח טרוח והוא שאין אדם יכול להיות נבון אלא אם כן היה חכם מתחלה · חקק וחצב בה עשרים ושתים וסוד שלש מאות ושבע כפולות ושתים עשרה פשוטות ובכלל אלה גדלו וטובו של מעלה מן העולם ושל מטה כי על ידי כ"ב אותיות נעשה הכל ודעת מלמטה שהוא חסד (?) והוא טרוח ותבונה שהוא רוח טרוח סובבים הכל · וכתו' שם על מים ורוח חצב וחקק בהם תהו ובהו רפש וטיט חקקם כמין ערוגה הציבם כמין חומה סככם כמין מעויבה ולכך אמר סובבים אותו והו' כמו סוככים אותו בכ"ף · המתנאה על חיות הקודש ונהדר בכס המרכבה זהו אש טמים וכתו' שם חקק וחצב בה כסא הכבוד ואופנים ושרפים וחיות הקודש ומלאכי השרת · זכות ומישור לפני כסאו · רמז כאן שני קצות זכות ומישור הם רוח מעלה ומטה כי הזוך והמטהר הוא מלמעלה דכתוב ונהורא עמיה שריה ומישור הוא מלמטה על שם רגלי עמדה במישור · חסד ורחמים לפני כבודו · הוא מורה ומשרב והוא הרין צפון

¹ This is probably the passage to which R. Moses de Leon refers in his *Notes*, as quoted by Graetz in his *History*, VII. 420. The last few words, ואחד לכל הבנין דהיינו י' ספירות, seem to have been altered or rather expanded by De Leon himself. Such liberties were also taken by R. Shem Tob Ibn Gaon, who quotes from our author the words: ויקדש אותו לשון קידושין וזה טעם קדושא רבא בשבת למשכיל ועונת תיה משבת (see Graetz, *ibid.*). The passage in our MS. is simple enough: (76, Cp. 75) וקדשנו במצותיך.....ר'ל לשון אירוסין וקידושין שקדשם במצות (Leghorn, 1831, p. 375).

² See the *Notes* f. 11, on the same prayer, which is almost verbally copied from our author, though his name is not mentioned.

As to the date at which our author flourished, we have already mentioned that he quotes Maimonides, who is indeed the latest authority he knows. If on the other hand, the author of our commentary was, as already suggested by the late Zomber,¹ identical with the same Judah b. Jakar whom Nachmanides quotes as his teacher, his date must be confined to the last decades of the 12th and the first decades of the 13th century. This suggestion becomes a certainty by the following quotation from our MS.:—**ומברכין ליל הפסח וכל הימים שאומר הלל לקרא את ההלל ולנמור את ההלל בימים שנזמרים ההלל.....מדברי רבותי צריך לברך בתחלת קרא את ההלל בליל פסח.....וכן משמע בירושלמי פ"ק דברכות דאמר כל הברכות כולן פותח בברוך והותם בברוך חוץ.....א"ר ירמיה הרי נאולה בלילי הפסח שמתחיל בברוך וכו'.....ומשני קבלתי מפי:—(117) פסחים (14c) לקומות (174b and 175a) שנייה היא סודי ר' יהודה וצ"ל שקבל מרבו ר' יצחק בר אברהם הצרפתי וצ"ל שהלל בלילי פסחים מעון ברכה אשר קדשנו לנמור את ההלל והביא ראייה מן הירושלמי כמו שאני עתיד לכתוב כאן. The passage is quoted a little below in 14d, and is the same as given in our MS. ר' ב"ר אברהם in our MS. then would refer to אברהם which our copyist may have omitted as unimportant.²**

¹ See Steinschneider's Catalogue Bodl., col. 1949, and Addenda, p. CXVIII, and also *Hammazkir*, VII, 76. Cf. אור החיים, by H. Michaelis, No. 1125. Zomber, in the *Monatsschrift*, 1860, p. 421 *seq.*, identified from quotations this R. Judah b. Jakar with the author of the Commentary to the prayers.

² See also אורחות חיים, § 80c. Compare also שבולי הלקט, 99a (ed. Buber), where we read:—בנימין לר' השיב נרו צדק כהן אבינודר כהן צדק נרו השיב לר' בנימין—אחי נרו אמרו עליו על רבינו יצחק בן אברהם כי היה מברך על ההלל בלילי פסחים שתי ברכות לקרוא קודם הסעודה ולגמור על כוס רביעי והביא

Much more difficult it is to determine the country in which our author lived. We must give here a few extracts as to his ritual. In pp. 3a-11b we read:—וזה סדר התפילות בתחילה מברך הברכות שתקנ' חכמים קודם ברוך שאמר ומברך ברכת התורה והערב ואומר משנת איזהו מקומן ור' ישמשאל ורבון העולמים ואח"כ אומר אתה הוא קודם שנברא העולם.....ברוך אתה ה' מקדש את שמך ברבים.....ואח"כ אומר ברוך שאמר והיה העולם..... ואומר בסוף ובשירי דוד עברך נהללך שאותם המזמורים הנסדרים רומזים לעשרה המאמרות ואף כל המזמורים חשובים כדברי תורה.....ע"כ אומר בכל צרפ"ת ואלמנ"יא ואיי הים' ושאר מדינות רבות עשרה שירים משירי דוד שנים הראשונים מדברי הימים שהוא הודו לה' והאחרון ויברך דוד ושמונה אמצעיים אלו הן אחר הודו לה' . ואומר מזמור לתורה בלשון שב ובשירה ארוכה יותר משאר מזמורים ואין 'אומר' אותו בשבת ואומר בשבועות כי על כל קרבן תודה אומר אותו . ואח"כ יהי כבוד ה' וגו' ואינו מזמור כי פסוקים מפורדים הם . ואח"כ אשרי . ואח"כ הללי נפשי את ה' . ואח"כ כי טוב זמרה . ואח"כ הללו את ה' מן השמים . ואח"כ שירו לה' שיר חדש . ואח"כ הללו אל בקרשו ולבסוף ויברך דוד . ואומר וישע..... אלו הן של חול . ובשבת אין אומרים מזמור לתורה ומוסיפין שבעה מזמורים לכבוד השבת אחר שאומר הודו לה' ואלו הן השמים מספרים . לדוד בשנותיו תפלה למשה . ויהי נעם . ושעומרים בבית ה' . והודו לה' כי טוב . ורגנו צדיקים בה' הרי אלו שבעה ואח"כ אומר מזמור שיר ליום השבת לרמו כי לכבוד שבת נוספים שבעה..... והמאמרות של ברוך שאמר הם עשרה..... וכך היא הגירסא הישרה כמו שכתב הרב רבינו משה שאמר ברוך מעביר אפילה ומביא אורה ברוך משלם שטר מזב לייאיו ברוך הוא שאין לפניו לא עולה ולא שכהה..... ולא כתב הרב ברוך הוא וברוך שמו וכך הוא הפירוש..... ועל אלו עשרה הכתובים בתורה חברו הראשונים לוטר עשרה מזמורים משירי דוד אחר ברוך שאמר כמו שסדרנו אותם..... עכשו (אחרי ויברך דוד) נשלמה עשרה מזמורים..... וחברו לסיים בישתבח מלך גדול מהולל בתושבחות לפי שאומר קדיש אחריו..... ואח"כ פותח ביוצר אור..... ואחר יוצר וקדושה אנו

ראה לדבריו מירושלמי פרק קמא דברכות דגרסינן התם כל הברכות.....
הה"ב ר' ירמיה הרי נאולה. See also *Or Zarua*, I, § 43.

¹ See Prof. Kaufmann in this REVIEW, vol. IV., pp. 22, 23, in the notes. I find in my note book a reference to MS. Harl., 5516, in the British Museum, where the same passage is to be found as given by Prof. Kaufmann in note 1.

אומר' אהבה רבה שתקנו חכמים שתי ברכות לפני ק"ש ומה שאנו אומ' אל מלך נאמן שמע ישראל..... ואח"כ אומר אמת ויציב החון בקול רם ויחתום בנאולה ויסמך נאלה לתפלה ואחר שאמר בקשות וקדיש ואשרי ולמנצה שמסיים ואנחנו קמנו ונתעורר ואימתי יהיה זה כשיבא לציון נוהל ותקנו מזמור לאסף אחר ובא לציון ומי שאומר אותו בשחרית בין ערבית ולבסוף אומר עלינו לשבח מעומד ועוד יש לי לומר מזמור לאסף בלילה אינו אלא ליתן בשרב מנהג הבקר וברוב הארצות אין אומר אותו בלילה כלל. ועוד באנו לפרש ברוך שאמר על סדר שאומר אותו ברוב המקומות שאומר ברוך הוא וברוך שמו ואין אומר ברוך מעביר אפילה. ואין אומר' ברוך הוא שאין לפניו לא עולה ואנו אומרים אותו (ב"ה וב"ש) לרמוז ה' אחד ושמו אחד וחושבין אותו לשמים שנתכון לשני ספירות

It is hardly necessary to say that these extracts display features characteristic of the Spanish as well as of the French ritual, and are therefore not decisive as to the country of our author. But matters become still more complicated by passages like the following. Thus, p. 94a, with regard to the Mussaph prayer on Sabbath:—
תכנת שבת.....התחיל הר' משה תפלה זו למשה צוית על הר סיני וזכור רשמוד. ולא רצייתי להאריך בו כי אין מנהגינו כן. וכך אנו אומ' תקנת שבת בכל ארץ צרפת וכותבין אותו בקו"ף על שם און ותקון ודרשינן שלמה תקן עירוב לשבת.....ובספרד כותבין אותו בכ"ף. This passage then would favour the view that he was a Frenchman, but on p. 107b (after the prayers for the conclusion of the Sabbath) we have another passage proving that he did not belong to that country:—
מי כאלהינו מי כאדונינו מי כמלכנו מי כמושיענו לפי שיום שבת היא ככלה שנשאת בשבת שאם יניחוה בני החופה מוצאי שבת יהיה לה עגמת נפש ולפיכך באין כלם ומשוררין לפניו מוצאי שבת ולכך אנו אומר' מי כאלהינו וג' ומליצה ישרה היא לומ' מי כאלהינו ודאי אין כאלהינו ולכך נודה לאלהינו ואין נודה לו נברכיהו תחלה ברוך אלהינו ואח"כ נאמר אתה הוא אלהינו ובצרפת אומר כך תחלה אין כאלהינו...ומפרש שע"י כך אומר הסדר הזה לפי שערמנו בו אמן אין כאלהינו. מי כאלהינו. נודה לאלהינו. ואעפ"י שאין המליצה כזה לומר תחלה אין כאלהינו ואח"כ מי כאלהינו ואין לדבר כך. ובהיכלות אומר כך מי כאלהינו מי כיצרינו מי כה' אלהינו
This order (as it was in the ritual of the author) is the right one ;

viz., *Who is like our God?* Certainly *There is none like our God* and therefore *We will give thanks unto our God*, namely, by saying: *Blessed be our God*, concluding with *Thou art our God* but in France they begin this hymn with, *There is none like our God*, etc." (see Rev. S. Singer's Translation, p. 167).¹

Still more decisive are the words:—**וּנְחָם אֶת בְּרַפְתָּ יְהוָה שְׁלָמָא** (586). **רְבָא עֲלֵינוּ וְעַל כָּל יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶךְ בְּכָל הָאֲרָצוֹת אוֹמַר לָנוּ וּלְכָל יִשְׂרָאֵל**. On the other hand the following passage decides against Spain being the author's country:—**סֵדֶר תְּפִלָּה נְעִילָה שְׁפִירֶשֶׁת**—(208a), **ע"פ סֵדֶר ה' מִשָּׁה אָבֵל בְּסִדְרָנוּ כְּתוּב אַתָּה נֹתֵן יָד לַפְּרָשִׁים**, which is against *Minhag Sepharad*. The uncertainty with which he speaks of the benediction before the lighting of the Sabbath candles—**וְיֵשׁ מְבָרְכִין עֲרֵב שַׁבָּת לְהַדְלִיק נֵר שֶׁל שַׁבָּת**—(144a)—would also prove against Spain.² Maimonides gives

¹ This is perhaps the fullest passage we have on the composition of this hymn, which, as appears from the context, was said at the conclusion of the Sabbath. Comp. Zunz, *Literaturgeschichte der Syn. Poesie*, p. 14, n. 9. The fact that R. Aaron of Lunel is, perhaps, the only author who has the same order which our author gives, would prove that this is *Minhag Provence*. See also the *Manhig* (ed. Warsaw), p. 12:—**רֵאשִׁית בְּרַפְתָּ שְׁנַחֲנוּ לוֹמַר**:—**עַל זֶה אַחֵר הַתְּפִלָּה אֵין כְּאַלְהֵינוּ בְּרוּךְ אֱלֹהֵינוּ אַתָּה הוּא אֱלֹהֵינוּ כִּי שְׂאוֹמֵר בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה וְלִפִּי דַעְתִּי שְׁאֵין שֶׁרֶשׁ וְעַנְקָה לֹוֹה הַמְּנַהֵג**, from which we may also conclude that he had another order which made this acrostic impossible. The first who speaks of the **אֵמֶן בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה** is Rashi (see *הלכות*, pp. 1a and 31a, also *רוקח*, § 319). Dr. C. Taylor has a MS. *Machzor* (German ritual) in which the acrostic is given twice, **אֵמֶן בָּא**. See his *Teachings of the Twelve Apostles*, p. 78. The **בָּא** is probably only an abbreviation of **אֵמֶן בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה**. The parallel in the *היכלות* (see Jellinek, *Beth Hammidrash*, III. 86 and II. 47), however, leaves little doubt that the original order was as given by our R. Judah ben Jakar. In the *Siddur Rashi* MS., also belonging to Dr. C. Taylor, of which I hope soon to give a full description, we read: **עֲמַרְם נֵאֻן: מִצָּאֵתִי בְּסִדְרֵי רַב עֲמַרְם נֵאֻן: לוֹמַר מִי כְּאַלְהֵינוּ בְּכָל יוֹם**. This ought to be decisive for the real reading in R. Amram, but the parallel in the *Machzor Vitry*, p. 4, has **אֵין** **אֵין**. I must also notice that in MS. Add. 19,667, in the British Museum, this hymn and the *הקטרת* form a part of the service for the conclusion of the Sabbath, which agrees with the arrangement of our MS. The *הקטרת* then was originally a sort of introduction to the Benediction over the spices in the *Habdalah* service.

² See Maimonides, *שַׁבָּת הַלְכוֹת*, chs. i and 5.

this as a *duty*. But on the other hand we have the following words—הצדיקים ועל החסידים ועל נירי הצדק ועלינו יהמו נא רחמך על הצדיקים ועל החסידים (43a), suggesting Spain.¹ The author must therefore be placed in some of the provinces, the north of Spain, or the south of France, the rituals of which were of a rather mixed nature. The order of משרתיו ואינו כלום אלא ואשר משרתיו כמו שפירשנו ואין לסתור נירסת התפלה השנויה בפי כל אדם שרובם אומרים ואשר משרתיו ואין אומר ואשרי כולם אהובים כולם ברורים כמו בהירים קלרש בלעז (clers, mod. French=clairs). Another passage is on p. 138b: יש לומר כל בנר שרגילות הוא שמכסין ממנו לפעמים דרך ענוה או בשביל הקור או להנין מן החמה ואלו הן טלית עליוני או הגלימות שקורין קמיאש (cape, chape, chapeaux?) אבל החלוקין שקורין קמיאש (chemises) או הננאייש שיש להם ארבע כנפות או הנוגילש (guenilles) כמו כן שאין דרך לתת אותם על ראשם אם לא הנשרים דרך הפקר לא קרינן בהו אשר תכסה כלל ופטרין מן הציצית²

The commentary which extends over all the prayers and benedictions on different occasions, concludes with two appendices, the one a commentary on אמן, beginning (p. 209a) with the verses :

נא אלה דברי המחבר אשר שם בראש ספרו
באמן הוסיף לדבר למלאה ולהשלים רבנו

The other, beginning סדרנו סדר התחנה של שני וחמישי (213b), is mostly on such prayers as are composed by putting different Biblical verses together, as the ברוך ה' לעולם, יהי כבוד, etc., on certain parts of the ואמן, etc.

¹ See Maimonides, סדר תפלות and אבודרהם.

² I assert this on the authority of M. Isidore Loeb, who kindly examined the two passages for me. He pronounces the glosses to be North French, but rather corrupt. The identifications in the text are his. Compare the Responses of R. Solomon ben Adereth, § 434, and בית יוסף טור אורח חיים סימן ".

B.

The commentary to the פסח של הנדה, extending over pages 220-229. It is now bound separately, bearing the press mark Add. 414. Some pages are missing at the beginning, commencing with the words בלא כנפים. A few lines afterwards comes the quotation וּמָפִילוּ כוֹלָנוּ יְדֵינִים אֶת הַתּוֹרָה, on which the commentary follows. The Mechilta and the Jerushalmi are often quoted. On p. 224a he refers to his פירוש התפלות. On the same page we read the words אָמְרוּ כְּשִׁירַד אֲנִיהָ זֶה לֹא נִזְכַּרְתִּי לְכַתְּבָהּ בְּמִקְוֶה¹ וְלֹא מִצְאָתִיהָ בְּשׁוּם מָקוֹם. On p. 230, which was originally blank, we have among other jottings the signature יוסף דוראנט רקלואף (?). Of other owners we have in old German cursive hand, on p. 1a, at the bottom, the signature מאיר בר ברוך; the last letter is hardly legible. At the top of the same page we find in a later German hand the name (?) יוסף צביביץ.

S. SCHECHTER.

¹ See *Machzor Vitry*, p. 293, where this Midrash is given as a primary part of the Haggadah in the Provence ritual. See Zunz, *Ritus*, 45. This would also prove that North France was the country of our author. Cp. Dr. Neubauer's *Catalogue of the Bodleian MSS.*, No. 1,097 (*Machzor French rite*) אֵין אֲוִמְרִים אָמְרוּ כְּשִׁירַד שֶׁהָרִי אֵינוֹ מִן הָאֲנִיָּה.

JOHN PFEFFERKORN AND THE BATTLE OF THE BOOKS.

THE 28th of September, 1509 was a day of consternation to the Jews of Frankfort-on-the-Main. They had probably risen on that morning with the expectation of spending a few days in rest and rejoicing, for it was the eve of the feast of Tabernacles. It was a busy day alike for Jews and Jewesses, for it was a Friday, and preparations had to be made both for the Sabbath and the festival. The men and boys were busily engaged in the fitting up and the decoration of the tabernacles, in the binding up of the *lulab* (palm-branch), and the selecting of the best *ethrog* (citron). The women had their domestic duties to attend to, to prepare the food, to arrange their trinkets and their finery, to see whether the holiday attire of their husbands, sons, and brothers was in good repair, whether here and there a stitch was not wanted, whether the yellow badge which every Jew was compelled to wear was properly fastened. The holiday feeling was all the keener for the oppression under which they were always bent; for they knew no tranquillity at home or abroad. They were assailed in the streets by insulting language, they were pelted and assaulted, not only by the young, but also by grown up people. They were confined to a narrow, dark street, which from their sufferings they used to call New Egypt. On the inner wall of the gate of the bridge leading into the town, there was a picture in derision of the Jews, which roused against the inhabitants of the Ghetto the hatred and contempt of all passers by. Their right of domicile had to be renewed at short intervals, every three years, or even annually. This proved so profitable a business to the town, that the conditions were constantly modified, and it

was altogether a fertile source of oppression, extortion, and degrading restrictions. Thus, for example, in the year 1433 the Jews of Frankfort were forbidden to buy beef except in the four weeks between the 28th of October and the 25th of November. The rest, the enjoyment, the consolation afforded them by their religious holidays, must under such circumstances, have been all the more intensely felt, must have all the more keenly affected the inner recesses of their hearts, and have given them the courage again to encounter the innumerable slights and wrongs that met them in their daily life. They must have rejoiced, therefore, on this particular Friday at the prospect of a comparatively happy and quiet holiday; but they had counted without Johann Pfefferkorn.

On the day of which we speak, there appeared in their synagogue three priests, two town councillors, and Johann Pfefferkorn. The latter produced a mandate of the Emperor Maximilian, to the effect that the Jews should deliver to him, Pfefferkorn, all books which contained anything against the Christian faith or against the Pentateuch and the Prophets. By force of this mandate, Pfefferkorn was to be the sole judge of what was to be considered pernicious or otherwise, and his authority in this respect was to extend throughout the German Empire. He entered the synagogue, and in spite of the protests of the Jews, he took away indiscriminately as many books as he could lay hands on, and forbade the Jews, in the name of the Emperor, to pray in their synagogue. The day was too short to search the private houses for books, and he appointed the following day for this purpose. But the protestations of the Jews were so vigorous, that the priests who accompanied Pfefferkorn refused to disturb them on their Sabbath, and the second day of the festival being a Sunday, the confiscation was adjourned till the following Monday. The books already taken were meanwhile deposited with the town council.

The Jews were not slow in comprehending the impor-

tance of the measure. Not only the slight put upon them, not only the monetary value of the books, which was considerable, not only the attachment they felt for the religious works, on which hands were thus ruthlessly laid—it was not this alone that stirred the Jews of Frankfort to activity, but it was the danger to life and limb, which, as they justly feared would follow this outrage. But who was this Pfefferkorn? We have just seen that he was the bearer of a mandate of the Emperor Maximilian, that he was the Emperor's representative in the battle of the books, that he was to be the sole arbiter of what constituted blasphemy against the Christian religion, and the judge of what conflicted with the religion of the Jews themselves. For although the mandate ordered the presence of priests and magistrates at every search, this was a mere matter of form, Pfefferkorn being the man commissioned to summon them to these duties, and all this, as the Imperial decree expressed it, because of his learning and knowledge of the Jewish faith.

Johann Pfefferkorn's name had once been Joseph. At that time he was a Jew, by trade a butcher. When in that station of life he was once caught in the act of committing a burglary. He was put in prison, and would most certainly have been executed had not his friends ransomed him. Afterwards he was baptised, assumed the name of Johann, and like many another convert, did all he could to inflict injury on his previous co-religionists. For this purpose he wrote several pamphlets, and by his attacks on the great German Humanist, Johann Reuchlin, he raised a storm which vibrated all over Europe, and reached wherever people interested themselves in the learning and religion of the time. Pfefferkorn was probably nothing more than a willing and energetic accessory in a conspiracy of the Dominicans of Cologne against Jewish wealth. As such he was regarded by his contemporaries and by most of the authors who subsequently treated the subject. As the most conspicuous among the

Dominican enemies of the Jews at Cologne, I mention Ortvinus Gratius, the Grand Inquisitor Jacob von Hochstraten, and Arnold von Tungeren. The baptised Jew and priest, Victor von Carben, seems to have played only a secondary part in the affair. But Pfefferkorn has not escaped the fate of those who have made themselves infamous in history, the fate of being subjected to a thorough process of whitewashing. Ludwig Geiger, in his life of Reuchlin and in pamphlets scattered in various magazines, was at particular pains to remove any stains that might undeservedly stick to the reputation of Pfefferkorn. L. Geiger denies that Pfefferkorn had been either a butcher or a burglar, or that his conversion and his subsequent persecutions of the Jews were prompted by mercenary motives. He maintains that Pfefferkorn was not a tool in the hands of the Dominicans, but that the action of the latter was the consequence of Pfefferkorn's representations. He is of opinion that Pfefferkorn, a man of violent fanaticism, attempted to convert the Jews to Christianity by writings and persuasion, and that he became violent, abusive, and outrageous after he had been irritated by opposition.

These opposing views of Pfefferkorn's character will be considered in the course of this narrative. The first shot that was launched at the Jews under the name of Pfefferkorn, was a book of which two German editions entitled *Joedenspiegel* and a Latin edition called *Speculum Exhortationis* appeared in the year 1507. Pfefferkorn's avowed purpose in this, as in all his other writings, was to convert the Jews to Christianity. He tries to show in the *Joedenspiegel* how unreasonable it was of the Jews to decline to adopt the doctrines of Christianity, to go on expecting the Messiah and to refuse their assent to the belief that he had already come; that it was particularly wicked of them that they refused to believe in Mary in the same way as the Christians did. The Jews did not in his opinion reject Christianity because they could not, but because

they would not believe in it. They would not believe in it even if an angel came down from heaven to announce its truth. Their unbelief arose entirely out of the stubbornness of their hearts and their obstinacy. He therefore modestly presumed to advise the princes, because he was acquainted with the three causes of the pertinacity of the Jews and with the means to shake it. The first cause was that they were permitted to practise usury. This should not be tolerated, in spite of the many advantages accruing therefrom to a great number of Christians. He counsels the princes who had not yet expelled the Jews, to abstain from doing so. This apparent mildness, which Pfefferkorn did not repeat in any of his subsequent works, was however rendered nugatory by the advice he tendered on the second point. For, as the second cause why the Jews clung to their faith, he assigns the fact that they were not compelled to visit the churches to hear Christian sermons. He therefore counsels the princes not to tolerate any Jews in their territories unless the latter be forced to go to church, and hear Christianity preached to them. As the third impediment to their conversion he mentions their books. These must be taken away, they could not possibly be left to them. They were the storehouses of everything wicked and irreligious; they did the greatest harm to the Christian Church, against which they were directed in every point. Nothing should be left the Jews, (no festival prayer book, no daily prayer book), nothing except the text of the Bible.

Graetz here gives Pfefferkorn credit for a virtuous intention, which, in my opinion, he was far from possessing. Graetz thinks that Pfefferkorn, for the sake of gaining over the Jews to his opinions, was in this pamphlet rather kinder to the Jews, and that he therefore denied that the blood accusation, so often raised against the Jews, had any foundation. But we all know that the blood accusation is a monster with many heads. None of these heads has any brains, each of them is

provided with sharp venomous teeth. The most notorious form of that dangerous accusation is this, that the Jews made use of blood in their Passover rites. On this phase of the accusation Pfefferkorn does not touch in his pamphlet at all. But another form of the same accusation is, if possible, still sillier, still more repulsive, and not less dangerous. It was pretended that every Jew suffered by nature from a loathsome disease, the effects of which could only be cured by the use of human blood. It is of the accusation in this shape that Pfefferkorn acquits the Jews. The reason why he did so is obvious. In acquitting the Jews he acquits himself of ever having suffered in similar manner. He says, "I must defend the Jews in this instance, not however without a distinction. It is credible that there may have been and that there still are Jews who secretly kill Christian children. But not for the sake of having their blood, but only because of vengeance and hatred." Surely a defence couched in such terms was little calculated to gain over the Jews by kindness.

I have dwelt at some length on this first pamphlet of Pfefferkorn to give a specimen of the arguments, the malice, and the depravity of their author. But was Pfefferkorn the sole author of the book? Geiger says that the charge set forth by Pfefferkorn's enemies, that he was not the author of his works, and which they based on his ignorance of Latin, cannot be sustained, because the originals were always written in German, the Latin editions being mere translations. The fact is that the German and Latin editions of this book appeared almost simultaneously, so that it is difficult to say which of the two was the original. But granted even that the pamphlet was conceived and written in German by Pfefferkorn, it nevertheless remains a fact that the translation was made almost as soon as the work was written; a fact which goes far to prove that he acted from the first in collusion with others. Provided always that Pfefferkorn had since his conversion acquired sufficient knowledge of German to write in that language, for that

he should have been able to do so when still a butcher is out of the question. Pfefferkorn afterwards denied that he had ever been a butcher or a burglar. Now there is no harm in being a butcher, but in his case it would imply that he was a totally illiterate, a profoundly ignorant man. Why he did not fancy the idea of being called a burglar is obvious. L. Geiger takes Pfefferkorn's word for it against that of his accusers, even of Reuchlin, and especially because Pfefferkorn produced in one of his writings a certificate of good conduct. But that Pfefferkorn had been both a butcher and a burglar has since been established by irrefragable documentary evidence, first communicated by Graetz in his magazine in 1875. It is therefore impossible to assume that Pfefferkorn acted by himself even in his first attack on the Jews.

In the pamphlet that appeared in 1508 under the title of "Confessions of the Jews," he ridicules the Jewish rites during the penitential days and the Day of Atonement. The character of such calumnies is well known. Trifles, to which some people might object, are represented as being the gist and quintessence of the ceremonies; the real origin and meaning of the latter, which neither stand nor fall with such disputable points, are ignored, and thus the ceremonies themselves are ridiculed and condemned. In this case the whole pamphlet seems to me to be an enlarged edition of about two chapters taken from an anti-Jewish work by Victor von Carben, which had appeared a few years before, except that some new falsehoods and some fresh misrepresentations are added; for instance, that the Jews confess their sins to cocks and fishes, after which they eat their confessors. General incriminations and venomous denunciations in Pfefferkorn's usual style are not wanting. The book is dated "in the year 1508 on St. Valentine's day." No valentine ever was more scurrilous and vulgar. Two High German, two Low German, and two Latin editions of this book appeared in the same year.

His treatment of the Passover rites in his next pamphlet gives evidence of the progress of his malice. He considers the rites as symbols of Christianity,¹ and yet he asserts that the Jews, in performing them, were heretics against their own law. As a specimen of his mode of reasoning I quote the following argument. He says that the Jews instead of having a whole lamb, no bone of which should be broken, take only a piece in which there is a broken bone. For this they should be put to death according to their own law, for the man who gathered sticks on the Sabbath was stoned to death, because he had not observed the law. Therefore the Jews are worthy of death for their ceremonies on the Passover.

His next pamphlet (1509) he called "The Enemy of the Jews." A Latin translation appeared in the same year, and in this the Dominicans of Cologne for the first time publicly avowed their connection with Pfefferkorn. An anti-Jewish poem was printed on the title page, composed by Ortvinus Gratius, a man who virulently hated the Jews, and who had already gained his golden spurs as Jew-baiter. The book is a considerable advance on its predecessors in malice and misrepresentation. It contains a calculation of the sum to which a small coin amounts by usury in thirty years. The author repeats old accusations with fresh bitterness. He prints correctly in Hebrew a few lines of the prayer *אֲבוֹנֵנוּ מֶלֶכֶּנוּ*, but translates them according to his convenience. They should have been translated thus: "Our Father, our King! annul the designs of those who hate us. Frustrate the counsel of our enemies. Cause to cease pestilence, sword, famine, captivity, destruction and plague from the children of thy covenant." Pfefferkorn's translation runs thus: "May God destroy the thoughts and counsels of our enemies by massacre, and sword, and famine, and pestilence, and various plagues, and may this happen for our sake."

¹ A convert and missionary of a different stamp, Dr. Paulus Cassel, in a pamphlet entitled *Aletheia*, recently attempted the same kind of symbolisation.

He declares that all Jews were perjurers, and that no Jewish physicians, of whom a great number existed at that time, could be trusted, because they intentionally killed Christians. He maintains that the Jews must not be suffered to practise usury, nor must they be allowed to amass wealth in any other way. They must either be expelled, or the lowest work must be assigned to them, such as sweeping the streets, sweeping chimneys, removing filth, clearing out dog-kennels, and the like. The Talmud must be taken away and no book left them save the Bible.

Thus far Pfefferkorn and the Dominicans had fought against the Jews with the pen only. They scattered their pamphlets broadcast, and many editions appeared within a short period. I do not doubt that the Jews must both indirectly and directly have suffered from these machinations. But this was not enough. The firebrands of Cologne wanted some more signal effects, some riot, some expulsion, some wholesale confiscation. Their instigation of the princes of Germany had so far produced no results. They resolved to effect their purpose with the Emperor himself. The Emperor Maximilian was at that time encamped before Padua. Thither Pfefferkorn betook himself. On his way he halted at Munich to visit Maximilian's sister Cunigund, who was Abbess in a convent at that place. She was only too happy to be able to assist in such pious doings, and she gave Pfefferkorn letters to her brother, in which she implored the latter to comply with Pfefferkorn's desires. Thus he obtained from the Emperor a mandate, which authorised him to inspect, in presence of a priest and two magistrates, all books possessed by the Jews, and to suppress such as he found to contain anything against the Christian faith. Armed with this mandate he returned, but before putting it into execution he visited the celebrated German Humanist, Johann Reuchlin, at Stuttgart, whom he invited to ride with him to the Rhine, and to assist him in carrying out the mandate against the Jews. Various reasons are suggested why Pfefferkorn took this step; among others that

his object was to disarm in advance any objections against the enterprise by making it appear that it was made under the auspices of a man like Reuchlin. At the same time the party of Cologne wanted Reuchlin to commit himself, because they were displeased with him for having introduced amongst Christians the study of Hebrew. This is the opinion of Graetz.

Geiger thinks that Pfefferkorn wanted Reuchlin's assistance as a lawyer, for the latter had been for a long time the legal adviser of the Dominicans; or, possibly, that he wanted to give a scientific colour to the matter by the co-operation of the first authority in Hebrew. I do not think that the Dominicans, in asking for Reuchlin's assistance, had any sinister designs against him. They only thought of harming the Jews, and they were under the impression that Reuchlin was the proper person to assist them in their enterprise. In the first place, they did not think that anybody hated the Jews less than they did themselves. Of such sentiments of rectitude, justice, disinterested love of knowledge, as animated Reuchlin, they had no idea. They knew that six years before he had written a few pages in answer to the question, "Why the Jews are so long in misery," which question he answered by the trite arguments of their sin against the founder of Christianity, of their persistence in that sin, and the like. He mentioned in terms of condemnation three books of the Jews written against the Christians. He must therefore have been considered by the Dominicans as a zealous antagonist of the Jews and their doctrines, and this, in a different sense, he really was. But these people had no eyes for the sparks of humanity that lurk in Reuchlin's anti-Jewish pamphlet, for the germs of tolerance which are disseminated over these few pages. They considered Reuchlin as one of them. When we add to this that he was their regular legal adviser, and that his knowledge of Hebrew particularly qualified him to a business like the present, it is plain that it did not occur to them

for a moment to doubt that he would eagerly grasp at the opportunity of assisting in such a holy enterprise.

Let us try to picture to ourselves this meeting between Pfefferkorn and Reuchlin. There can be no question that Pfefferkorn must have been greatly elated by his preliminary successes. To be made much of by a set of men whom he probably considered as the first men of his age; to have been graciously received by the Emperor's sister, by the Emperor himself; to be called in an Imperial decree the Emperor's faithful Johann Pfefferkorn; to be appointed the sole agent in a momentous affair—he must have felt as if he had the world at his feet. How must Reuchlin have regarded him? When Pfefferkorn had introduced himself to Reuchlin, had told him all he had to tell, had spoken of his designs against the Jewish books, had revealed as much of himself as it was in his interest to reveal, I imagine Reuchlin to have muttered to himself: "There he is, Sergius in the flesh!"

About thirteen years previously Reuchlin had written a comedy in Latin under the title of "Sergius," in which the character of the person who now stood before him was sketched with remarkable accuracy. If we were not so well informed about the date at which this comedy was written, one could imagine that Pfefferkorn had sat for the portrait of Sergius. Reuchlin is said to have directed his satire against the man whom he held for the chief cause that he was obliged to flee from Würtemberg, the monk Holzinger. He chastises the latter as Sergius, a native of Arabia, a man of the greatest impudence and of the most corrupt morals. He had been a monk in a convent, but the crimes he had committed were so numerous that it was in vain that his brother monks tried to correct his evil ways. Impatient at their constant rebukes he left the convent, assumed the Mohammedan faith, and became the fiercest persecutor of the Christians. The picture of the apostate is painted by Reuchlin in the most vivid colours. Such a person it was who now stood before him.

Of course Reuchlin could not then have known in how far this Pfefferkorn answered to the Sergius of his fancy, but we may presume that he understood at first sight what manner of person he had to do with. The Dominicans of Cologne imagined that they would derive help from Reuchlin, but never did men fall into a greater miscalculation. Reuchlin excused himself from responding to Pfefferkorn's summons by pleading the stress of other affairs. He approved of the suppression of books which reviled Christianity, but was of opinion that the mandate had some formal defects. Pfefferkorn asked Reuchlin to point out to him wherein these defects consisted, and the latter tore a scrap off a piece of paper and noted them down. Pfefferkorn, however, nothing daunted, put into execution the confiscation of Jewish books in Frankfort on Friday, 28th September, 1509, and this initial step was followed by other confiscations at Mayence, Bingen, Lorch, Lahnstein, and Deutz.

We have seen that at Frankfort Pfefferkorn could not complete his search on the Friday mentioned. The clergymen who accompanied him interceded, and the examination was adjourned till Monday. The Jews of Frankfort sent a deputy to Worms on Friday to endeavour to stop the outrage by the interference of the High Court, the Kammergericht. On Saturday they despatched a messenger to the Elector and Archbishop of Mayence, Uriel of Memmingen, to whose jurisdiction Frankfort belonged. Uriel was a man of culture, had studied law, was of a mild nature, and was not unfriendly to the Jews. The Jews hoped to persuade the Archbishop to forbid his priests to participate in the affair. Their success was complete. On Monday Pfefferkorn and his companions again put in an appearance. The Jews had recovered from their surprise, and resolved on a line of action. They received Pfefferkorn with energetic protests, for they were anxious to gain time for the messenger to Uriel to return. They said they would appeal to the Emperor before the search should be

proceeded with, and they persuaded the priests and the councillors to let the matter stand over till Tuesday, in order that the council might decide whether they had a right to appeal to the Emperor or not. The council gave it as their opinion that they could appeal only after they had complied with the terms of the mandate. The confiscation was to be resumed in the afternoon, but before that time letters arrived from the Archbishop, in which he ordered the priests not to have anything more to do with the affair, and in which he expressed his dissatisfaction at their having committed themselves at all. This caused the councillors to withdraw also, for, according to the terms of the mandate, the presence of a priest was essential. Thus Pfefferkorn was baffled for the moment.

The Jews sent a deputy to the Emperor, and summoned other Jewish communities to appoint delegates to a meeting in Frankfort in the following month. The books that had been taken away were deposited with the council. The Archbishop, who may have resented the inauguration of the business in his diocese, without his consent being asked, wrote to the Emperor to the effect that it had never come to his knowledge that the Jews in his diocese possessed any books of the character described in the mandate. He said that Pfefferkorn was not clever enough for such an investigation; that he was not even sufficiently read in Holy Writ; that it was his (Uriel's) duty to inform the Emperor of this in case Pfefferkorn should apply for further powers. He suggested that the Emperor should appoint a person better acquainted with Jewish matters, in which case he would give his assistance. The Archbishop also wrote to his representative at the Imperial court to exert himself that no further authority might be conferred on Pfefferkorn, and to interest himself in favour of the Jews.

Pfefferkorn meanwhile again visited the Emperor to obtain a fresh mandate, purged this time from all formal defects. He again armed himself with a letter of recommendation from Cunigund. Thereupon commenced a series

of intrigues at the court of the Emperor between Pfefferkorn and the Jewish delegates. It is true the Jews had some recommendations from powerful protectors, but Pfefferkorn had, besides this, something that was better still. He was plentifully supplied with money. The Jews had no money; they were obliged to borrow some at the ruinous rate of two hundred per cent. The consequences were deplorable. They fought, however, bravely; they appealed to their privileges, which were inquired into and found to be legally of force. They presented a certificate from the Lord of Gutenstein, proving that Pfefferkorn had committed a burglary, and that he had narrowly escaped the gallows. But Pfefferkorn's representations prevailed. His audacity knew no bounds. He slandered the Jews; he bullied them in the presence of the Emperor, taking advantage of his brand new Christianity. The Jews could answer nothing; they fell on their knees before the Emperor, who afterwards sent his marshal to assure them that no harm would befall them.

Pfefferkorn obtained a second mandate, dated Roveredo, 10th November, 1509. The mandate complied apparently with the suggestions of the Archbishop Uriel. Scholars of the universities of Cologne, Mayence, Heidelberg, and Erfurt, were to meet at an appointed time to examine the books in the presence of Jewish Rabbis. The committee of inquiry was also to comprise "Jacob von Hochstraten of the Dominicans, doctor-of-law and grand inquisitor; the most learned Johannes Reuchlin, doctor-of-law, well grounded and versed in Hebrew writings, and Victor von Carben, formerly a Rabbi and now a priest." The whole affair was committed to the charge and supervision of Pfefferkorn (*zu Lob und Ere*, A 7a). Pfefferkorn was thus included as a member of the committee, but this could hardly be said to have been in formal opposition to Uriel's wishes, since so many other scholars, and even the Rabbis, were to be present. Uriel's suggestions were adopted in letter, but not in spirit, and

the machinations of the Dominicans of Cologne had produced the results for which they had intrigued ever since they had launched the *Joedenspiegel* two years before. In that pamphlet they had demanded (Spec. Exh. B 3a ed. 1508) that honest men should be consulted, men of sound doctrine, of perfect faith, and of spotless life; this demand was now responded to beyond expectation.

Fresh confiscations of books were now undertaken. The Jews of the larger congregations had not readily responded to the summons of those in Frankfort, but the new activity of Pfefferkorn stirred them into action. The council of Frankfort, who had hitherto remained in a position of passive indifference, and had, though not very zealously, obeyed the decrees of the Emperor, now joined the Jews in their protests. They called attention to the privileges of the Jews; they pointed out at the Reichstag at Worms that the literature of the Jews was useful for the spread of Christianity. These feelings in favour of the Jews were strengthened by the fact that Pfefferkorn sought to lay his hands also on the goods of foreign Jews, who had come to Frankfort to sell their books at the fair: this involved a breach of ancient privileges, and might embroil the city with a number of princes and lords who had given the Jews letters of safe conduct for their persons and their property. At any rate, the conference of scholars ordered by the Emperor never took place. On the contrary, the Emperor issued a third decree, directing the restoration to the Jews of all the confiscated books, on the condition that they would employ them in their synagogues, houses, and schools, but that they would not make any other use of them.

Pfefferkorn and his friends had not been idle in the meantime. A new pamphlet, commencing, "In honour and glory of the Emperor Maximilian," was written, and appeared at the beginning of the year 1510. A kind of historical survey is given of the whole business—of the mandates obtained, of the Emperor's zeal for

Christianity, of the recommendations of Cunigund. It contains also a list of the confiscated books, and of those the Jews were allowed to keep. The latter list is only an enumeration of the books of the Hebrew Bible. The Jews are threatened, the Emperor incited against them; exquisite cruelty and malice are stamped on every page. Pfefferkorn also published an appeal to the ecclesiastical and secular authorities, in which the wickedness of the Jewish books is again emphasized, and in which he declares that the Jews had attempted to bribe him to abstain from further proceedings; that he had resisted the temptation, but that some other Christians had not been so disinterested, but were corrupted by the Jews. Certainly the fanatics of Cologne were not easily silenced. Hardly two months after the third mandate a fourth appeared, which enjoined on the Archbishop of Mayence to collect the opinions of the Universities of Cologne, Mayence, Erfurt and Heidelberg, as also the opinions of Hochstraten, Reuchlin, Victor von Carben, and other men who were acquainted with Hebrew literature and were not Jews, as to the advisability of destroying the Jewish books. Pfefferkorn was nominated by the Emperor as the agent (*sollicitator*) in this matter, whose duty it was to send the various opinions to the Emperor.

Pfefferkorn figures here only as a kind of messenger, not as a scholar, who himself was asked for his opinion. The protestations of his antagonists as to his ignorance appear at last to have prevailed. For the rest, the scheme of the people of Cologne seemed again to prove successful. The same persons and universities were again consulted, and the collection of separate opinions must have appeared a task much easier to execute than that of assembling delegates at a certain time and a certain place. The design of bringing about such a meeting had already been shipwrecked, and this new plan was started. But the hopes they had entertained of Reuchlin were deplorably frustrated. Whatever his frame of mind when he published

his anti-Jewish letter, he harped now on quite a different string. He wrote his opinion, in which he actually defended the Jewish books, except such as contained direct blasphemies against Christianity. Of the latter class, however, he said that he knew only of two books, which the Jews themselves held to be apocryphal. The opinion contains also some sharp hits against Pfefferkorn. The experienced lawyer who was competent to judge about the legal aspect of the affair—the only man among all those whose opinions had been solicited who possessed real knowledge of Hebrew and Jewish lore, who as a Humanist enjoyed European fame—that man had forsaken the side of the Dominicans. Their fury can be imagined. A new book, by Pfefferkorn appeared, the *Handspiegel*—"Hand-glass"—as bitter this time against Reuchlin as against the Jews. Reuchlin is called in it an enemy of Christianity, an apostate, a heretic, who was bribed by the Jews, who contradicted his own opinions. His knowledge of Hebrew was a fiction, his Hebrew Grammar and Dictionary were written by others—the impostor had only printed it. He favoured and defended the Jews; he loved them instead of hating them. He could read Hebrew when the pronunciation was given in Latin or German characters. He was as quick at reading Hebrew as an ass that is hurriedly driven up a staircase. These were the accusations made, this the tone assumed against Reuchlin. But how did Pfefferkorn become acquainted with the contents of Reuchlin's opinion? The latter, who had sent it under seal to the Archbishop of Mayence, maintained that Pfefferkorn had no right whatever to read it. He certainly had no right to make it the subject of an attack upon Reuchlin—to turn to private use a document destined for the Emperor's eye, before the Emperor's pleasure about it was known, even before the Emperor had seen it. Pfefferkorn and his wife openly hawked this pamphlet in a booth at the fair of Frankfort.

Reuchlin travelled to the Emperor, and when he saw him at Reutlingen, on the 29th of April, 1511, he showed him

Pfefferkorn's libel. The Emperor was displeased with it, and promised to refer the case for decision to the Bishop of Augsburg. But this was never done, and Reuchlin, knowing full well that nothing could be gained by waiting any longer, wrote his *Augenspiegel*—"Spectacles, Eyeglass." In this he relates the whole story, gives a copy of the opinion sent by him to the Archbishop, repudiates the charge of unduly favouring the Jews; palliates, often sophistically enough, some of the statements made by him, and reproaches Pfefferkorn with having written in his *Handglass* not less than thirty-four falsehoods.

The publication of the *Augenspiegel* was a turning point in the life of Pfefferkorn. Thus far the whole of the intrigues, malignings, incitations to violence, the production of venomous incriminations, and of falsehoods were all on his side—at least, went under his name. But from the time of the *Augenspiegel* all that was changed; he had no longer the game all to himself. Reuchlin's friends and admirers took the defence of the latter into their own hands, and they pilloried Pfefferkorn as a liar, as an impostor, who had traded with a knowledge of which he was totally destitute. They declared that he was the willing tool of the Dominicans in a conspiracy against the Jews and their money. Now, the question arises, Is this charge against Pfefferkorn and the Dominicans, that they wanted to gain money by a judiciously managed persecution of the Jews, founded on fact? Can we trust to the mere assertion of the Reuchlinists? Were the latter the kind of men who would do justice to an opponent—who, whilst blaming bad actions, would acknowledge possible good intentions? I must say that, perhaps with one exception, that of Reuchlin himself, none of the adversaries of the Dominicans can be credited with this chivalry of literary warfare. With the exception of Reuchlin, they reached in respect to insinuations and misrepresentations—aye, in respect to deliberate falsehoods—the lowest level of even a Pfefferkorn himself.

It is on this point that I must call attention to the different methods of Ludwig Geiger and of Graetz, neither of whom has, in my opinion, been able to keep the balance even. Geiger deviates too much to the side of the Dominicans; Graetz inclines too much to the side of the Reuchlinists. When we say that the Reuchlinists—always excepting Reuchlin himself—could not be trusted in their estimate of the motives of their opponents, that their insinuations and charges required corroboration, this does not mean that their accusations could not possibly be true. They were capable of making false accusations; are, therefore, all their accusations necessarily false? This were an illogical inference, yet I cannot help thinking that Geiger occasionally drew his inferences in some such fashion. He says that Pfefferkorn had no motives except the ardour of a renegade, and perhaps a good dose of natural malignity. But what about the accusations flung at him by his enemies? Geiger declares them to be false. What he should have asserted is that they wanted corroboration. Geiger often accepts the statements of Pfefferkorn and his friends in the face of conflicting evidence. I do not think this to be just. If the Reuchlinists fancied an occasional falsehood when it suited their purposes, the party of Cologne were certainly not less addicted to the same pastime. But is it then true that the accusations of the Reuchlinists are altogether without corroboration? Does, then, the testimony of Reuchlin himself count for nothing? It is true, he considered himself to be the attacked party; he was subsequently driven to exasperation by his enemies, and was often most vehement in his invective. But he is acknowledged by all as a man in whom the love of truth was interwoven with his very existence, for whom it would have been an utter impossibility wilfully to misrepresent even an opponent.

Now, when a quarrel is driven to the point of embitterment which the Reuchlin-Pfefferkorn strife reached, even such a pure love of truth may sometimes be involun-

tarily tainted in points of minor importance. Nevertheless a man like Reuchlin, unless fully convinced of the fact, would not have persisted as he does in his books and in his letters in accusing the Cologne party of having nothing in view but Jewish money, in asserting that Pfefferkorn was as ignorant of Hebrew as a Jew could possibly be; that he was an illiterate butcher, who, having been obliged by his misdeeds to avoid the Jews, turned against the latter; that he was a willing instrument in the hands of the Dominicans of Cologne in their plot against the books and purses of the Jews. Such assertions, repeatedly brought forward by a man like Reuchlin, go very far to serve as a corroboration of the otherwise untrustworthy sallies of his adherents. At most we could say that they in their turn require further confirmation, but they are certainly not to be set aside in the way Geiger does.

And do they really lack this confirmation? Is not common-sense in their favour? Would Pfefferkorn have been able, without assistance from others, to gain the knowledge of the existence of Cunigund; would he himself have been able to understand her importance for the matter on hand; would he on his own motion have gone to her to solicit a letter of introduction to her brother; and would he have ventured on his own responsibility to molest the Emperor, who had at that time quite other affairs to attend to? Whence was he to obtain the money for his travels and for securing the necessary backstairs influence at Court—he who, when his first confiscation had been cut short by the interference of the Archbishop, prayed the council of Frankfort for a contribution, and was fain to pocket the prodigious remuneration of two florins?

Geiger says that Pfefferkorn was not mercenary; let us see how he proves it. He says that Pfefferkorn did not embrace Christianity from mercenary motives, for—he did not from the same motives revert to Judaism. The question is, was any money ever offered him by the

Jews to bring him back to his former religion? No mention is made of such a thing. Pfefferkorn only says that the Jews offered him money for discontinuing the confiscations. Perhaps this is true, and perhaps not; we have only Pfefferkorn's word for it. If true he refused, either because he was not mercenary or because he was too deeply implicated. But even if Geiger's assumption were founded on fact, it would first have to be proved, entwined as his career was with the doings of the Dominicans, and after the prominence he had gained for himself as a zealot for the propagation of Christianity, that he would have been able to become a Jew again without danger to his person. And how does Geiger know that the berth he had obtained at Cologne as master of the hospital and measurer of salt (*Spitalmeister und Salzmesser*) and a certain position of respectability was not enough to counterbalance any Jewish offer, which, according to Geiger's notion, was made to him? Geiger strenuously denies that Pfefferkorn had even been a butcher or a burglar, considering, as has been previously remarked, the latter's assertions to the contrary and some certificates of good conduct produced by him stronger than the unanimous evidence of all his opponents, Reuchlin included. That Pfefferkorn's assertions on this point are false has been established beyond doubt by additional evidence which was discovered in Rosenthal's library in Amsterdam, and communicated by Graetz in his magazine in 1875, after Geiger's work had appeared.¹ Geiger asks what motive can the Dominicans have had in concealing themselves at first behind Pfefferkorn? The answer is clear. They knew that the shafts launched at the Jews would pierce all the better if discharged by one of their own kin. It was their policy to show that the storm which broke over the Jews had been brewing in their own midst.

¹ Comp. Dr. Joseph Perles' *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Hebräischen und Aramäischen Studien*, p. 29.

Geiger says of the *Handspiegel*, the first book directly turned against Reuchlin, that nobody but Pfefferkorn was responsible for it, that it was not a manifesto of the Dominicans of Cologne, for Pfefferkorn asserts most solemnly (in 1516, thus five years later), that the *Handglass* was neither written nor printed in Cologne but in Mayence. But who had furnished him with allegations from books which it was impossible for him to read? Pfefferkorn answers readily, that they were furnished to him by the three members of the Commission appointed by the Emperor to report upon the opinions. Nobody except Pfefferkorn ever mentions such a Commission; that, as Pfefferkorn says, Hieronymus Baldung should have belonged to it was already doubted by Graetz, because he proved afterwards to be a great friend of Reuchlin; the report of the Commission as adduced by Pfefferkorn being altogether opposed to Reuchlin. But I have reasons to believe that, if not the whole report, certainly Baldung's signature, can be proved to be a forgery. The signature, given by Pfefferkorn, runs thus:—"Hieronymus de leonibus dictus Baldung sacræ theologiæ professor, artium et medicinarum doctor, etc.:" Baldung, professor of theology, doctor of arts and medicine. Where, besides this signature, which Geiger follows (p. 238), was Baldung ever called a theologian? It is well known that he was a lawyer, and had been professor at Freiburg, not of theology, but of law (Böcking, *Hutten*, Supplem. II., p. 301 (303)). Is it not suspicious that Baldung, when signing his name on a report for the Emperor, should have forgotten that he was a lawyer, and made himself a theologian instead? And why, in signing so important a document, should he have subscribed himself *Hieronymus* instead of *Pius Hieronymus*, which was his real name? It appears that the manufacturers of the document in question thought "Pius" to be, not one of his names, but a title given him for his piety. This was enough to stamp him in their eyes as a theologian, for what layman would have been honoured by the title Pius? Accordingly they

omitted it in signing his name for him. No wonder, therefore, that, in one of the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*, ii. 18, the Doctor of Theology, Simon Saussage, reports that somebody asked who were these three commissioners? And the answer was, I do not know, but I think they were the three men who appeared to Abraham as mentioned in Genesis.

Another point of consideration is the amount of Pfefferkorn's Hebrew, Rabbinical and general knowledge. Here, again, Geiger breaks a lance on behalf of his client. He says Pfefferkorn was no scholar, but when Erasmus called him a pure idiot (*prorsus idiota*), this expression might be too strong; nor was he in Hebrew as ignorant as Graetz tried to make him out. He knew as much as an ordinary Jew of that time. Pfefferkorn said that he translated the Gospels into Hebrew, and there was no reason to doubt the statement.

Now it is my opinion that Pfefferkorn stood in every branch of knowledge on the lowest step, and that in respect to Hebrew the term *prorsus idiota* is, if possible, hardly strong enough. Reuchlin, when exposing the thirty-four falsehoods with which he charges Pfefferkorn, says, concerning the sixth falsehood that the baptised Jew had learned in his youth the Pentateuch, according to the custom of the Jews, and, perhaps, some lessons out of the Bible, called Hapthoras, which they must read every week throughout the year. In this, says Reuchlin, he was perhaps skilled and ready from habit like a nun in the psalter, for he had received for this severe thrashings at school (dann man hatt in dick in der schule darumb geschlagen). For the rest he did not know anything thoroughly. And regarding the twenty-fifth falsehood Reuchlin says: "When he was in my library I put before him a Talmudical work called *Mordechai*. He thereupon confessed that he had only learned the Bible, and did not understand any such books." Geiger speaks of exaggeration on the part of Reuchlin; but the statement of the latter of what happened in his

library is the barest statement of fact, and cannot be doubted; and where are the signs of exaggeration in that other statement that Pfefferkorn was beaten at school? Jacob von Hochstraten wrote a book against Petrus Ravennas because the latter disapproved of the custom of hanging a young lad for a petty theft, but we do not find that anybody objected in the fifteenth century to a school-boy being thrashed. At any rate, Pfefferkorn knew no Hebrew; if he had ever known any he had forgotten it. His own writings prove it. Graetz gives some examples of his ignorance, but these refer to Talmudical knowledge only. But he was even ignorant of the Hebrew names of the books of the Bible. I have already mentioned a list given by him of the books he had allowed the Jews to keep. In that list the names of the books are given in Hebrew; over every Hebrew word the name of the book is placed in Latin, underneath every Hebrew word the pronunciation of such word is given. I make the printer responsible for false spelling, but what must we think of an enumeration like this: **חמבוק צפנייה חגי זכריה מלכי כרובים: משלי איים**, the pronunciation underneath is also given as **Malachias, Xovim, Mischle, Iyoeff**, but the Latin names on the top are **Malachias, Psalterium, Parabole, Job**, etc. It is evident that he did not know that the Hebrew name for the Psalms was **תהלים**, that he took the word **כרובים** written on the flyleaf, a name denoting all the Hagiographa from the Psalms to the Chronicles inclusive, to mean only the Psalms.

In his *Enemy of the Jews* he quotes verses 11—15 of the first chapter of Isaiah, with the pronunciation in black letters on the top and the translation under each word. In verse 12, **מי בקש זאת מידכם רמס**, the word **רמס** (*remos*) is printed **דמס** (*demom*). Considered as a misprint this would be pardonable enough 'ר and 'ד, 'ס and 'ם being easily confounded. But in the pronunciation on the top of the word we find in black letter also the word **DEMOM**. This first chapter of Isaiah is particularly well

known to Jews, because it is read as Haphtora on the Sabbath before the fast of Ab, and it is chanted in the same way as the Lamentations of Jeremiah on that fast. It is, therefore, prominent among the Haphtoras, and if Pfefferkorn had had the slightest recollection of what he had learned when a youth, and he had found in the copy he consulted the word דָּרַם, he would have been able to correct such a glaring blunder, which is found both in the German and Latin edition. It appears, therefore, that Pfefferkorn, after his conversion, did not look into any Hebrew book, that he forgot even the scanty amount of Hebrew that was thrashed into him at school, and of which he was once perhaps possessed.

As has already been indicated above, the appearance of Reuchlin's *Augenspiegel* marked the turning point in the career of Pfefferkorn. Before that book was written, Pfefferkorn's attack had been unprovoked. He had undertaken to destroy the books of the Jews, to do the latter all possible harm, he had made private use of a document destined for the eye of the Emperor, and was the ostensible libeller. The publication of the *Augenspiegel* changed the whole complexion of affairs. Henceforth Pfefferkorn is not so much engaged in making as in repelling attacks. He writes with increasing bitterness not only against the Jews but also against Reuchlin and his friends. He would probably have done so if his opponents had contented themselves with calling him by his right name, with showing him and the world who and what he really was. In that case he would have been at pains to show that he had neither been a butcher nor a burglar, that his intentions were pure, that he was not an Abecedarian in Hebrew and worse than an Abecedarian in everything else. But when we see him, Pfefferkorn, illtreated as meanly as he treated others, when we see his enemies adopt tactics against him such as one would not use even against one's Pfefferkorn, then it is idle to be surprised that in his subsequent writings he tried to outdo his own previous efforts and the attacks

of his adversaries. It is idle to expect a Pfefferkorn to turn a saint when treated after his own fashion. This it is that Graetz seems to have expected. Graetz has no word of disapproval for the enormities of the false accusations, for the ruthless, cowardly, murderous blows flung at the head of Pfefferkorn; but all his indignation is reserved for Pfefferkorn, who wards off these blows with similar thrusts.

Pfefferkorn's latest pamphlets, the *Burning Glass*, the *Alarm Bell*, the *Defences*, the *Mitleydige Claeg* are more venomous than the previous emanations from his pen, but this virulence is explicable, however much it is to be condemned. His enemies had preferred a charge against him which was untrue, which, consequently, served his turn. The charge was so atrocious, the concoction so easily refuted, Pfefferkorn so readily cleared on this count, that, with some people, it must have procured him credit even for his falsehoods. The attack fell chiefly to the charge of the famous Ulrich von Hutten. Towards the end of September, 1514, a man called Pfaff Rapp was condemned to death, some said his name was also Pfefferkorn. There is a probability that Ulrich von Hutten was one of the judges at the trial. It is not certain that this delinquent was born a Jew at all. It is not certain what his crime was or whether he had committed one; but he was justly condemned according to the notions of that time; for torture had extracted from him a confession of a number of possible and impossible offences. Among other crimes, he confessed to having tortured and stabbed part of a Host till the blood flowed out of it, to having received a hundred florins from Jews to poison the Duke of Magdeburg, his brother and their court, to having promised the Jews to poison all the country people in the Dioceses of Magdeburg and Halberstadt. For this lengthy catalogue of offences, the man's flesh was torn from him with red-hot pincers, after which he was roasted to death.

The Reuchlinists invented the story that this man was

Johann Pfefferkorn, who had attacked Reuchlin. A poem was composed, most probably by Hutten, in which the poet says that Germany could never have produced such a monster. It were better not to baptize any Jews, for this man had committed crimes which surpass those of the monsters of mythology, which are enumerated at length. The alleged crimes are mentioned, and emphasis is given to the monstrosity of torturing a Host and of causing the blood to flow from it, and the praises of Albert of Magdeburg are sung, whose good fortune it was so signally to punish him. Now, it is quite clear that the authors of this mystification knew better or could have known better if they had chosen. That Hutten's indignation was got up for the occasion is justly pointed out by Strauss. Hutten was the last man to believe in the bleeding of the Host; he would have laughed to scorn such a notion if it had been adduced by an opponent. The falsehood was so tenaciously adhered to, that, as Pfefferkorn says, when he proved to be alive, his enemies said that the other Pfefferkorn was his brother, and when he showed that he had no brother, they said it was his cousin. We see from this that the adherents of Reuchlin were not very particular in choosing the weapons with which they fought, they were not troubled by high-toned scruples of chivalrous warfare. Their arms did not improve in morality in the course of time, but they gained considerably in wit, keenness, and effectiveness.

They unmasked their batteries and bombarded the positions of their enemies with one discharge after another of satirical letters, which hit with such deadly effect that their adversaries were unable to lift their heads. It is true, the latter tried to retaliate, but, although equalling their opponents in malignity and surpassing them in mendacity and unscrupulousness, yet they were destitute of the caustic wit and the ideal perfection of satirical spirit of a Crotus Rubianus and an Ulrich von

Hutten, as exemplified in the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*, the "Letters of the Unknown Men."

Reuchlin, in order to show that he had the greatest intellects of the age on his side, had published a series of letters written by the celebrities of the time to himself, under the title of *Epistolæ Clarorum Virorum*, "Letters of Famous Men." Crotus Rubianus, who was most probably the author of the first series of the satirical letters, chose therefore for the title of his satire "Letters of Obscure or Unknown Men." To translate *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum* by "Letters of Obscurantists," "Briefe von Dunkelmännern," is translating according to the *Drash*, not according to the *Pshat*. As the *Epistolæ Clarorum Virorum* were written to Reuchlin, the satirical letters were pretended to be written to Ortvinus Gratius, one of the most conspicuous members of the Cologne party. Whether all or any of the charges, preferred against the latter are true or not, whether he is really the sainted man, whom his enthusiastic apologist, D. Reichling, tried to depict, I shall not attempt to decide. Why he should have been selected as the target against which the shafts of the satirists were particularly directed; whether it was really because one of the chief co-operators in the manufacture of that famous satire, Hermann von dem Busche, had a personal spite against him, it is enough to know that he was an inveterate enemy of the Jews, as he had shown on more than one occasion; that he was one of the principal protectors of Pfefferkorn, some of whose works he had translated into Latin, if not entirely composed. About the moral character of these satirical productions I can only admit the justice of the description given of them by Sir William Hamilton in an article of the *Edinburgh Review* of March, 1831 (vol. liii.), part of which was reprinted in a life of Reuchlin written by Barham. Sir W. Hamilton says: "Morally considered this satire is an atrocious libel, which can only be palliated on the plea of retaliation, necessity, the im-

portance of the end, and the consuetude of the times. Its victims are treated like vermin, hunted without law and exterminated without mercy."

That the accusations made in these letters cannot be all true I readily admit, but not that they must be necessarily false because they are contained in these lampoons. Many of them are otherwise fully confirmed. The tone of these letters is in the highest degree indecent, the expressions most irreverent whether considered from a catholic or from a humanistic, certainly from a Jewish point of view. Bible texts and even the name of God are freely used for the sake of illustrating some filthy and obscene sally. The language in which they are couched is a caricature of the dog-Latin in vogue with the monks of those days, and its drollery cannot be described. To what point of perfection satirical art is raised in these letters is manifest from the fact, that even great and unprejudiced men have admiration only for the art with which the attacks are executed, and have no eyes for the wickedness which this art embellishes.

The impression they produced in Germany was electric. Even the scruples of the more sober friends of Reuchlin had to struggle with the inclination to smile produced by that which was ludicrous in them, and laughter soon drove every other emotion before it. I said before that many, if not most of the accusations contained in the letters are only too true, and the frivolity prevalent in them may have had some good results. Looking only upon the results, what does it matter then that the authors were themselves as deeply steeped in the vices which they laid to the charge of their enemies? When we consider the results only, what does it matter, if the persons named in the letters were partly or altogether free from the vices imputed to them, since the attacks were directed against a class of persons, namely the monks, rather than against this or that individual? That the monks were portrayed in life-like resemblance is evident

from the fact that the monks in Belgium and England did not at first notice the satire at all, and really thought that one of their midst had written these letters as a satire against Reuchlin and in favour of the Dominicans. This fact is not without importance in respect to the trustworthiness of the accusations made in the letters. A doctor of theology at Louvain went even so far as to buy twenty copies for distribution among his friends. These facts are related by Erasmus, of whom it is said, that he laughed so much at one of these letters, that an abscess in his throat opened and he was cured. These facts are however very inconvenient to those who would fain declare all accusations in the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum* to be malicious inventions; and the afore-mentioned apologist of Ortvinus Gratius says (page 8) that he does not hesitate to consider the whole narrative as a bad joke. This is easy, but the statement of Erasmus is confirmed by Sir Thomas More, who wrote in 1516, that is before Erasmus, that the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum* pleased everybody in a most remarkable manner. They pleased the scholars as a jest; they pleased the ignorant people also; for when the latter laughed, they intended only to laugh at the style, which they did not want to defend, but which in their opinion was compensated for by the gravity of the contents. I take this quotation from the article in the *Edinburgh Review*, in which it is also stated that these letters have always been a stumbling block to English critics and historians. Of the examples adduced there I shall only cite that of the Essayist Richard Steele, who says in the *Tatler* (1710), "It seems this is a collection of letters, which some profound blockheads, who lived before our time, have written in honour of each other and for their mutual information in each others' absurdities." What does it matter in the result if Ortvinus Gratius was really the saint, and Arnold von Tungeren the still purer saint, as the apologist, D. Reichling, describes them? For let us not forget that one of the

proofs of Reichling for the purity of the morals of A. von Tungeren consists in this, that the latter was the author of a book against what?—against those very vices of the monks for which the latter were so unmercifully pilloried in the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum* (p. 61, n. 4). Can we say after this that the reproaches in these letters are devoid of all corroboration? It would be interesting, perhaps, to give some specimens from the letters themselves, but as I should be obliged to confine myself to extracts bearing on Pfefferkorn, and as the reflections on him are almost invariably made in a very coarse tone, I think it is rather my duty to be silent. A most interesting survey of the letters can be found in the *Life of Ulrich von Hutten*, by Strauss, translated into English by Mrs. Sturge.

But enough has been said to show that we cannot expect Pfefferkorn to be gentle in his expressions after attacks of this kind. It is difficult to understand Graetz's indignation against Pfefferkorn for the last pamphlet the latter is known to have written. If ever Pfefferkorn's virulence was excusable, it was in this case. It is true that Pfefferkorn, as Geiger says, attacks Reuchlin ("Eine mitleydliche Claeg uber alle Claeg an unsern allergnaedlichsten Kayser, etc.") in terms which would be too strong for the worst criminal, and when we wish to have an idea of the height to which his anger against the Jews ascends, we must add together all expressions of violence ever before uttered by him (p. 435). This cannot be defended, but it is not unnatural. The book has a picture of Reuchlin, quartered and hanged. Reuchlin, who despises God, should be cut up into four pieces and hung on the high roads. Pfefferkorn calls Reuchlin the chief coiner of wickedness, a master of lies, a blasphemer of the Church, a falsifier of Holy Writ, a deceiver and seducer of the Christian people, a patron of the perfidious Jews, Dr. Woodenspoon, Dr. Piggyspoon, and a whole catalogue more. But these expressions are no more than a strongly

reflected echo of the vituperations hurled at his own head. He wants Reuchlin to be quartered and hung. No doubt, very unfriendly of him; but what did the Reuchlinists want to be done to him? In their indignation and resentment against the party at Cologne, some of them, namely, Hermann v. d. Busche, and U. von Hutten, composed a poem, "*Triumphus Capnionis*," in honour of Reuchlin, in which the latter is described as triumphing over his enemies. The pageant is described, in which the triumphant Reuchlin is led about in the imagination of the poets, and his enemies are dragged along in chains. To Pfefferkorn the following words are devoted (v. 704-735): "Call two hangmen, bring all your tools, the cross, the noose, and the hook with the ropes. Now, ye hangmen, do this. Put him in such a position that his face is turned towards the earth, his knees upwards, that he may not look to heaven, nor contaminate us with his eyes. Make him bite the soil with his slanderous lips and eat some of the dust. Do not delay, tear his tongue, that first origin of evil, out of his mouth, or else he will say something wicked at the procession. Tear off his nose and both his ears, put the hook into his feet, and drag him thus, face and chest downward to sweep the earth. Scatter about his teeth, so that nothing remain in the mouth to hurt, and although his hands are tied on his back, yet cut off the tips of his fingers," and so on. Graetz gives a translation of this part of the poem without a single word of disapprobation; and then he is surprised and indignant at the terms which Pfefferkorn afterwards applies to Reuchlin and the Jews! I have not quoted the whole passage, how this torture excites commiseration in nobody, and only rouses the derision of boy and man, of married and unmarried women. All laugh at and applaud the sight. Again, a description follows of Pfefferkorn's position in all its sickening details. The poet cannot leave the mutilated body alone; a few verses after he again cards him, and scourges him, and cudgels him, and makes him slowly

breathe his last under these tortures. The honest and truly impartial Böcking, in spite of the veneration he feels for his hero, von Hutten, observes that the author relapses here into the same foaming acerbity which sullies his declamation against the Pseudo-Pfefferkorn. Böcking is surprised that such details can please anybody who is not a professional executioner; that the author did not understand that such exquisite cruelty can have only one effect, namely, that of rousing in humane readers some feelings in favour of Pfefferkorn. I, myself, am obliged to agree for once with D. Reichling, that the original of the enormities found in Pfefferkorn's last pamphlet is contained in that poem, and that the imitation leaves its model far behind.

No, it is not his last pamphlet which condemns Pfefferkorn, but the books published at the beginning of his career, those that were issued before 1511, and the activity he displayed during the same period. It is certainly doubtful how many of these infamous distortions of the truth, how many of these downright falsehoods must be attributed to him. But whoever hides under the name of Pfefferkorn, the books are witnesses of the lowest impulses of human nature, made more repulsive by the fact that they profess to be inspired by motives of religion. Nor would Pfefferkorn's memory be rescued from well-merited obloquy, even if his malignant efforts were inspired by a sense of duty, by an intense and fanatical self-deception.

S. A. HIRSCH.

NOTES ON HEBREW WORDS.

I.

MOST scholars, no doubt, have among their papers some notes on Hebrew words, bringing out results that have not been embodied in the current dictionaries. We seem to be now witnessing the commencement of a new movement in Hebrew lexicography. The first part of Siegfried and Stade's *Wörterbuch* has the great merit of resting on a fresh examination of every occurrence of each word—an enormous and, in many cases, a thankless labour, but a labour indispensable, if we are really to get beyond the standpoint of Gesenius. One can now compare the fruits of one's own observation, not only with the statements of Gesenius and his editors, but with a second dictionary, based on an independent study of the whole material. It is to be hoped that every one who has noticed anything important for the Hebrew Lexicon, which neither is to be found in the latest editions of Gesenius nor has suggested itself to Siegfried and Stade, will now get his notes together, and make them available for future editions of one or the other work. The labour of dictionary-making is so heavy that those who undertake it ought to receive every help that those who benefit by their toil can give. This is my justification for putting together a few isolated remarks on Hebrew words. They do not amount to much in themselves, but their publication may set a good example to readers of this magazine who have richer stores to draw on. I use the abbreviation "M. V." for Mühlau and Volck's 10th edition of Gesenius, and "S. S." for Siegfried and Stade (Abt. 1, 1892).

מִיָּד M. V.: (1) Gürtel, (2) Fessel; S. S. (1) Gürtel, (2) Gürtel des Kriegers, (3) Band, Fessel. In each case the

last sense rests only on Job xii. 18. Neither lexicon gives any clear distinction between *חֲזִיר* and *חֲבִיר*, *חֲבִירָה*. There is, however, a real difference between the two, which can be best got at by observing that *חֲזִיר* is etymologically the same as the Arabic *isār*, the Hebrew long *ō* being the usual equivalent of Arabic long *a*, while the Arabic short *i* becomes *—* instead of *—* under the influence of the *א*. In Arabic itself we have a dialectic form, *isār*. In the present day the *isār* is a large outer wrapper used by women; but in ancient times it was a waist-cloth or wrapper, covering only the lower part of the body, wound round the loins and tied with a knot. The *isār* round the loins and the *riḏā* thrown over the shoulder are still the sacred vestments of pilgrims, who, in their visit to the Caaba at Mecca, retain the antique dress of their ancestors. The *Mīzar*, which now means a pair of drawers, was originally not different from the *isār*. (See *Hamāsa*, p. 81, v. 1, and Dozy *Dict. vêt.*, s.v.) The oldest Semitic dress consisted not of a shirt and a mantle or plaid (*כְּתֹנֶת* and *בִּגְד*), but of a waist-cloth and a plaid. The former is the *isār* or *חֲזִיר*, which, therefore, is not a belt worn above the robes, but an under-garment, or even, at a pinch, the only garment. All the passages in the Old Testament that speak of the *חֲזִיר* agree with this. It cleaves to a man's loins, *i.e.*, is next his skin, Jer. xiii. 11, where it supplies a figure for the closeness of the attachment between Israel and Jahveh. The same figure occurs in Isaiah xi. 5: righteousness and loyalty are the *חֲזִיר* of the ideal king, *i.e.*, the things nearest his heart, as the Arabs say of a man, *huwa minni ma'qida 'l-isār*—"He is with respect to me in the place where the *isār* is knotted," *i.e.*, very near to me. Jeremiah's girdle is of linen, as we should expect of a priest; but the prophet Elijah, whose guise is that of primitive simplicity, wears a wrapper of skin about his loins. Like the old Arabs, he has but two garments, the *ḥazār* or *isār*, and an *ḥazār* of hair-cloth (Ar. *shamla*, Heb. *שִׁמְלָה*). In Ezek. xxiii. 15 it is a peculiarity

of the Chaldeans that they wear the מזור over their garments as a girdle, i.e., they confine their flowing robes with a shawl instead of a simple belt—a mode of dress which is shown on the monuments.

We can now see that it is unnecessary to postulate any exceptional sense for מזור in Job xii. 18, or to emend the text as G. Hoffmann does; the scanty waist-cloth is the dress of captives, and the use of מסר in the sense "gird" is one of the Aramaisms of the book. That captives and mean slaves had only a waist-wrapper of sackcloth appears from such passages as Isaiah iii. 24, and this also is the dress of mourners, who as in Arabia left the upper part of the body uncovered (Ar. *hasir*). In Arabia boys also in the time of Mohammed seem to have worn nothing but the *isār* (Ibn Hishām, 117, l. 14); perhaps this throws some light on 2 Kings. iii. 21, where כל דגבר דגריה means every one old enough to fight. Boys, therefore, did not wear any garment that required to be confined with a belt; they either had a simple waist-cloth or possibly a little unbelted tunic such as boys still wear in the East.

Finally the *isār* or *isār*, which leaves all the limbs free, is the dress of the warrior, so far as he is not equipped in mail. On Assyrian monuments it appears as the only garment of the light armed troops. See the figure in Rawlinson's *Monarchies*, i. 430; cf. Isaiah v. 27, "The waist-cloth on their loins shall not be loosed"; an accident that might easily happen to a wrapper secured only by a knot, as we see from the anecdote in Freytag, *Chrest. Ar.*, p. 72, where Jabala's *isār* becomes undone by a man treading on it. The warrior, to be sure, does not allow his waist-cloth to hang loose, but tucks it up tightly about his loins, leaving the legs bare. See, for example, *Hamāsa*, p. 383, last verse with Tibrīzī's note. The Arabs express this by saying, *Shadda 'l-isār, shammara 'an-shawāhu*. Among the Hebrews the same sense seems to be implied in the phrase, "Gird up (מזר) the loins," with or without the addition "like a man" (Job xxxviii. 4, xl. 7; Jer. i. 17), though

with the accusative of a thing the verb often means no more than "wear like an *ezôr*." The Piel is causative of Qal, but passes, as conj. I., II., do in Arabic, into a figurative sense, "strengthen," "encourage," Isa. xlv. 5; Ibn Hishâm, p. 155, l. 16, where it said of Chadija that she "girded" the prophet for his work, *i.e.*, encouraged him to it. It is not clear whether the Hithp. in Isa. viii. 9 is reflexive, "gird yourselves," *i.e.*, put on the warrior's dress, or reciprocal, "strengthen and encourage one another."

The general impression produced by a survey of the usage of the word is that among the Hebrews the *ezôr* ceased to be part of ordinary dress pretty early, being superseded by the tunic (כרמרי), but that it was used by warriors, by the meanest classes, by prophets and mourners, and that the word (or the cognate verb) was also retained in proverbial phrases and similes, just as was the case with the Arabs after they ceased to wear the *izâr* in daily life.

W. ROBERTSON SMITH.

SOME NOTES ON THE EFFECT OF BIBLICAL CRITICISM UPON THE JEWISH RELIGION.

I.

THE so-called higher criticism of the Old Testament is becoming more and more acknowledged and accepted by Christian theologians of every school. From Mr. Gore upon the one hand to Professor Cheyne or the Bishop of Manchester upon the other, earnest and devout Christian clergymen are endeavouring to show how the results of that criticism may be harmonised with the teaching of Christ, nay, even with the dogmas of Christianity.

It is not surprising that from Jewish divines no attempts whatever of this kind are forthcoming. The Bible of Christianity contains a New Testament as well as an Old; so long as criticism is confined to the latter, the essential dogmas of Christianity remain undisturbed. We do not, therefore, find among the Christian theologians of England an equal readiness to assimilate and accept the higher criticism of the New Testament. Various arguments are put forward to show that the New Testament stands as regards criticism upon a very different footing from the Old, and that consequently (such is the implication) the miracles of the New Testament may well be credited, while those of the Old Testament may silently go by the wall.¹ If Christian clergymen show some natural hesitation in applying the same measure of criticism to either portion of their Bible, it is also natural that Jewish clergymen should hesitate in recognising or assimilating the criticism of the Old Testament. For that earlier half of the Christian Scripture constitutes the entire Bible of

¹ Cp. Professor Driver's *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, pp. xvi., xvii.

Judaism, and if its authority be undermined by criticism, Jews possess no second or superior Scripture on which to retreat. This book must bear the whole attack. Under the cover of the Old Testament, Christians can, for a time at least, shelter the New Testament from critical fire: Jews have no second line of defence. If this one be captured, the fort of revealed religion must, as they fancy, surrender without terms.

The most important result of Old Testament criticism is the disintegration of the Pentateuch. It is one which appears easily acceptable to Christians, but of very great difficulty to Jews. The consequence is that quite orthodox Christian clergymen are ready to admit that Moses did not compose the Pentateuch, and that the five books themselves are made up of many documents of various dates, pieced together, and modified in the piecing, by a number of different editors. Now the eighth article of the Jewish creed expressly asserts, "I believe with perfect faith that the whole law, now in our possession, is the same that was given to Moses, our teacher." The contradiction is obvious and insuperable. Either criticism or creed must be abandoned.

But the natural disinclination of Jewish clergymen to any dealings with criticism has a deeper reason. Christian theologians are attempting, as I have said, to assimilate Old Testament criticism with orthodox or semi-orthodox Christian theology. Will they succeed? A Theist or Jew can hardly help a smile at the strange metaphysical subtleties as to the person of Christ and the doctrine of *kenosis* of which they now make use. A difference in kind will scarcely be accepted for very long between the miracles of the Old Testament and the miracles of the New: if the former are already shaky, the latter will not long be seated securely. They who unconditionally accept the verdicts of literary and historical criticism and of comparative religion upon the Old Testament will before very long approach nearer and nearer to Unitarianism.

In Caleb Garth's words, "Things hang together." There is a real connection between criticism and a philosophy (whether experiential or *a priori*) which misdoubts, not the supernatural, but the miraculous. Has not criticism proved to a certainty the non-fulfilment of numerous Biblical prophecies? He who is willing to split up the Pentateuch into a number of independent documents, which have been added to, modified and pieced together before they reached their present form, cannot possibly hold the same view of inspiration, or the same disposition to credit Pentateuchal miracles, as the man who believes that the five books issued without a break from the divinely-guided hand of Moses. Take such a crucial point as the Sinaitic Revelation. Criticism shows that Exodus xix. is a conglomerate, that the Decalogue of Exodus xx. has been more than once revised and enlarged, that the importance assigned to it has been a matter of gradual growth within the Pentateuch itself, and that the date of its origin may be as late as the eighth or seventh century B.C. Accepting such results, who can believe in the literal truth of the revelation; who can still regard the Decalogue as the direct communication of God to man? Things do, indeed, hang together: the old faith cannot consort with the new criticism, and it would be idle to pretend that a full reconciliation is still within the limits of possibility.

Yet some reconciliation there must surely be. The present silence is fraught with danger. It seems insincere to desire a *via media*, or imperfect reconciliation, while at the same time not believing in the permanence of such an attempt. But the insincerity is only apparent. A Unitarian Christian may welcome the kind of reconciliation of orthodox Christianity with Old Testament criticism above alluded to, although he does not believe that the reconciliation can remain within the present limits. He may welcome these inadequate efforts in the interests of Christianity itself. For while he recognises that his own form of Christianity is the ultimate goal of the movement, he perceives that the

Church is very far from being prepared to leap the gulf that separates orthodoxy from Unitarianism at a single bound. That gulf must be bridged over so that men may pass across gradually, and not be lost in the blackness of the abyss beneath. Each step of the bridge will seem the final resting place to him who makes it, and yet each step will but lead to another. A similar argument applies to Judaism. Even he who is far removed from orthodoxy may yet honestly desire these imperfect reconciliations, if, though far removed from orthodoxy, he still claims to be a Jew.

To ignore criticism altogether is to run a tremendous risk. It is likely to make the chain of development in Judaism snap off altogether, and leave men utterly at sea. As the results of Old Testament criticism become more and more popular commonplaces, discussed in magazines and assumed in newspapers, it must surely soon behove the official teachers of Judaism to break the ice. Before it is too late, before men are inwardly lost to Judaism altogether, they must explain what is to be its relation to the criticism of the Bible. They should surely perceive that this relation is the burning question of the day upon the theoretical side, just as upon the practical side the question *par excellence* is the observance of the Sabbath. Few persons can track out a *via media* for themselves. Will not many believe that between the two roads to right and left there lies no pathway in the middle? Or without metaphor, will they not be inclined to say: "Either all or nothing?"

II.

But beyond the bridge which the efforts of orthodoxy and semi-orthodoxy should seek to build, does there lie any Jewish ground upon the other side? That phase of Unitarianism which both uncompromisingly accepts every critical conclusion and also rejects the miraculous, still claims the title of Christianity. Can a similar phase of

Judaism still assert its right to the old name? Can the men who profess it still regard themselves as Jews?

The answer to these questions clearly depends upon an answer to a further and more comprehensive one: What is Judaism? There is now abroad an answer to this last question, which, if true, should undoubtedly drive the Jewish Unitarian (if I may be permitted to use this strange expression to designate the man who stands to orthodox Judaism in something of the same relation as the modern Christian Unitarian stands to orthodox Christianity) out of the limits of Judaism. According to the theory which dominates that particular answer the least important part of that complex of belief and ceremonial commonly known as Judaism by the world at large is the most specifically Jewish. The essence of Judaism lies in its adjuncts. That this is no caricature of the theory of the *Breslauer Schule* and of Moses Mendelssohn will be readily apparent. For surely no ordinary orthodox Jew would deny that the essence of the Jewish religion lies in its peculiar theism. He would not deny that the most important parts of it are its doctrines respecting the nature and unity of God and his relation to humanity—the love of God by man and the rule of man by God—the moral law coloured and conditioned by its divine basis and author, the religious life on earth and the hope of immortality hereafter. It cannot be impugned that Judaism does hold and teach definite doctrines upon all these points. *Now, these doctrines are wholly unaffected by criticism.* It is, however, argued that since all of them may now-a-days be held and taught by a Theist as well as by a Jew they are not specifically Jewish. The differentiating qualities of Judaism lie precisely in those doctrines and practices, which distinguish the Jew from the Theist, which are held and practised by the Jew and not by the Theist. But these doctrines and practices are clearly and confessedly on a lower level, less important and less fundamental in themselves than the doctrines which are or can be common both

to Theist and Jew. Therefore the result ensues that the essence of Judaism, which marks it off from all other religions, is the less important portion of it. Because its Theism may be held and practised by those who would deny that their creed is Judaism, Judaism itself is identified with those of its present elements which are secondary, local and particular. A divorce is effected between the differentiating essence and the central religious characteristic.

This theory can be held in various forms, according as stress is laid upon the distinguishing doctrines or upon the distinguishing rites. The doctrines which are included among the differentiating marks may be divided into two classes, and it is important for our present purpose to have a clear conception of them. The first class consists of specific doctrines respecting the Pentateuch and the Prophets, and is therefore the class which is affected by Biblical criticism. It comprises the sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth and twelfth articles of creed drawn up by Maimonides, and still universally maintained by an unsophisticated orthodoxy. No one who accepts the conclusions of criticism can believe in the first four of these five articles, and he can hardly believe in the fifth. When I say "believe," I mean believe in the same sense as the men of orthodoxy believe, and I imply the absence of all qualification and mental reserve.

The second class really consists only of a single doctrine, or, as I should prefer to say, of a single dogma. That dogma is "The Mission of Israel." It is a dogma which does mean different things to the orthodox Jew and to the "Jewish Unitarian," but I submit that it *has a real*, though a different, meaning to the latter as well as to the former. In the form, moreover, in which he holds it, *it is absolutely unaffected by Biblical criticism.*

So much for the distinguishing doctrines. But on account, I suppose, of the difficulties inherent in the first class, it is common now-a-days, since the revival of

Moses Mendelssohn's teaching by the school of Breslau, to lay far more emphasis upon the rites than upon the dogmas. The practical execution of the written and oral law—this, according to many authorities, is the essential characteristic of Judaism. And thus the essence of Judaism is altogether removed from the sphere of religious belief. There are people who are apparently willing to give up all the dogmas if only they may retain their beloved rites and ceremonies, retain them, be it observed, albeit emptied of all religious value, bereft of all religious life. Thus one pupil of the late Professor Graetz, obviously without realising the immense *Tragweite* of his own words, has quite complacently spoken of "theoretical heterodoxy united with practical orthodoxy" as a possible method of reconciling Judaism and criticism with one another. And another, who seems to occupy an ultra-orthodox position—for he unfeignedly rejoices that, as he thinks, "Reform has now well-nigh been stamped out of Germany"—defines orthodoxy as "nobility of mind, purity of purpose, true observance of the inherited law in *all* its details, enthusiasm for truth, and devoted piety."¹ It will be observed that the first, second and fourth of these several qualities which go to make up the definition of orthodoxy are purely moral, and do not therefore concern our present purpose. An atheist can show "nobility of mind, purity of purpose, and enthusiasm for truth" as well as an orthodox Jew. It is *just possible* that a "reform" Jew might also possess these qualities. As differentiating marks of orthodox Judaism they are therefore singularly inappropriate. We are left with "true observance of the inherited law in *all* its details, and devoted piety." Now "devoted piety" is again a phrase of doubtful propriety. It is inconveniently vague. For, if not a reform Jew, may not at least a Christian show "devoted piety"? But if "devoted piety" has any connection with the performance of rites

¹ *Jewish Chronicle*, September 18th, 1891, pp. 8 and 9.

and ceremonies, then it becomes equivalent to a "true observance of the inherited law in *all* its details," and in its present place is obviously otiose. At any rate the differentiating mark of Judaism in the opinion of this disciple of Breslau is purely ceremonial. We hear nothing of doctrine and dogma.

But from that very absence of dogma a strange result ensues. Here, perhaps, is the *via media* of which we have before observed the need. The men of Breslau, rather than any "Unitarian Jews," may be destined to reconcile Judaism with the criticism of the Bible, and with comparative religion. For that theory of Judaism which defines its essence as the "true observance of the inherited law in *all* its details" can surely readily accept all the conclusions of criticism, and if it dare call itself orthodox, then even orthodox Judaism is independent of criticism. But at what a price! What is the religious value of any rite except as the emblem of some religious truth, of some believed dogma, of some assured religious conviction? What real religious union is there between those who fulfil the law, believing it to be single, Mosaic, verbally inspired, literally true, and those who fulfil it indeed, and yet, like Prof. Graetz himself, believe it to be not single, not Mosaic, not verbally inspired, and not literally true? A "true observance of the inherited law in *all* its details" seems a purely formal observance, if the spirit which underlay the observance in the old believing days has fled away. And what constituted the spirit if not the beliefs through and because of which the law was fulfilled? An old-fashioned orthodox Jew would be somewhat astonished if you told him that, although you did not believe in the miracles of the law, did not believe in its Mosaic authorship, did not believe in its verbal inspiration, did not believe in its complete accuracy, you were nevertheless as orthodox and as much of a Jew as he, because forsooth you obeyed the precepts of the inherited law "in *all* their details." Legalist as that old-fashioned Jew is, he would yet be able to distinguish

between the spirit and the form, and estimate at its true value the husk when separate from the grain.

The Judaism which is all rite and no dogma has no religious significance. And widely parted as the "Unitarian Jew" may be from the older orthodoxy, that orthodoxy of belief is far more sympathetic to him than the new orthodoxy of practice. Between him and the men of Breslau there is no common ground whatever. He cannot away with theoretical unbelief and practical orthodoxy.

Where then is the Judaism which will accept neither of these rival orthodoxies to be found? It claims its right to existence by denying the accuracy of the contention that the essential features of the Jewish religion must be precisely those which lie outside its essential religious doctrines. I am not afraid of the verbal quibble that the Theist who holds and practises these doctrines (for some doctrines can only be held if they are also practised) must then be called a Jew, although he denies his Judaism. We are not going to give up our Judaism or cease to call it by its own name, because in the course of ages its most essential dogmas have found acceptance beyond its pale. There is no need to be frightened by a question of labels and terminology. Even if the religion we profess were limited to the doctrines which can be or are accepted by the Theist as well as the Jew, it is still Jewish theism, and as such can make good its title to the name of Judaism. It has indubitably come to us for the largest part through Jewish sources. It represents the present stage of development in the Jewish religion, and because it *is* a development, which has not denied but only enlarged the most essential doctrines of its earlier stages, it may still be called by the old name.

It must, however, be remembered that in addition to those essential doctrines respecting the nature and unity of God and his relation to humanity—the love of God by man and the rule of man by God—the moral law coloured and conditioned by its divine basis and author, the religious

life on earth and the hope of immortality hereafter, there is one narrower dogma which, because it is not touched by criticism or philosophy, it is open for the "Unitarian Jew" to add to his total store. That dogma is the mission of Israel, and that dogma we still retain. We do believe that the Divine Ruler and Educator of mankind chose out the nation of Israel for a peculiar religious task, and we do believe that even now, when the nation has been changed into a community, that task is not concluded. Between Agnosticism upon the one hand and Trinitarianism upon the other Judaism steers a middle course. Its Theism is opposed alike to a wonder-working superstition and to a soulless Deism. Who can say that an historical faith of such a nature may not even exercise a certain influence for good by the very fact of its existence? And as Judaism becomes more and more sensible of the unique position which it might claim among the religions of the civilised world, who can say that that silent influence may not gradually be exchanged for direct teaching and admonition? So believing, may we not still regard ourselves as Jews though we disbelieve in miracles, deny the unity and Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, and *consequently* do certainly not observe "the inherited law in *all* its details"?

III.

People have yet to learn how the divine element in the Bible and the story which the Bible contains may still be recognized even after criticism, historical, literary, philosophical, has done its worst. Even as we are now accustomed to consider the preservation of the Jewish race since the days of Ezra as divinely willed, and its history as divinely controlled, although no miracles are claimed for the intervening 2,300 years, so must we learn to realise that its earlier history might also have been a part of the divine purpose in the educa-

tion of mankind, albeit the alleged miracles of the Bible are treated with the same incredulity as the alleged miracles in other early or sacred histories. The sense in which there can be and is a progress in religion, must be as well learnt and understood as the sense in which there can be and is a progress in morality. The estimate to be assigned to the spiritual heroes of olden days, to the Hoseas and Isaiahs of antiquity, will not thereby be diminished or invalidated: their light will not be dimmed. The conception of the Divine being is a progressive conception, and in certain ways any ordinary man or woman of to-day has a higher conception of him than Moses or Jeremiah. But that does not preclude Moses and Jeremiah having been immeasurably greater personalities than ourselves. At early and critical moments in the history of great ideas there arose great geniuses who showed the way and helped men forward. The position of such men and their relation to their own more developed conceptions in later times may be compared to the position of great mechanical inventors, and their relation to the subsequent improved products of their own discoveries. Contrasted with the best steam engines of to-day, the first steam engine constructed by Watt would, I imagine, seem clumsy; but no engineer would on that account think the less highly of the inventor's genius, or compare his own capacities, that yet result in far grander issues, with the constructive capacities of Watt. Big men, mighty masters in religion, contributed to the formation of Judaism and of Monotheism. That we see further than they, or that they too were limited by the religious environment of their own age, does not detract from their inspiration and originality. There is much in the Bible which is the direct outcome of their greatness, and it is hardly the less precious because of its local and temporary setting.

The true story of the formation of such central religious

ideas as Monotheism, Providence, and Immortality is clearly one of surpassing interest, and almost as clearly of surpassing difficulty. To study it is in itself a lesson in religion. For us Jews the most important written record of that story is the collection of writings commonly known as the Old Testament. But there are other records of great importance for the true telling of the story besides the Old Testament, inasmuch as these contain in a more or less perfect form the words and thoughts of great men who have contributed to the actual fulness of those central ideas as they are to-day conceived among us, and without whose genius the ideas would have been less relatively complete or articulate than now they are. Such writings we must also learn to revere. We must learn to recognise inspiration in them as well as in the Old Testament. And we shall assess and honour them thus highly in proportion to their essential greatness, together with their influence upon the upward religious development of mankind.

To this estimate of the Bible the dates and unities (or disunities) of particular books will make no difference. Criticism is of opinion that Moses did not say, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God, the Lord is One." We accept its verdict without demur. The greatness and historic significance of the statement remain unaffected, either because its authorship is unknown, or because its date lies in the seventh century and not in the fourteenth. Philosophy does not allow us to believe that God himself spoke the Ten Commandments: their religious and ethical value is not impaired. For if we consider rightly, we have but one and the same standard by which to estimate that value, whether they were spoken by God or not.

If, again, it should be asked, Does the Old Testament fully and plainly teach all these essential doctrines which constitute the specific essence of the Judaism of to-day, and does it teach them with equal purity, the answer must indubitably be "No." But the fundamentals are in it, and every other book compared with it contains only accretion

and development. This implies that the difference in our own favour between the ethical and religious content of the Old Testament, and the ethical and religious content of Judaism to-day is at least partly to be found in other books outside the Hebrew canon. And this implication is capable of proof. Such books were written both by Jewish and non-Jewish authors. For we must not fear to draw the thoroughly Theistic deduction that God has taught the world religion and morality through the instrumentality of many races. Our solution of the critical problem must be achieved by a wider and larger Theism than has been known or realised hitherto. The Judaism which is to be fully reconciled to criticism must be more theistic than the Judaism which contradicted or ignored it. Some Jews even there are whose true place in the religious development of Judaism is still denied or misunderstood. St. Paul, for example, is one. He first taught the absolute equality of all races from the religious point of view. He was the first Jew to reject on religious grounds the religious privileges and prerogatives which had hitherto been claimed by Jewish teachers for their own race. But when that great idea was absorbed by Judaism it was itself purified and developed. For though Paul abolished the test of race, he substituted for it the wider but yet not wholly satisfactory test of a semi-intellectual adherence to a particular religious doctrine. The condition of the unbeliever is left doubtful. Modern Judaism in accepting Paul's overthrow of race-prerogative has enormously improved his doctrine by substituting a universal human equality before God, based not upon religious faith but upon moral character.

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Even such rough notes as these appear to establish the thesis that there can exist a phase of *Judaism* as capable of accepting and assimilating the results of criticism as the freest Unitarian Christianity. For the teaching of no one

age and the teaching of no one man constitute the Jewish religion. Because Judaism changes, it abides.¹

C. G. MONTEFIORE.

¹ Two practical difficulties have not been touched on in the above notes. First there is the difficulty of embodiment—of framing a new ritual or modifying an existing one to suit the Judaism which instead of colliding with criticism accepts it. Still I do not see that there is anything to prevent those who profess a Judaism of this kind from joining in such public institutions and rites as have come down to us from the historic past. We may freely join the worship of the Synagogue upon Sabbaths and Festivals, while at the same time endeavouring to gradually mould that worship into a truer accordance with our present religious ideas. Institutions which are the product of ideas must necessarily change more slowly than the ideas themselves. The Passover and the Day of Atonement will not mean to us what they mean to orthodoxy, but they are quite capable of receiving new spiritual meanings to fit them to a more developed faith. Secondly, there is the difficulty of education. Can such a conception of Judaism, and more especially can such an estimate of the Bible, be so presented as on the one hand to be intelligible to children, and on the other to retain its truth? Can children be brought up as religiously in this Judaism as in orthodoxy? I am getting more and more hopeful that these questions can be answered in the affirmative. I know that even those who themselves accept some critical conclusions are yet of opinion that these conclusions must be ignored in the teaching of the young. The question is difficult, and admits of argument on both sides. Yet if it be urged on the one hand that young persons must only have definite statements and opinions placed before them in religious teaching, and that it is only too easy for them to reject in later life superfluous dogmas and rites, it may on the other hand be maintained that a rigid honesty in religious teaching is a first and cardinal necessity, that nobody should teach that which he does not wholly himself believe, and lastly, (and above all), that the heavier the dogmatic charge the greater may be the sceptical recoil. For the argument that, since it is only too easy to throw off beliefs and rites, you should inculcate many in order that some at least may stick, is a dangerous one, and may even be turned against its user. Some may reject the whole mass of dogmas and rites together with equal impartiality. Nor is it impossible to imagine a teaching which would almost *ab initio* enable a child to perceive both the human and the divine elements contained within the Bible. Reverting once more to the parallel from mechanical inventions, would it not be possible to teach a child to look with the utmost awe and reverence upon the first printing press constructed by Gutenberg (if such a thing be in existence), at the same time pointing out to him its imperfections, and telling him of the improvements which other minds, carrying forward the great idea of the original inventor, had subsequently effected? Might it not be possible to work out the same sort of teaching for the Bible?

BIBLIOGRAPHY, 1890-1.

BIBLICAL COMMENTARIES.

LECTOR M. FRIEDMANN, who is well-known to the readers of this QUARTERLY, has brought out a commentary on Judges, which although written in Rabbinical Hebrew, is not altogether Midrashic. He says at the end of his short introduction that the book was written for the glorification of the house of David, and naturally for blaming the tribe of Ephraim. The title of the commentary (dedicated to Dr. Jellinek) is *מאיר עין אל ספר שופטים* (Vienna, 1891). Dr. Sebastian Euringer, in his valuable book with the title "Der Masorah-text des Koheleth kritisch untersucht" (Leipzig, 1890), investigates the old translations of Ecclesiastes in connection with the Masoretic text. At the end he gives the variations to be found in the Talmudic quotations of this book. These have, in our opinion, little value, since many of them are given from memory, and others are corruptions by scribes. Herr M. L. Bamberger has published from a Munich MS. the commentary on the Book of Esther, by Joseph Nahmias (Frankfort a/M., 1891). The author was a pupil of R. Asher ben Jehiel, at Toledo. This commentary, although quoting the Agadah, is more rational than Midrashic. The editor gives a good sketch of Joseph Nahmias's works, according to the documents at his disposal. Besides Nahmias's commentaries on Biblical books we have his commentaries on some *Abodahs*, and on the *Pirke Aboth*; and the Bodleian Library possesses a MS. of his astronomical treatise, to which Dr. Steinschneider has lately drawn our attention. A short notice of the last will find its place in the appendix to the catalogue of the Bodleian Hebrew MSS. M. J. Derenbourg continues vigorously (in the *Revue des E. J.*, xxii., pp. 47 and 190) the Arabic notes on Isaiah by the famous Judah ben Balam. As to Dr. Ginsburger's disser-

tation on the anthropomorphisms in the Targum, we refer to our notice in this QUARTERLY, IV., p. 323.

TALMUD, MIDRASH, AND HALAKHAH.

The *Variae Lectiones* to the Babylonian Talmud, by the lamented R. Rabbinowitsch, are still waiting continuation. Meanwhile a young student of Columbia College, New York, Dr. Max L. Margolis, A.M., has in his dissertation, entitled, *Commentarius Isaacidis quatenus ad textum Talmudis investigandum adhiberi possit Tractatu 'Erubin ostenditur* (New York, 1891) shows what can be done for the Talmud text through the quotations in Rashi's commentary on the Tractate Erubin. We hope that he will continue the investigation of other Tractates. For the translation of the treatise Hagigah, by the Rev. A. W. Streane, we refer to the extended notice in this QUARTERLY, III., p. 537. As to the critical history of the Talmud we have to mention Professor Bacher's remarkable work with the title of *Die Agadah der Palestinischen Amoraer*, vol. I., which will be duly noticed in this QUARTERLY. For completeness' sake we mention the undignified pamphlet in Hebrew, by Rabbin (*sic*) Friedländer, with the title of קשר בונרים (privately printed), which is directed against Dr. Schwartz's excellent work on the Thosephtha. The orthodox, so-called, rabbin has a perfect right to defend the *Textus Receptus* of the Thosephtha; but that ought only to be done calmly, and not with invectives worthy of a street boy, and his pamphlet contains nothing else. Of post-Talmudical works we mention the continuation and the end of the *Halakhoth Gedoloth*, ably edited by Dr. Hildesheimer, in the publication of the *Megitse Nirdamim*, as well as the continuation of M. J. Derenbourg's edition of Maimonides' Arabic commentary on the Mishnah Ordo Tohoroth. Here is the place to record Dr. Solomon Bamberger's edition of the same commentary on the Tractate Kilayim (Frankfort a/M., 1891) and Dr. Joseph Zivi's edition of the Tractate of *Demai* (ibidem). All three editors give an amended Hebrew translation, and add critical notes. We have also to mention the continuation of the so-called *Mahazor Vitry*. A new edition of Isaac Canpanton's

rules of methodology on the Talmud (דרכי הנמרא) has been issued with notes by the well-known lector, Isaac Weiss. It is dedicated to Dr. Jellinek, on the occasion of his seventieth birthday.

Dr. Joel Müller is indefatigable in dealing with the literature of *Responsa*. He has dedicated to M. J. Derenbourg a monograph containing those of R. Qalonymos of Luca (Berlin, 1891), which is preceded by biographical notes, in which he comes to the conclusion that after the Qalonymos family had been brought by the German Emperor Charles (the Bald) to Mayence, some members of it settled in Lorraine. In the magazine, החוקר, Dr. Müller published a letter addressed to Herr Halberstam, concerning his publication of the "Halakhoth of the Geonim," and there is an extensive review in the same periodical by the late Dr. Hayyim Oppenheim of Dr. Müller's introduction to the Halakhoth of the Geonim (see JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, III., p. 325). The editor of the החוקר, Herr Salamon Fuchs, gives a Hebrew translation of R. Saadiah Gaon's Arabic book (from a MS. of the Bodleian Library) on the law of inheritance. We hope that this excellent periodical will continue, and bring to light the whole translation of this treatise. At present it has reached only three fasciculi.

In Midrash publication Herr S. Buber holds his ground firmly with his edition of the Midrash Thillim, and the commentary of Jedaiah of Béziers (see JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, III., p. 769; IV., p. 169). Professor Wünsche has already begun with a first fasciculus of his German translation of this Midrash (Trier, 1891), which contains the first ten Psalms.

Here we have to range the collection of Agadic sayings by Judah di Cologna (not Cologne as we have suggested). On יסני as a family name of Judah, meaning Seni, as Dr. Berliner suggests in the preface to the edition, and for the value of this collection we refer to Dr. Steinschneider's notice in the *Central-Anzeiger für Jüdische Literatur*, I., p. 105 (see below, p. 317). Herr Epstein's monographs on Moses had-Darshan and the Midrash Rabbathi, as well as on the authorship of the Yalqut Shimeoni, have been already noticed in

this QUARTERLY (IV., p. 157). In the monthly of החוקר Herr Buber writes on the Midrash הרנינו, and Herr Epstein (ibidem,) says rightly that the הרנינו, as well as the Midrash לכו נרננה, are merely Pesikatoth which were edited separately (see also *Revue des Etudes Juives*, t. xiv., 110). He also proves (ibidem) that Joseph Qara is not the author of the commentary (attributed to Rashi) on the Bereshith Rabba. This scholar has now finished his interesting essay on the book of Jubilee, Philo and the Midrash Tadshe (*Revue des Etudes Juives*, t. xxii. p. 1 sqq).

LEXICOGRAPHY, GRAMMAR, AND MASSORAH.

Dr. Alex. Kohut's seventh volume of the *Arukh* has appeared, and with one other volume the work will be completed. The fourth fasciculus of Dr. Jastrow's *Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmuds, and the Midrashim* is announced. Dr. M. Jastrow has dedicated to M. J. Derenbourg an interesting small pamphlet *On Transposed Stems in Talmudic Hebrew and Chaldaic (sic)*, Leipzig, 1891. Such are, for instance, נענע and נענע, כסכס and כסכס, etc. The writer of this bibliographical sketch has issued an Arabic text of an anonymous grammar with the title of *Petite Grammaire Provenant de Yemen* (Leipzig, 1891), which he believes to be the original on which M. J. Derenbourg's edition of the Hebrew text is based. It is dedicated to this scholar on the occasion of the eightieth anniversary of his birth. It will perhaps be useful to those who are interested in mediæval Hebrew grammar to know what M. Derenbourg says about the *Petite Grammaire* in a letter addressed to the editor of it. He writes (amongst other remarks) as follows :—
 "The dependence of this small grammar upon the *Manuel du Lecteur* or *vice versa* cannot be doubted, unless these two made use of the same third source. The Arabic text is still more impersonal than the Hebrew, where at least one book is quoted. There are special expressions, one of which, as far as my knowledge goes, is only used by Saadiah." Speaking of Saadiah, we may perhaps record here that the venerable Senior Sachs has a contribution in the החוקר con-

cerning Saadiah's *Agron*, which is anyhow a lexicographical work. Unfortunately this scholar, who lives in complete retirement, was not aware of recent publications. Dr. Harkavy replies shortly, not wishing to repeat in the *החוקר* what he will give elsewhere. Indeed, we have seen (JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, IV., p. 162) that Dr. Harkavy has published all that exists of the *Agron*, with some other pieces by Saadiah, and many more details and notes will be contained in his forthcoming essay in Hebrew, written for the publication of the *Megitse Nirdamim*. Here we have to record that Dr. J. Fürst's *Glossarium Græco-Hebraicum* has been noticed (JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, IV., p. 9, *sqq.*). Professor Bacher also has a review of it in the last number of the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (t. xlv., p. 505).

M. Mayer Lambert dedicates to M. Derenbourg a monograph with the title, *Une Série de Qeré Ketib : Étude Grammaticale* (Paris, 1891). The essence of M. Lambert's interesting investigation is that the ketib with a final ה instead of ו in שפּרה (Deut. xxi. 7), והיה for ויהי (Num. xxiv. 4; Joshua xv. 4, xviii. 12, 14, and 19), and in some other passages, shows that originally there was a feminine form in the plural of the past in Hebrew as there is in the cognate languages, and as is the case in Hebrew in the future. This has been already stated by Professor Th. Nöldeke (*Ztschr. der Deutschen Morgl. Gesellschaft*, t. xxxviii., p. 411), and by others in the *Hebraica* (iii., p. 111; v., p. 190). If M. Lambert has hit on the right explanation of the above-mentioned Massoretic *qeré*, it would be certain that the Massorites found old forms in the MSS. of which they made use, and consequently the grammar must have passed through many modifications before it was fixed as it is now in our texts. The question arises, at what time these modifications took place—before or after the closure of the canon? Another monograph on a Massoretical matter by Professor L. Blau has been noticed in this QUARTERLY, III., p. 540.

HISTORY AND LITERARY HISTORY.

The lamented Professor Graetz has brought out the third edition of the ninth volume of his *History of the Jews*, which contains many valuable additions taken from documents made known recently, more especially on the first settlement of the Jews in Holland. The first two volumes of the English translation of his history, under his supervision, have also appeared. Professor Wünsche and Dr. J. Winter issue in fasciculi a kind of an anthology of Jewish history, *i.e.*, they reproduce from various authors, pages or chapters, which, in chronological order, will make a history of the Jews. The first fasciculus which we have before us, which treats of a part of Hellenistic-targumistic writings, is not sufficient to enable us to form an opinion about the value of such a strange anthological history. Special attention has been paid to the state of the Jews under the Papacy, by M. Emmanuel Rodocanachi in his book with the title of *Le Saint-Siège et les Juifs: Le Ghetto à Rome* (Paris, 1891). The author treats his subject impartially, and new matter is given from manuscript documents. Our author has also written a monograph on the Ghetto, with the title of *Monographie du Ghetto de Rome: Lecture faite à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belle-Lettres* (Amiens, 1890). We have already mentioned Dr. Berliner's monograph on the censure and confiscation of Hebrew books (*JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW*, III., p. 771). He could not, however, find the lists of the confiscated books at Carpentras in 1753-54. This is now supplied by the indefatigable M. Isidore Loeb from leaves discovered by him in the museum of that town. It is published, with a short introduction, in the *Annuaire* by H. Prague, for 5652 (1891), p. 30, with the following title: *Une confiscation de livres hébreux à Carpentras en 1754*. Dr. Kracauer gives (*Revue des Etudes Juives*, t. xxii., p. 124) the history of the confiscation of Hebrew books at Frankfort a/M. by Pfefferkorn. M. Israel Lévi has dedicated to M. Derenbourg a monograph with the title of *Les Juifs et l'Inquisition dans la France meridionale* (Paris, 1891)—Extracts from the *Practica* of Bernard Gui, which is still in

manuscript. This manual became the model of the Spanish inquisitors. Professor Henri Cordier dedicated to the same a pamphlet with the title *Les Juifs en Chine* (Paris, 1891), in which only known facts are repeated with some irregularities, *e.g.*, in the description of their Pentateuch MS.

Lector Isaac Weiss has concluded his work on Rabbinical literature with the fifth volume, which extends to the exile from Portugal. The last volume will be useful as far as the Talmudic study goes, for here the author's information is that of a thorough master; in other branches of the literature of the period treated of he is not so well at home, in spite of the help given to him by Professor D. Kaufmann, which our author candidly acknowledges. We were hoping that this volume would contain an index for all the five volumes, which is unfortunately not the case. Amongst larger monographs on literature are the following, as far as we are informed:—*Die Schrifterklärung des Bachja ben Ascher ibn Chalwá und ihre Quellen*, by Dr. Bela Bernstein, in the *Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums*. This is an exhaustive essay on Bahya; the question, however, arises whether this rabbi is worth the trouble. He has nothing original in his exegesis or in his ethics, and not even in his Kabbalistic conceptions; and, above all, his quotations from authors are not very instructive. There is also in the *Magazin* the first part of two other dissertations, the account of which can only be given when they are finished. The *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland* just vegetates; most of the contributions refer to late dates. Professor D. Kaufmann gives in the Seminary programme of the Rabbinical school of Buda-pest documents concerning the life of Samson Wertheimer (Buda-pest, 1891). They are very valuable for the history of the Jews in Austria towards the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century. Dr. Güdemann has collected documents concerning education amongst the German Jews from 1050 to the time of Mendelssohn (see JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, IV., 319).

Herr Isaac Graeber has issued the seventh part of the letters of the late S. D. Luzzatto. Although the greater part of the contents of these letters, as well as of those left by Ra-

poport, Zunz, and other eminent scholars who are no more with us, is already known, they will always be of importance, be it only for the history of the progress in Rabbinical literature. The *Monatsschrift für die Literatur und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, by Arthur S. Weissmann, seems to slacken ; we have received nothing since the August number. The essay by Dr. Grünwald on the influence of the Psalms on Christian liturgies is worth reading. It is to be regretted that the editor's Hebrew essay on the history of the Second Temple has stopped at p. 120 in the middle of a sentence ; for although sometimes wild ideas are brought forward, there are some ingenious suggestions. Another monthly, with the title of *Monatsblätter für Vergangenheit und Gegenwart des Judenthums*, edited by B. Königsberger, broke down with the fourth fasciculus. The contributions here were not important, although written by well-known scholars. There are two articles referring to Jewish political history in the *R. E. Juives*, xxii., viz., documents on the Jews in Montpellier, by S. Kahn, and notes on the history of the Jews in Spain, by M. Loeb. Of biographies we record in the same periodical the following :—On Joseph Levi Ashkenaz, first Rabbi of Metz (16th century), by Professor D. Kaufmann ; on Judah Leo of Modena, and Sabbetai Donnolo, by the writer of this bibliography. It is impossible for us to take notice of literary communications in weekly Jewish papers ; they are, in the first instance, too numerous, and, moreover, the articles with but few exceptions consist of reviews of books.

PHILOSOPHY.

The Philo literature, which has lately taken a prominent position in philosophical studies by new fragments discovered by Professor Rendall Harris, of Cambridge, Drs. Paul Wendland and Leopold Cohen (from the last two we have to expect a new critical edition of Philo), has produced a dissertation by Max Freudenthal, with the title of *Die Erkenntnisslehre Philos von Alexandrien* (Berlin, 1891). As for the monographs on mediæval philosophy, we have only to record Dr. Neumann Sandler's dissertation in

German on the problem of prophecy in the Jewish philosophy of religion, from Saadiah Gaon to Maimonides, in its historical development. It contains a very good historical abstract of the opinion on the subject in the Talmudic literature of Philo, Saadiah, Bahya ben Joseph, Solomon ibn Gabirol, Judah Halevi, Joseph ibn Tsaddig, and Maimonides. Of course the young author had to make use of his predecessors, such as Munk, Graetz, M. Joel, D. Kaufmann, and others, but he had to investigate the original documents in order to arrive at his historical results. The history of the literature on prophecy and inspiration is just at present much talked of. The REVIEW has already noticed Dr. Loewenthal's *Pseudo-Aristotle On the Soul* (JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, III., p. 767) and Dr. Guttman's *Thomas Aquinas, his relation to Judaism and to Jewish Literature* (*Ibidem*, iv., p. 152). Dr. M. Friedländer's large work on *The Jewish Religion* (London, 1891) contains much of philosophical interest. The book is noticed at length in another part of this number. Kabbalistical studies and editions, we mean in a critical sense, are at a standstill. Professor Bacher's article (*R. E. J.* xxii., pp. 33 and 219) on the biblical exegesis in the Zohar had better be ranged under Kabbalah than under exegesis.

LITURGY AND POETRY.

We have not much to report in the branch of Poetry. Dr. Rosin has issued the fourth part of his edition, with translation and notes, of Abraham Ibn Ezra's minor poems. His Majesty Dom Pedro II. d'Alcantára had during his winter stay in the South of France, collected some Provençal poems, written in Hebrew characters, and composed in the seventeenth century by Mardoche, (Ventura), which Dom Pedro edited, with a French translation and notes, with the title of *Poésies Hébraïco-Provençales du Rituel Israélite comtadin* (Avignon, 1891). The same poems were translated by M. S. Sabatier, and published, without the Hebrew text, at Nîmes, 1874. This edition has become rare, and Dom Pedro only came to know it when the monograph had

passed the press. Perhaps we might mention here Professor James Darmestetter's monograph, dedicated to M. Derenbourg, with the title of *Une Prière Judéo-Persane* (Paris, 1891). He gives a French translation of a prayer addressed to Ormuzd, which he proves to be influenced by some benedictions used by the Jews in Babylonia. Every Jew who knows the first benedictions recited in the morning prayer will recognise them at once in the following lines of the prayer to Ormuzd. In section 6, thanks are given to the Creator for having made him an Iranian and of good religion; in section 10, for having created him a free man, and not a slave, and for having created him a man, and not a woman. These passages must have been borrowed by the Persians about 399 A.D. to 420, when Jews were much honoured by the Persian kings, when Yazdegerd married the daughter of the *Rash Gelutha*. The influence of Parseeism upon Talmudic Judaism has been a long time proved by Dr. Kohut, Schorr, and others. It is even believed in some quarters that the exchange of ideas between Parseeism and Judaism began in the time of Cyrus and the Second Isaiah, *i.e.*, during the Babylonian captivity, which is not impossible. Dr. M. Schreiner (*R. E. J.*, t. xxii.) has finished his analysis of the *Ars Poetica* of Moses ben Ezra. Hebrew poetry is still cultivated in our time. Specimens appear occasionally in monthly periodicals and in yearly magazines. Some go so far as to publish them separately. There is no need to take up space with them; poets belong to the future.

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND PALEOGRAPHY.

The *אֵר חַרְיִים* (Frankfort a/M., 1891), a bibliographical and literary-historical dictionary of the Rabbinic writing, in Hebrew, by the late Hermann Joseph Michael (whose MS. collection was bought by the Bodleian Library and that of printed books by the British Museum), is arranged alphabetically according to the authors. Although somewhat antiquated (it was composed about fifty years ago), it was worth publishing by his sons, not only out of pious feelings, but also for the book itself. In many articles there is no addi-

tion to make, and in others, since the Hebrew literature has advanced by investigation of manuscript collections in private as well as public libraries, Dr. Berlin has added some additions and corrections. Herr William Zeithin's קרית ספר *Bibliotheca Hebraica post-Mendelssohniana* (Leipzig, 1891), of which the first part is out (up to M.), seems to contain a full list of books written in Hebrew up to the present date, and in many items is more correct than Fürst and Benjacob.

The premature death of Dr. N. Brüll deprives us of the continuation of his *Central Anzeiger*, which was only begun last year. His able additions and emendations to Dr. Lazarus' monograph on the Princes of the Captivity (*Jahrbücher*, t. xi.) is the last the deceased wrote for his bi-monthly. Dr. Steinschneider, out of piety for his deceased friend, undertook to fill out the last number of the first year. This eminent bibliographer has also published an extensive essay (in Virchow's *Archiv für Pathologische Anatomie*, Vol. CXXIV.), on Greek physicians in Arabic translation, which bears equally in some respects on Jewish translators from the Arabic.

A catalogue of some Hebrew MSS., acquired at Haverford College, was issued (in the Abstract from Haverford College) by Professor R. W. Rogers. There is no MS. of great importance, but still it is a good beginning.

In the *Studia Biblica*, III. 1, the writer of this bibliography gives an account of the earliest Bible manuscripts, and to illustrate his subject a few photographic facsimiles are added, two from the famous Cairo MS. of the Prophets, and two of the MS., No. 12, in the Cambridge University Library, to which the date of 856 A.D. is erroneously assigned. The conclusion which he draws is that the oldest Hebrew MS. in existence is the Codex Babylonicus at St. Petersburg, which is dated 916. In the last months, however, the British Museum has acquired a MS. containing the Pentateuch with vowel points, accents and both massorahs; unfortunately the beginning and the end are supplied by a later hand, and thus the date of the copy and the place where it was copied are missing, if they ever were in. To judge from paleographical indications this MS. seems to

be much older than the Codex Babylonicus (the two MSS. seem to be of the same school of copyists), perhaps a century older. Indeed Dr. Ginsburg thinks that it may even be two hundred years older, and since he proposes to give a detailed description of this precious MS., we had better wait for his reasons in assigning such an early date to the newly acquired MS. before we state our own impression.

From this brief sketch of this year's Rabbinical literature it will be seen that, with few exceptions, the harvest is not brilliant; we hope that the next year will give more satisfactory accounts, as some first-rate works by scholars as well as by societies are announced to appear. Let us also record the great losses to Jewish literature sustained by the deaths of Professor Graetz and Dr. Nehemiah Brüll, the first in the ripeness of age, and the latter, although past seventy, still more vigorous in many respects than the youngest. We lament also the deaths of Leopold Dukes, who it is true, has ceased since 1870 to publish anything, and of Dr. Phillipson, who was a brilliant journalist and a true champion for the Jews and Judaism, but less active, at least directly, in Rabbinical literature.

A. NEUBAUER.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Quellenschriften zur Geschichte des Unterrichts und der Erziehung bei den deutschen Juden von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf Mendelssohn, von Dr. M. GÜDEMANN. (Berlin, 1891.)

AFTER having completed in four parts the history of Jewish education and learning in Spain, Italy and Germany in the fullest sense, Dr. Güdemann gives in the present volume the original documents concerning education amongst the German Jews. The author rightly says in his preface, that it is impossible for one man to collect all sentences and sayings referring to Jewish education which are scattered throughout a great number of works and treatises; he has therefore confined himself to special chapters and monographs on the subject. The German-speaking Jews (settled, in consequence of various exiles and of voluntary emigration, in Slavonic-speaking countries, Hungary, Turkey, and especially in Palestine, and in Upper Italy) did not, with but few exceptions, compose special ethical books, as their brethren did in Spain and Portugal, and later on (after having been exiled from these countries) in Morocco, Tunis, Algeria, Salonica, Constantinople, Smyrna and other parts of the East. The exceptions are enumerated and extracts are given from them by our author, together with "wills," left by learned rabbis, and memorials of the various congregations, in which education is touched on by various statutes made by a committee of the heads of the community. These various documents are written in Rabbinical Hebrew, and also often in the German jargon used dialectically by the scattered Jews in Germany and in other countries where the emigrants kept to the German speech. Thus these documents have also some philological value, although not to such an extent as the French glosses found in the commentaries of Rashi and his successors.

Although the central point of education with the Jews in the middle ages was chiefly the interpretation of the Bible and the investigation of the Talmud, the Midrash and the works on Halakhah, the Jews in Spain began early to cultivate Arabic, and thus became acquainted with Greek philosophy through the medium of Averroes, with medicine through Avicenna, with mathematics and astronomy through many Arabic authors who studied and commented on

Ptolemy in the first instance, and later on wrote also original works. Consequently the Spanish Jews knew the Aristotelian ethics, and had some acquaintance with Plato; and they got hold of a pseudo-Aristotelian book of moral sayings. The Hebrew translations of these Arabic works reached Provence and Italy, in which countries many copies were made. Perhaps some of these were known in Northern France, England and Germany, where the Jews it seems, were averse to studying anything else but casuistical matter, Kabbalah, and rarely grammar. No translations from the Latin or French made in these countries are known if we except Berechiah Naqdan and Haginus; the former wrote two ethical books, of which one is in the form of fables, as early as 1190.

Thus whilst Spanish authors recommend the study of philosophical and ethical works simultaneously with that of the Bible and the Talmud, the French and German writers cared exclusively for Bible, Talmud and Kabbalah, so far as is shown by the documents published by Dr. Güdemann. In the sixteenth century Moses Premisl (p. 53), although with a little reserve, opposes the study of "Greek learning," viz., of Aristotle, Galen, and others. How the Kabbalah was universally taught we can see from the quotations given from a book of the celebrated R. Moses Isserls and R. Abraham Hayyim (seventeenth century). A mention of the study of grammar as being the basis of the study of law, we find in Sabbetai of Przemiesl's writings (sixteenth-seventeenth century). Indeed, what a poor list of titles of philosophical, mathematical, and astronomical works we find in the list of R. Manoaah Hendel (sixteenth-seventeenth century)! It is true he mentions amongst the works he recommends for study the arithmetical books of Elijah Misrahi and Euclid, as well as astronomical works, but this only for the understanding of the calendar.

But the essence of the moral is in all the writings quoted and extracted by Dr. Güdemann, the love of one's neighbour, as already recommended by the great Hillel. They touch upon many abuses amongst their brethren, which are now the weapons of the anti-Semites. "Whoever," it is said amongst other moral sentences in the *Book of the Pious* (thirteenth century), "whoever lends money on percentage (not merely with usury), extorts money, falsifies measure and weight—in one word, whosoever cheats—shall perish." There is in these recommendations absolutely no difference made between a Jew and non-Jew. In the same *Book of the Pious*, it is said further on as follows:—"If somebody asks to borrow money, be it a Jew or a non-Jew, and you are not willing to lend him money for fear of losing it, you must not say that you have no money, if it is not true."

Unfortunately people did not all read ethical books, since the chief point of learning in the German schools consisted in Talmudic hair-splitting discussions (פילפול) and cabbalistical speculations. Indeed most of the sermons preached up to the beginning of this century (and even now it is sometimes the case) consisted of such matter.

All this is laid down by Dr. Güdemann in his very interesting preface, together with the bibliography of the documents he puts before the reader. They are classified as follows:—I. Documents written in Hebrew and German, of which the first is the will of Eliezer ben Isaac of Worms (1050), and the last that of R. Judah Loeb (1787), altogether pieces taken from fifty-one authors. This is followed by three appendices:—1. Opinions of non-German Jews on the Judaico-German culture and teaching; 2. Documents extracted from statutes of towns and Jewish congregations; here the Hebrew originals are translated into German; 3. The enumeration of school books used by the German Jews. Our author ends with some additional documents received when too late for insertion in their place, and with detailed indexes; we miss, however, the table of contents, by which the reader could easily learn which writers are quoted.

If the documents are not always interesting and learned (there are, indeed, many repetitious) it is not our author's fault, since no others exist which would be more readable. And we must take into consideration that the new historical school asks for the publication of the documents upon which history is based. Anyhow the thirty-two pages of Dr. Güdemann's introduction will satisfy readers who care more for style than for facts.

A. NEUBAUER.

THE HAGADA AND THE MASS.

The Lord's Supper and the Passover Ritual. Translated from Prof. BICKELL'S *Messe und Pascha*, by W. F. SKENE, D.C.L.

THE *Origines Judaicae* of Christianity are becoming more and more extended of late years. The researches of Dr. Taylor have established the fact that *The Teaching of the XII. Apostles*, one of the earliest and most instructive of Christian documents, is in its early part merely an adaptation of the earliest Jewish catechism known as *The Two Paths*. Fischer has shown, conclusively to most minds, that the last book of the New Testament, known as the "Revelation of St. John," is merely a Jewish apocalypse with a few Christian interpolations. The works of Lightfoot, Schottgen, and Wünsche have shown how little of the sayings of the founder of Christianity cannot

be paralleled, in sentiment or in form, from similar parables and gnomes of contemporary Rabbis.

As with documents, so with institutions. The late Prof. Hatch, in his Bampton lectures, lent his great authority to the view that the Bishop is lineally descended from the honorary synagogal officer known as *Gabay*, or treasurer; and that the Presbyters performed in large measure the functions of the *Beth-Din*. And in liturgical research we have here before us an English version of an ingenious essay of Prof. Bickell's, tracing the primary elements of the Church Service to the familiar *Shemone Esra*, or Eighteen Blessings of the Jewish Morning Service. That the Mass or Communion Service was instituted at the last Passover of Jesus is a fact patent to the most superficial reader of the Gospels, so that the *Seder* of the Passover Night was the occasion of the most solemn and distinctive ceremonial of Christianity. But Prof. Bickell goes further: not alone was it the occasion, but the latter part of the service of the *Seder* night is practically identical with the Communion Service. This does not come out so clearly in the later versions, but Prof. Bickell contends it does in the so-called Clementine Liturgy, which he is accordingly concerned to show to be the earliest of all Christian liturgies. And in the Clementine Ante-Communion he sees traces of the influence of the Sabbath Morning Prayers with the readings from Law and Prophets, the Sermon, the Benedictions, the Priestly Blessing, and the *Pax*. Similarly, the Communion Service itself follows the order of the close of the Passover Ritual with the fourth cup and the Hallel, the Trisagion (=the *Kedusha*), and the Great Hallel. Some of the parallels pointed out (pp. 188—195, 209—215) are of rather doubtful validity, and for the purpose of his inquiry Prof. Bickell had no right to introduce Nos. 31, 32 and 33, referring not to any customary acts of the ordinary Jewish ritual, but special acts of Jesus at the Last Supper. But, on the whole, a good *prima facie* case is made out for connecting the Ante-Communion with the Eighteen Blessings, and the Anaphora, or Communion itself, with the Passover Hallel.

But only a *prima facie* case; for neither Prof. Bickell's Christian liturgiology, nor his Jewish, seem of a very trustworthy character. The Clementine Liturgy is the longest of the earlier liturgies, and on that account not likely to be the earliest. It does not chime in with the simpler Communion liturgy contained in the ninth and tenth chapters of the *Didaché*, which is left out of account by Prof. Bickell, as was only natural in 1878, but also by the translator in his long introduction. And in his treatment of the earliest Jewish forms of the Sabbath *Shacharith*, Prof. Bickell, it seems to me, is treading on unfamiliar ground, and is obliged at times to oppose Zuntz,

who gives (*e.g.*, p. 141) a later date than Prof. Bickell's argument requires. Still, with all these cautions, Prof. Bickell's work is very suggestive, and is, doubtless, on the right track. Jews may well be interested to know that not alone do they worship the same God as Christians, but essentially in the same words.

Prof. Bickell's work was done well. Scarcely the same can be said of the translator's. The exact object of his introduction scarcely transpires during the course of it, and his translation is full of misunderstandings in all that relates to matters Judaical. "Oster Haggada" is not "Eastern Haggada" (p. 119); "Rabban Gamabel" and "Rabbi Torson" (p. 135) are unknown to history. It was not at Gamabel's feet that Paul sat. "Sipri" (p. 125) is a new addition to Midrashic literature. "Arhith" (p. 151), "puttim" (p. 144), "Beth Midras" (p. 22), are curious forms of *Arbith*, *piutim*, and *Midrash*; and, as Prof. Bickell makes so much of the *Afikoman* as representing the Communion wafer, Mr. Skene might have avoided calling it *Asikoman* in the three passages where it occurs (pp. 117, 122, 139). Nor are the misprints confined to Jewish matters: the Church knows no "Poelus" (p. 44); we do not eat "lettice" (p. 134); and Prof. Bickell's admirable sketch of Syriac literature is no *Conspectus sic Syrorum literariæ* (*sic*, p. 93, note).

These last blunders may be charitably laid to the fault of the printer's reader; but the Jewish misunderstandings could have been avoided by the very simple process of applying for assistance in proof-reading to Jewish scholars who are able, from training and hereditary association, to correct such mistakes, and, I am sure, would be quite willing to do so for any works of Christian theology that are scientific, and not merely dogmatic, in their scope.

JOSEPH JACOBS.

Die Anthropomorphismen in den Thargumim (University dissertation, Strassburg), von MOSES GINSBURGER. (Braunschweig, 1891.)

IN the year 1887 Dr. Maybaum, now one of the Rabbis at Berlin, wrote a dissertation on the Anthropomorphisms and Anthropopathism in the Targum of Onkelos. Dr. Ginsburger has chosen the same subject for his doctor's dissertation, but treats it on a larger scale. He is able, according to his own opinion, to distinguish three classes of paraphrases of Anthropomorphic expressions in the Bible, viz., in the earliest Targum, in the later, and in the latest ones. That there were in existence Targums on the Pentateuch, the Haftarothe and

the book of Job before the so-called Onkelos and Jonathan Targums, cannot be doubted. Targums were read in the Synagogue after the Hebrew lessons, and the existence of one on Job is mentioned in the Talmud as having existed in the time of R. Gamaliel I. But to ascertain which passages in the present Targums are relics of an old Targum is, in our opinion, an impossibility for experienced scholars, much less for a student who only has just finished his University studies. Thus, Dr. Ginsburger's distinction between the paraphrasing of Anthropomorphisms of the early period, viz., before Onkelos and Jonathan, and of the later period, to the effect that the former paraphrases only expressions concerning the relation of God to men, whilst in the later period every expression relating to the personality of God was paraphrased, is too subtle for an unphilosophical nation like the Jews. According to our author the words *סִימָרָא* and *דִּיבְרָא* in the earliest Targums have a different meaning from that which they bear in the second period, when we find *קל סִימָרָא*; the same would be the case with the word *שְׂכִינְתָא* in the early period, which becomes in the later period *שְׂכִינַת יְקָרָא*. As to the third period, there is no explanation given at all; this period comprises the Targums on the Hagiographa. Very welcome are the instances and texts from Targumic fragments to be found in the MSS. of various libraries. Dr. Ginsburger is right when he says that God remained the same in the post-exilic period as in the pre-exilic one. He says, "If God was formerly the ally of Israel, he is now the inapproachable and unreachable leader and conductor of earthly things, but always a personality, endowed with human features and activity, even with human passion and weakness." If it were not so, the anthropomorphic conceptions of the deity as depicted in the grossest way in the Talmudic literature could not be easily explained.

A. N.

Des Samaritaners Marqah Erzählung über den Tod Moses'. Nach einer Berliner Handschrift herausgegeben, übersetzt und mit Noten und Anmerkungen versehen von Dr. E. MUNK. (Berlin.)

It is gratifying to find that the Samaritan literature still finds students. Dr. Munk has chosen an interesting subject, the "Assumptio Moësis" from a novel point of view, which Marqah (who lived in the sixth century A.D.) gives in his commentary on the Pentateuch, and which is to be found in a MS. of the Berlin Library. Marqah cares little for theological or cosmological ex-

positions of Moses' death, as is the case in the Jewish and Christian "Assumptio" but he keeps strictly to the Biblical words, which he explains according to the Samaritan tradition and belief. He says nothing about Moses' dialogue with the Angel of Death, nor of the fight of the archangel Michael with Satan for the corpse of the Prophet. Marqah seems, according to Dr. Munk, to have known the "Assumptio," against which he argues.

Besides its value for Samaritan exegesis, which is still very imperfectly known, the text of Marqah is of importance for Samaritan philology as well as for the vocabulary. Dr. Munk's edition is accompanied by a good German translation and short notes, which contain explanations of unusual words as well as exegetical matter. Here we find also the strange name מלכ for the letter *lamed*. This name must have arisen from another source than Dr. Munk thinks, viz., the interchange of kindred consonants.

A. NEUBAUER.

Die Nominalbildungen in der Mischnah. Von Dr. F. HILLEL. pp. 52.
(J. Kauffmann, Frankfurt a/M.)

THE author of this little book places before us a classification of the nominal forms of the Mishnah, which, according to his opinion, was till recently not regarded as worthy of much attention on the part of philologists. But as no one ever attempted to deny that the language of the Mishnah is on the whole Hebrew—although, of course, greatly intermixed—it is not unnatural to conclude that the linguistic laws ruling the latter are also applicable to the former. Those parts of the language of the Mishnah which represent old Hebrew forms thus lose every peculiarity. Then there only remains a portion of nouns of later formation, which, of course, cannot be reduced directly to the Semitic primary forms. But it must not be overlooked that there occur in the Mishnah forms which are not found in the Bible, simply for the reason that there was no opportunity of using them. The inscriptions also give sufficient instances of this. But it is strange that the author seems not to have seen the recent books of Lagarde and Barth on the formation of Hebrew nouns, although the former and the first part of the latter appeared more than a year before his treatise. Barth, *e.g.*, refers frequently to forms of the noun found in the Mishnah [*Uebersicht, etc.*, pp. 130, 280, 290, 309, etc.], which means that from a philological point of view there is hardly any difference between the language of the Mishnah

and that of the Bible. The numerous remarks in which the author himself confesses that forms alluded to in his book occur also in classical Hebrew, proved to him that he could not bring forward much that was new. A kind of development is certainly visible in the language of the Mishnah, even if it lost much of its former freshness in the process, and shows unmistakable signs of degeneration. But if some forms are rare in the Bible, the *wenige Spuren* are sufficient to account for their existence, and their more frequent occurrence in the Mishnah only permits us to conclude that in later times they were in preference.

Calling attention to a few minor details, we may observe that *pl.* אֶשְׁכַּחֲתוֹ [from אֶשְׁכַּחֲתוֹ with sharpening of the second vowel, and *Dagesh* following] is Biblical, and occurs Lam. iv. 5; also תִּכְרִיךְ, Esth. viii. 15. The nouns גִּדּוּל, קִדּוּשׁ, רַחוּק are not forms *qatal* with lengthened second syllable, but forms *qatal* הִקְטִיל is rather הִקְטִיל with *Imala* [darkening of the *a*-sound].

In other respects the little book shows industry and a praiseworthy knowledge of the subject, and it may be anticipated that future works of the author's pen will be valuable to students of Semitic philology.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

Maimonides' Commentar zum Tractat Kilajim, zum ersten Male herausgegeben, mit verbesserter Hebräischer Uebersetzung und mit Anmerkungen versehen. Von Dr. SALOMON BAMBERGER. 58 and 28 pp. (J. Kauffmann, Frankfurt a/M.) Also with a Hebrew title.

It is pleasing to note that the editions of single tractates of Maimonides' Arabic Commentary on the Mishnah have lately increased considerably. This path of investigation having been entered upon by very able authorities, it forms an appropriate task for younger students to follow in their footsteps. The above-mentioned latest edition is certainly not the worst, although one of the most difficult, because the editor had to make himself acquainted with a mass of abstruse names of plants and animals. It is unfortunate that the editor could not avail himself of the MSS. of the Bodleian Library at Oxford. It is all the more commendable that with such incomplete means at his disposal he succeeded in providing us with a serviceable text.

In addition I will make only a few suggestions. P. 2, l. 5, אֶלְכוּר is only a copyist's mistake for אֶלְכוּרָה, or rather אֶלְכוּרָה, see the

article in the *Muht al Muht*, where the form מִכְסֵּר is mentioned. P. 6, l. 3 from the bottom, read מִכְלִסֵּת. P. 16, l. 1, נֶאֱחִיד, is good Arabic, and has the signification of חֲסֵכְךָ, *sufficient for thee*; see *Muht*. P. 30, l. 15, read פִּתְנִימֵךְ; p. 31, last line, is וְחִסְרֵךְ *preferable*. P. 33, line 15, מִלְצוּר is right, the *maw* being *mater lectionis*, which is quite a common occurrence in Jewish-Arabic texts. P. 37, l. 6 from the bottom, מִלְ is quite right, because מִן viii. is always followed by that preposition. *Ibid.* l. 3, נִמְלִיכָה need not be altered. P. 45, l. 8, בְּרִי is certainly given in the dictionaries. Freytag, it is true, says only *nomen plantæ*, but see *Muht*, I., p. 80, first column, l. 7, etc.

The remarks attached by the editor, both to the Arabic and Hebrew text, are carefully thought out, and the table of figures helps greatly towards the understanding of the Commentary.

H.

Religion and Morals: A Short Catechism for the Use of Jewish Youth.
By the REV. J. STRAUSS, D.D., Rabbi. Second edition.

A CATECHISM is perhaps one of the most difficult books to write, and one of the most easy to criticise. The difficulty of writing it and the ease of criticising it are increased when the catechism is a short one. There are obviously so many different ways of imparting to children the elementary truths of a religion, and there are so many different views as to what precisely constitute the religious essentials, that no two catechisms will be compiled quite on the same plan. The work before us lays emphasis on spiritual religion, and not upon ritualism. The Rev. Dr. Strauss has taken pains to teach his youthful readers that the fundamental principle of Judaism is the belief in the existence, eternity, unity, omnipotence, omnipresence, and infinite wisdom of God. These are long words, it is true, for the comprehension of a child, but they are each referred to a note of explanation. The explanation embodies a passage from the Bible, which sets forth the doctrine which the word signifies. Thus, the term "belief" is referred to the passage in Isaiah xlv. 10, 11: "Ye are my witnesses, saith the Eternal, and my servant whom I have chosen; that ye may know and believe and understand that I am He; before me there was no God formed, neither shall there be after me. I, even I am the Eternal, and beside me there is no Saviour."

The word "unity" has beneath it the obvious quotation, "Hear, O Israel, the Eternal our God, the Eternal is One" (Deut. vi. 4). It is just questionable whether these words from the Bible are of a

sufficiently explanatory character. The task of explaining the answers to the questions is left exclusively to Scripture texts. This no doubt is a strong test of the intelligibility of Scripture phrases. The answers do not attempt to explain the quotations. Question 3 is, "What relation does God bear to man?" Answer: "The relation that God bears to man is this—God is the loving and just Father of all mankind." Then come the quotations under the adjectives, "loving" and "just." A very apt quotation is here given from Jer. xxxi. 3: "I love thee with an everlasting love, therefore with loving kindness I have drawn thee." As children are not Biblical critics, it matters not to them whether these words were addressed to mankind at large, or only to the "families of Israel." The same may be said of the accompanying quotation from Malachi: "Have we not all one Father, and hath not one God created us?" (Mal. iii. 10). The Ten Commandments and the Shemah are given with somewhat more minute explanations embodied in the answers to the questions upon them. This is, perhaps, the most satisfactory part of the little book. It emphasises the meaning of each commandment by expressing it in words less formal and more homely than those of the Decalogue. The sixth commandment, which, in its bald five words, "Thou shalt do no murder," does not forbid much that an ordinary child is likely to infringe, is elaborated in the following answer:—"We are enjoined by the sixth commandment to avoid everything that can injure or destroy life, either in others or ourselves, and to use all lawful endeavours to preserve life." Flies and caterpillars might have been mentioned as creatures that children ought not to destroy. The doctrine of rewards and punishments is tactfully treated in the last question and answer thus: "What is our belief concerning retribution?" Answer: "Our belief concerning retribution is that the good will be rewarded and the wicked punished either in this world or in the world to come." Then follow texts which support either theory. That is a perfectly safe statement as far as it goes, and few children will be found to misunderstand it. At the same time a more satisfactory teaching on this point might have been a direct reference to the conscience. The conscience deserves a more prominent place than it obtains in most catechisms, because it is the one thing which comes within the spiritual experience of every child. On the whole this catechism is better than many others, because it is more concise. It may be of much value to those who are teaching children, as a guide to the rudimentary ideas of faith and morals.

O. J. SIMON.

Hebrew and English Responses and Hymns for Use in the Synagogue.

Collected by Rev. Dr. STRAUSS. (Bradford : 1891.)

THIS volume contains thirty-six musical settings, in excellent type, to various congregational phrases and hymns. Many of them are well-known as being in use in most of the synagogues in England and on the Continent. A few of them are old melodies, such as the Yigdal belonging to the Sephardic Jews; others are taken from recent compilations. The novel feature of this collection is, that it includes English verses under such headings as "The Opening Year," "Yom Kippur," "The Way to Peace," "The Law of God," "Charity," "Universal Love," "Springtide," etc. This last-named is set to a well-known tune from the *Hymns Ancient and Modern*. Other musical selections from that splendid collection are also introduced. The conception of this publication is essentially good, as congregational singing has not hitherto been cultivated in reformed synagogues. It may be regretted that the authorship of the particular verses which are not part of the Hebrew liturgy is concealed, and it is a disadvantage that the composers' names have not been appended to the musical renderings. A more careful revision of the musical arrangements would have been satisfactory. Crotchets are sometimes confused with quavers. This, however, may be a misprint. The perfect model for hymn-books (we do not refer to the literary, but only to the musical department) is the *Hymns Ancient and Modern*; and it would be well if more slender productions were constructed in a like fashion. This is distinctly a fresh step in a right direction, so far as concerns the popularising of congregational singing.

O. J. SIMON.

Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages.

By the late Dr. W. WRIGHT. (Cambridge, 1890.)

STUDENTS of the Semitic languages may congratulate themselves upon the assistance which will be given to them in their studies by the publication of the lectures of the late Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge; and although many of the results were well known to German students, most of them were scattered in articles published in the various learned journals, and were not so easily accessible as they will be now. I think that it may be safely said that for the study of Semitic philology the work will be indispensable.

One of the most interesting inquiries in ethnology is as to the

original seat of any of the races into which humanity is divided. What was the primitive seat of the Semites? Dr. Wright reviews the various theories which have been suggested, but finally adopts the views of Schrader that it is to be found in Arabia. There is no doubt that regarding the question from the philological point of view, grammatical forms are more fully developed in Arabic than in the other Semitic languages, and thus the claim of Arabia may be considered established; but then we are met by the difficulty that the fuller forms may either have been new developments in Arabic and unknown to the original Semitic stock, or may have phonetically decayed in Hebrew or Aramaic. Is, for instance, the distinction made in Arabic between the conjunctive and the consecutive Vav original to the Semitic languages or not? Are case-endings as vocal terminations to nouns original to the Semitic languages or not? Some of the questions are very confusing; for instance, we find the definite *Hal* in Arabic and Hebrew, but we have no trace of it in Aramaic or Ge'ez. Which group of the Semitic languages, then, is the earlier, the northern or the southern? I think that it is best, with Neelcke, to express no final opinion as to the primitive seat of the Semites. He says, "It is by no means always the case that a language is most faithfully preserved in the country where it originated." And he also points out the curious fact that the knowledge of so simple a word as "man" in one Semitic language will give no clue to it in another. The student of Hebrew would be surprised to find that to express "man" in Arabic we use the root-letters B, G, L; to express it in Ge'ez or Æthiopic we use B N S.

Wright discusses the connection which exists between the Semitic and the Aryan languages, and rightly says that much that has been written on this subject is utterly worthless. In this matter surely the dictum of Max Müller "that sound etymology has nothing to do with sound," seems to hold good. It is sheer folly, as Wright says, to find a connection between the Hebrew בָּנָה, "to build" and the Latin *pono*, or the Hebrew בָּעַר and the Greek *πῦρ*. Neelcke gives the following illustration to show how easily one may be deceived by isolated instances. *Six* is in Hebrew *sheesh*, almost exactly like the Sanscrit *shash*, but the Indo-European root is *sweks*, or perhaps *ksweks*, whereas the Semitic root is *shidh*. Consequently the resemblance is a purely accidental one produced by phonetic change.

We are pleased to find at page 73 a table of the permutations which occur in the various letters of the Semitic alphabet, as they are met with in the different Semitic languages. It takes the place of Grimm's law for the Aryan languages, and the fact that such a law exists in the Semitic languages is the best proof that the comparative

grammar of these languages is beginning to be treated as a science. It might, perhaps, be urged that it is not of much importance whether שבת, "to rest," is connected originally with the Arabic *Thabata* or *Sabata*, but such an investigation might give us some hints as to the origin of the Sabbath. Is the derivation given in Genesis of שָׁבַת a fanciful one? Has שָׁבַת anything really to do with a verb "to rest," or is the verb denominative?

There is no doubt that the scientific method of teaching languages is much easier and much more interesting for the student than the unscientific. It is not a waste of time to tell the student that, for instance, the Hebrew פ is the representative of more than one letter, that, therefore, חלל, "to profane," has nothing to do with חלל, "to bore a hole"; that סלח, "a sailor," is not connected with מלח, "salt"; and that פתח, "an engraving," is not connected with פתח, "open." It is not uninteresting for the student to be told that the curious form יכל, as the imperfect of יכל "to be able," is not necessarily to be considered a Hophal, and that it may be a true imperfect Qal, and yet it is only by comparative philology that such truths can be brought home to him.

I am quite willing to admit that a Hebrew scholar may enjoy the Psalms in the original without troubling himself very much about the roots of words, and the changes they undergo in the various languages, but surely it is not an unimportant question in Biblical criticism whether originally in the Semitic languages there was one form for the third person singular, masculine and feminine; or whether the confusion in the Pentateuch arises, as Kuenen suggests, from the common writing of נ for both.

One little point at once suggests itself. If the lectures were intended with special reference to the examination for the Semitic Languages Tripos at Cambridge, the examination must insist upon a knowledge of the elementary grammar of all the Semitic languages. The book cannot possibly be read by one who is acquainted with Hebrew alone. I notice, in several instances, that even words in the difficult Æthiopic syllabary are not transliterated.

There is an excellent table of contents, which almost supplies the place of an index, though the latter would considerably enhance the value of a very useful work.

L. M. SIMMONS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSION.

Note on Prof. Grätz's Article on Isaiah xxxiv., xxxv.

A VERY few words on the lamented Prof. Grätz's last contribution to this REVIEW. It was hardly correct to say that all recent commentators treated Isa. xxxiv. and xxxv. as forming a single whole, for my own commentary, at any rate, stated that, though in juxtaposition, they were not at all closely connected. It has hitherto appeared to me that chap. xxxv. was either an exercise in the prophetic style by a follower of the Second Isaiah, or, less probably, a "paralipomenon" of that great prophet himself (like the "paralipomena" of another great writer possibly to be found in Job). Prof. Grätz has stimulated me to reconsider the question. He suggests that chap. xxxv. originally stood between li. 3 and 4, and accounts for the repetition of xxxv. 10 (with one very slight variation) in li. 11, by assuming that in the latter verse the words are to be read as a prayer, "May my prophecy (xxxv. 10) be fulfilled!" His theory might, however, as I venture to think, be improved. It is very difficult to believe that the tenses in li. 11 have a precativè meaning. More naturally we might assume that, after writing ver. 10, which closes with וְאֵלֶיךָ, the eye of the writer glanced back at the other וְאֵלֶיךָ in what is now xxxv. 10. Still, it seems doubtful whether chap. xxxv. is bold and original enough for the Second Isaiah, and Hitzig's hypothesis—that li. 11 is an intrusive marginal note, suggested by וְאֵלֶיךָ in ver. 10, meets the difficulties of the case. Prof. Grätz's correction of xxxv. 1b is excellent, but has been virtually anticipated by Kennicott; so, too, his emendation of xlii. 19b is already in Lowth (and in my own second edition). I doubt Lagarde's and Grätz's correction of lxiii. 1, in company with Dillmann, and with regard to xxxiv. 15, 16, I feel pretty sure that לֹא פָקְדָה in ver. 16, belongs to the last clause of ver. 15 (so Bickell) and that וְיִשְׂרָאֵל כְּעֶדְדָהוּ..... is an intrusive marginal note. If "Book of Yahveh" is to be altered at all, "Isaiah," not "Jeremiah," should be substituted for "Yahveh." The annotator meant that if you took this prophetic roll with you to Edom, you would find that the reference to wild beasts was strictly accurate.

T. K. CHEYNE

JEWISH ETHICAL WILLS: TEXTS AND ADDITIONS.

I.

TESTAMENT OF ABRAHAM SOMMO PORTALEONE.

In the *Corriere Israelitico*, No. xxviii., pp. 246 etc., for 1890, my friend, Rabbi Giuseppe Jaré, of Ferrara, referred to a MS. in his possession which quotes from a codex, numbering 824 folios, and consisting of 200 medical cases, mostly in Guglielmo Portaleone's practice, towards the end of which Abraham Portaleone's will should be found. Bearing in mind the high rank deservedly taken by this first and greatest of Jewish antiquarians, the desire to discover the text of his last testament is quite intelligible. But, apparently, no clue existed to the lost MS., which Jaré's extract mentions.

This MS. is to-day in my hands. The Codex is in imperial folio, but very narrow, the sheets being half the ordinary breadth. It consists of 824 leaves, numbered, and contains at the end Abraham's Hebrew Will, copied by his grandson, Guglielmo. The book seems to have been handed down as a family relic till it found its way to me out of an antiquary's shop. Bound in green leather, the cover bears the title, in gold lettering, still legible :—*Consulti Medici di Guglielmo Portaleone Mantovano e d'altri Italiani dal* — MDLXXXII. al — MDCLXV. MS.

The circumstances that may have inclined Portaleone, Physician-in-Ordinary to Guglielmo and Vincenzo, Dukes of Mantua and Monterrat, to draw up this will, are not unknown. Jewish literature owes one of its most notable productions, the *Archæological Work*, Schilte Ha-gibborim,¹ to the epidemic which suddenly broke out in July, 1605. Paralysed in his left side, probably the after effect of an apoplectic seizure, and deprived for nearly a year of the use of his limbs, Portaleone, who combined the intensest piety with the widest culture, examined himself while lying helpless on a sick bed, in order to discover the special sin which he was then expiating by his sufferings, and found it, he thought, in his exclusive devotion to philosophy and medicine, and consequent neglect of Jewish studies. The monumental work to which he dedicated his energies on his recovery shows how nobly he fulfilled the vow he had taken in his illness. In a similar way, the will before us is a revelation of his innermost soul at a time when he believed his end was approaching. He has already escaped greater danger, and so he cherished now also the hope of complete recovery. Once, on a Sabbath, the 25th of February, 1576, a

¹ Zunz, *Gesammelte Schriften*, i. 186.

desperado called Agostino, son of Raffaello,¹ treacherously attacked him. He was struck on the head, but otherwise received no injury. Several lunges with a sword were made at him by his assailant. But only his clothes were slit in sixteen places. He personally escaped unwounded, and did not even lose a single drop of blood. Enjoying the esteem of his co-religionists and honoured by his prince, who in a decree dated 15th May, 1577, had conferred upon him the appointment of physician-in-ordinary,² he had attained his sixty-third year, when a new danger reminded him of the frailty of human life, and decided him to draw up and publish his last will.

This will not only affords us an insight into its author's mental idiosyncrasies, but is also of extreme interest to the history of religion. When we take into account the struggles and controversies on the subject of hasty and premature burials, which continued to the close of the last century, when they were finally prohibited, it will be admitted that this will deserves to be emphatically quoted as an early and valuable protest against this outrageous practice. It was probably, first and foremost, Abraham's medical experience that induced him to so earnestly enjoin his children not to allow his remains to be committed to the dust till three days had elapsed after his decease. The nine points which form the body of the will are preceded by a confession, whose devotional spirit will be better appreciated when it is remembered that it was made by one of the most eminent physicians of his country, a descendant of physicians, whose great grandfather had been knighted³ in 1438 for his medical services by Fernando, King of Naples. A legacy of 5 soldi to the Mantua Hospital is merely a formal precaution, the aim of which is to secure for his will the protection of the law.

His body is to be left unburied for an interval of three days, exactly seventy-two hours. Should this period be succeeded by Sabbath or Festival, when funerals are forbidden, the interment may take place earlier, but only after a rigorous post-mortem examination has proved beyond doubt, that life was indeed extinct. If it will be found inconvenient to keep the corpse in the house during the three days, it should be conveyed to the cemetery mortuary, and there watched.

The grave is to be paved with stones, cemented with lime and gypsum, and enclosed by four walls, an ell high. At the corners, four marble pillars are to be erected to support a stone roof slanting in two directions, to allow the rain to run off. The coffin, with the lid not nailed down but simply covering it, is to be placed on the ground.

¹ *Ozar Nechmad*, iii. 140.

² *Hebr. Bibliographie*, VI. 48; *Revue des études juives*, XII. 115.

³ *Revue des études juives*, xii. 115, and שלמי הנבורים, p. 185c.

Neither earth nor any other substance is to be strewn on it. The sepulchre shall be sufficiently wide to admit of a second coffin being placed next to his, should his surviving wife desire sepulture in the same vault. He impresses on his sons the duty of not giving way to overwhelming grief, and adjures them scrupulously to carry out his directions and to respect them as expressing his innermost convictions. Ten ducats are to be given after his death to the poor fund in fulfilment of an old vow, and alms are to be distributed, worthy of his and his children's station.

His widow is to remain mistress of the home. She is not to be restricted in any way, or bound to render an account of her doings to any one. The sons, who are to provide her with maintenance, clothing and thirty scudi annually for her private use, are exhorted to treat her with the utmost respect. The father expresses the hope that they will be a comfort to her in her bereavement, and allow her to want for nothing to which she has been accustomed. If disharmony should unfortunately break out among them, she shall be allowed to choose her home with any of her children without prejudice to the obligations her sons owe towards her. She shall also have the right to claim her dowry and dispose of it at her pleasure. The testator expressly requests her not to remove her residence from Mantua.

To each of his grand-daughters, Bella, Eether, Sara and Diamond, issue of his daughter Rebecca and her husband, Elieser Montalboto, he bequeaths a dowry of 125 scudi. In case of death of any of these grandchildren, the surviving sisters become her heirs; should his daughter survive all her children, the whole amount is to be paid to her.

He recommends his sons to work in partnership, and at least not to divide the estate till their youngest brother shall have reached his twentieth year, *i.e.*, attained his majority. When a dissolution becomes inevitable, the private property each brother brought in by marriage to the estate shall first be deducted, and it shall then be conscientiously divided.

To his son David, who obtained his doctorate in philosophy and medicine at Padua,¹ on the 19th of March, 1596, receiving his license to practise—which as a Jew,² he had to seek specially from Pope Clemens VIII.—on the 13th of November, 1598, and was accepted, on the 15th day of December, 1599, by the College of Physicians at Mantua, Abraham leaves his entire medical and philosophical library, both the Hebrew and Latin works in these departments, as well as books written in other languages. To this portion of the estate the other brothers shall have no claim. The remainder of the Hebrew library, however, is to be equally divided

¹ Jaré, *Corriere Israelitico*, p. 217. ² *Revue des études juives* as above.

among the three brothers. Eleasar, named after his great grandfather Lazzaro, is asked to continue his interest, even after the division of the estate, in the affairs of his youngest brother, Jehuda, who had taken to silk manufacture. Finally, he enjoins his children not to stop the allowance he used to make to his sister Rebecca, Isaac Putino's wife.

The witnesses who appended their signatures to this document were men of note; one, Jedidiah Salomon b. Moses Norzi, eminent in Masoretic study and research, the famous author of *Minchat Shai*, was Abraham's friend. Portaleone gratefully mentions in his work (f. 102a), that he is indebted to him for a list of the Psalms recited on the various Sabbaths and Festivals, which his grandfather, the Gaon Norzi had compiled.

Elieser Provinciale,¹ the second witness, was the son of the distinguished Talmudist, Philosopher and Physician whom Portaleone, at the end of his book, names as his teacher. Both Norzi and Provinciale belonged to the Mantua Rabbinate, on the 10th of July, 1605, the date when this will was drawn up.

Abraham Portaleone recovered from his illness, and lived seven years longer. One part of the will was rendered nugatory, that namely, in which Portaleone's solicitude for his wife's welfare is so tenderly exhibited. He was engaged in counting, for the second time, the words of Scripture for his great archæological work, when his life's companion, Sara, daughter of the distinguished Moses Cividale, was taken from him, in her 59th year, on Friday, the 5th day of Passover, 1611. That she, the younger, would survive him, had been assumed by him as a certainty, but it was otherwise fated. Abraham followed her on the 29th of July, 1612, in his 71st year.² His sepulchre in the Jewish cemetery at Mantua, concerning which he left such minute directions, has disappeared. This circumstance confers upon his grandson an additional title to our gratitude for having preserved his ancestor's last will, thus affording another illustration of the truth expressed in Solomon's Song (viii. 6) that "Love is as strong as Death."

TESTAMENTO HEBRAICO DELL' ECM:^{mo} MEDI:^{co} ABRAM PORTALEONE
A SUOI FIG:^{li} (Copia).

מן הראוי לכל חכם לב אוהב שלי ורודף שלי בעוד בחיים חייהו כי
ידאח ויביט בעין שכלו למה שאפשר שיהיה אחריו ויסדר עניינו ויכלכל
דבריו במשפט יגיד טראשית אחרית בכתב יושר דברי אמת והיו לשארים

¹ Zunz, *Keren Chemed*, V. 157.

² *Ozar Nechemad*, iii. 141. Zunz, *Monatstage*, p. 42.

אחריו מוצאי שלו, לכן עתה הנה בא לפנינו ח"מ האלוף וחכם כמיה
 אברהם משער אריה אביר הרופאים יצ"ו בכמה דוד זצ"ל כדי לסדר ולבאר
 לפנינו על כל נכסיו וחיותיו שזכה ושקנה ושיזכה ושיקנה בכל מכל כל
 בכלל ובפרט, וכה היו דבריו אנכי הרואה כי זקנתי באתי בימים ולכן ראיתי
 כמו חובה על עצמי או ראוי לי לתת סדר נכון קיים וישר בעיני על נכסי
 וחיותי כלן לסדר ולבאר איך יתנהגו ויזכו בשלי אם ובנים וזרעם נכון
 עמם ובאי כחם בסדר קיים ונאמן מהיום ולעולם, ולא יהיה ביניה אחר
 כי אם דרכי נועם ונתיבות שלי, ה' יאריך ימי כלנו בטוב ושנותינו
 בנעימים אמן מעתה אתם עדים שמעו נא דברי אשר אני מודה ומבאר
 בפניכם כבפני ב"ד חשוב והיו עלי עדים נאמנים וקנו ממני בקנין גמור
 אנב סודר וכתבו שטר עליהם בכל לשון של עדות זכות וראיה ותחמוזה
 מידבם להיות ככל אשר יהיה שם לעדות זכות וראיה על כל מה שאודה
 ואבאר בו כל יפול ממנו דבר ארצה, וכן מעתה ומעכשיו הנני נותן ומקנה
 ומוכה במתנה גמולה גלויה ומפורסמת מתנת בריא ולא מתנת ש"מ ארבע
 אמות קרקע בחצר בכל מקום שהן לכל מקבלי אמי וכה וזכות באיזה אופן
 בדברי אלה שבשטר זה, ואנבן ואנב קיס' הג'ל משעבר אני כל נכסי
 שקנתי ושקנה מטמלי אנב מקרקעי דלהון כלהון אחראי וערבאין בכל
 תוקף אחריות וערבות ובאפותקי מפורש לאשור ולקיי' ושמירת כל דברי
 שטר מתנה זה בדברי כל שטר מוחזק נאמן וקיים מכל צד כי רצוני בכל
 דבריו בלי שום אונס ודוחק והכרח כלל ועקר כי אם בלב שלם ובנפש
 חפצה וברעת שלמה ומיושבת בהסכמה גמורה ומוחלטת קיימת מהיום
 ולעולם על כל הדברים כלם כאמור דלא להשגי ודלא להשמי ודלא למיהדר
 מכלהון ולא ממקצתהון ואפי' מאחד מהם מן היום ולעלם, וקודם כל
 דבר הנני אברהם הג'ל מתפלל ומתחנן לפני מלך המלכים הקב"ה
 נא בכל לשון בקשה במדת טובו וחסדו ירצני וימחול ויסלח לי על כל
 עוונותי ופשעי שחמאתי ושעויתי לפני כסא כבודו כי לבי דואג בקרבי מאד
 על אשר עברתי מצותיו אמנם גלוי וידוע לפניו שלא להכעיסו נתכוונתי
 ופרצתי נדר ח"י רק תמיד הייתי שלם בלבבי עם ה' אלקי ברוך הוא וברוך
 שמו וזכרו לעד ולעולמי עד אמן,

ואלה הדברים והפרטים אשר סדר ובאר לפנינו עדים² האלוף וחכם
 אביר הרופאים יצ"ו הג'ל וכה היו דבריו בפרט ופרט מהן :
 ראשונה הנני אברהם יצ"ו הג'ל מקנה ונותן במתנת בריא כניל מנכסי
 חמשה סולדי או יותר אם יצטרך לאוספימאלי³ : גרול ממנובה למען יהיו
 כל דברי שטר זה שירים וקיימים מכל צד ויפרעום מנכסי בני יצ"ו בזמן
 חרש ימים אחרי פטירתי :
 שנית הנני מסדר ומצווה את בני יצ"ו שכשינזור ה' ית' שיבא עת,
 ויגיע עת פקודתי להפטר מהעולם הזה לא יתנו לי קבורה עד שיעברו

² Ospitale.³ עדים חרומי מטה¹ קנין סדר

עלי ג' ימים מעת לעת היינו ע"ב שעות אחרי פסני[רתי כי כן עלה במחשבה לפני ואם באולי יארע שבסוף ג' ימים הללו יפגע בהם שבת או יום באופן שתתארך קבורתי יותר מהזמן הנ"ל אז יבקרני נדיבי עם ויראו אם יש בי שמץ חיות אם לא ויביאוני אל בית מנוחתי בהכנסת כלה גם כי עדיין לא נשלמו הע"ב שעות ואם לאיו סיבה מהסבות לא יוכלו להניח נויתי סומלת על הארץ בביתי כל ג' ימים הנ"ל אז יניחוני בארון עץ וכפרוהו בכפר מבחוץ וישאוני חוצה באחד מהחדרים של הבתי חיים ועכבוני שם עד העת המוגבל בשמירה ראויה ומעולה, ובני יצ"ו אל יסנפו עצמם יותר מן הראוי ואח"כ יביאוני ויניחוני אל בית מנוחתי :

שלישית הקבר אשר אקבר בו יהיה עשוי כמין חדר תחתיו רצוף ברצפת אבנים מסויידים בסיד ובייסו¹ וארבע כותלים בד' רוחותיו יעלו ויבאו למעלה מן הארץ כמו אמה עם ד' עמודי שיש קטנים בארבע פנותיו, ועל גביהם קרני של אבנים משופע כדי שלא ינוחו עליו זרמי מים ומטר ויזובו מכאן ומכאן, בתוכו יהיה מוטל ארוני עם מנוחת גופי ונפשי תהי[ה צרורה בצרור החיים עד יוכני ה' לתחייה למען שמו הגדול, כסוי ארוני יהיה מוטל עליו בלי שום מסמר קבוע בו, עפר ולא שום דבר אל יורק על ארתי אלא הארון יהיה מוטל על הרצפה כמות שהיא, החדר הנ"ל יהיה רחב כל כך שיוכל להכיל עוד ארון אחד שאם זוגתי מבי"ת תשאר בחיים אחרי פסני[רתי ותרחצה כאשר ירא' ה' להקבר גם היא אצלי תעשה כאשר ימנע ויכשר בעיניה והנני מפיל תחנתי לפני בני יצ"ו שאל ישנו דבר ולא יפילו מכל אשר אמרתי אבל יעשו ככל אשר צויתם, כי הנה אבותינו הקדושים היו זרזים מאד בקבריהם ואל יתמה[ו על ככה כי לא כל הדרות שוות :

רביעית הנני אברהם הנ"ל מסדר ומצוה את בני יצ"ו שתקף אחרי פטירתי ישימו בקופות הצדקה עשרה דוקאטוני הם עבור נדר אחד; נדרתי בער חיים חיותי שלא יגיע זמן החיוב כי אם לאחר מיתה וכן יחוייבו לחלק צדקה לעניים לפי כבודי וכבודם :

חמישית הנני מסדר ומבאר ישאם תשאר אשתי בחיים אחרי פטירתי תהיה גברת ושלמנית בביתי ועל פיה יישקו כל הדברים; השייכים לעסקי הבית אבל לא בשום עסק ויניוציאו² אחר ולא תהיה מחוייבת למסור ולתת שום חשבון מכל עסקי הנהגת הבית כנ"ל מכל מה שתעשה כלל ועקר ואל יבאו במשפט עמה כי באמנות וביושר חלכה עמדי, והנני מסדר שיפתסוהו וילבישוהו ויכבדוהו כראני כפי כבודי וכפי המוטל עליהם כי חייבים הם בכבוד אמם ויתנו לה ג"כ סך שלשים סקו לשנה לערך ו לימי הא' מ"ם תעשה מהם כל מה שתחפוץ וינחמו אותה וידברו על לבה ולא יחסרו לה שום דבר המצטרך לנופה כי באלה חפצתי, ואם באולי ושטא ח"ו תארע שום מריבה וקטטה בינה ובין כלותיה או עם

¹ מעת מחושים² Negoziò.¹ Giemo.

אחת מהן באופן שלא תמצא קורת רוח לשכן עם שלשת בניה או עם שניהם יהיו מי שיהיו מהם הרשות נתונה לה לשכן עם אחד מבניה או עם אחת מבנותיה פה מנומרה ויחוייבו בנים אחרים לפרוע אליה מה שיגיע לחלקם במזונותיה ופרנסתה בכבוד בין בכריותה בין בחליה ח"ו ולפרוע ג"כ כנ"ל חלקם במלבושה וכסותה כראוי ולתת לה ג"כ סך השלשים סקו' לשנה בין שלשתם כיון שתבחר לשכן עם אחד מהם כנ"ל, ואם תבחר לעמוד עם אחת מבנותיה פה מנומרה כנ"ל יחוייבו שלשתם שוה בשוה בכל הוצאותיה ובסך הלי' סקו' לשנה כנ"ל ואם לאיוז סבה הגונה והכרחית לא תוכל לשכן עם אחת מבניה ובנותיה כנ"ל ותצוה לנבות נדונייתה או יחוייבו ללבוש אותה כראוי ולתת לה נדונייתה בכ"כ מעות מחושבים והיא תוכל לעשות מנדונייתה ותוספתה ככל אות נפשה ובני יהיו פטורים מכל החיובי' הנ"ל אמנם הנני מחלה פניה שתעשה נתת רוח לנפשי בדבר הזה שלא תעקור דירתה ממנומרה :

ששית הנני אברהם יצ"ו הנ"ל נותן במתנה נמורה מתנת בריא מעכשיו לשנה שתנשאנה ארבע בנות שיש להונה למרת רבקה בתי מבית אשת במד אליעזר מונטאלבוסו יצ"ו ה"ה בילה אסתר שרה ודיאמנטי מבית בין כלן סך חמש מאות סקו' לע' שש ליט' מיט' באופן זה דהיינו לכל א' מארבע תן כנ"ל סך מאה ועשרים וחמשה סקו' לע' הנ"ל לעת שתנשאנה, ויחוייבו בני יצ"ו לפרוע אותם בכ"כ מעות מחושבי' בעת נשואיהן, ואם תמות הא' קודם הנשואין תירשנה אותה אחיותיה האחרות שלא נשאו עדיין, ואפי' האחת שתשאיר בחי' ולא נשאת תירש השלש האחרות אם ינא[רע] ההעדר מהן ח"ו קודם נשואיהן, ואם יארע ההעדר מכלן או קצתם קודם נשואיהן ולא נשארה שום אחת מהן לינשא כנ"ל או בתי מרת רבקה הנ"ל תזכה בסך החמש מאות סקו' הנ"ל או כסף מה שישאיר יהיה מה שיהיה כנ"ל ויהיו לה בדין נכסי מלוג שהבעל אוכל פירות והקרן קיים לה, ותהיה ברשותה לעשות מסנו כל מה שתצוה ותאווה נפשה לאמר מיתתה :

שביעית הנני מסדר לבני יצ"ו שאף אחר מותי יהיו לאחידים וישבו אחים גם יחד באהבה בחבה ושלו' ולא יפרדו איש מעל אחיו עד כי יגדל כמ' יהודה בני הקטן יצ"ו ויגיע לכלל עשרים שנה, כי בזה יהיה לי הרבה מצח ומרגוע לנפשי ומה' תהיה משכורתם שלמה, וכנ"ש[באו] אחרי זמן זה לכלל חלוקה, קודם כל דבר יוסרו כל החובות הנ"ל ויוסרו ג"כ הקדושין וכל הדורות שהורדנו לכל א' מהם מחמיהם או משאר קרוביהם וכל א' ישמח במתנת חלקו ואין לאחיו חלק בו, אח"כ ישימו כל חפצי כסף וזהב, אבנים טובות ומרגליות שהם ביד כלותי וכל רכושם עם כל החפצים והמעות ורכוש הבית אשר הם שלי יחד ויגבו בראשונה נדוניית נשותיהם בלבד בלתי תוספת כמו שקבלום דהיינו כסף אשר קבלו כל א'

מהם במעות מחושבים בכ"כ מעות מחושבים ינבוהו, והמותר עד כל סך הנהייה שקבלוהו ברכוש ומובילו כנהוג יקבלוהו ג"כ בכ"כ רכוש שיהיה כדם בזמן ההוא מהמובילו שהביאו כל אחת מנשותיהן ויעשה השומא לוי על פי שלשה אנשים צדיקי ובקיא¹ ואם לא יגיעו הרכוש זה ואלסך המובילו כמו שהביסו וקבלו המותר כל אחי מהם ממסמן הכין ע"פ השומא הגל ובני במהחיד דוד יצ"ו ינבה גם הוא שתי נדתייותיו כגל, והשאר חלק בין שלשת בני יצ"ו שזה בשוה וחלק בחלק יאכלו, חוץ מספרי הרפואה ופילוסופיאה שאבאר דינם בקאפיטולי הבא ראשון :

סמינית הגני אברהם יצ"ו הנ"ל נותן ומקנה ומזכה במתנת(ת)[ה] נמורה ומחלמת מתנת בריא מעכשיו לשעה אחת קודם מיתה לבכמחד דוד יצ"ו בני הגל כל הספרים שהם בלשון עברי ולאמינו וולגארי² : מרפואה ומפילוסופיאה ולא יהיה לשאר אחיו חלק בהם כלל ועקר, כיא בספרי הקדש שכל אחד ואחד יכול חלקו שזה בשוה, ולהיות כי כמי יהודה בני יצ"ו התחיל גם הוא לאמת ידיו במלאכת המשי יודע במיב העסק ההוא ושמת ידיו בו הגני מחלה כמי אליעזר בני יצ"ו הנ"ל שאף אחרי זמן החלוקה הגל ישתתף עמו במלאכת ועסק המשי חנל ובני כמי יהודה הנ"ל ישתול בודיות גם הוא ואיש את אחיו יעזורו :

תשיעית הגני אברהם יצ"ו הנ"ל מסדר לבני יצ"ו שגם אחרי פטירתו יתנהגו עם מרת רבקה אלמנת כמי יצחק ממוטינו אחותי מרת בחיית יתנו לה כמו שהייתי נוהג ונותן בעוד בחיים חייתי וכאשר ידוע אצלם : וכך אמר לנו עז"ט האלוף וחכם אביר הרופאים יצ"ו הנ"ל שטר מתנת זה כתבוהו בשוקא ומתמוהו בברא כי היכי דלא ליהוי כמילתא טמירתא אלא נלוי ומפורסם לכל וכתבוהו ומתמוהו אפי' עד מאה פעמי' עד דליפוק מחתת ידיכון שטר חד עשוי ככל תקוני חזל דלא כאסמכתא ודלא כטופסי רשמי ויעשה ממנו דין נחוץ ומשפט מהיר בכל מקר ובכל זמן ובכל ב"ד שיהיה בכ"י : כאלו נעשה עם כל תקוני חזל ובדאיה : ג"כ וחשב כאלו נעשה ע"י סופר מתא פובליקו ואומינטיקו³ וכאסמורמנטו רייסמראמו אין פורטה קאמיה⁴ ועם יתר כל תקוניהם ונימוסיהם, ובטל האלוף וחכם יצ"ו הנ"ל כל מודעי ומודעי דמודעי עד סוף כל מודעי דעלמא וכל דבר המבטל שום פרט מפרטי שטר זה וקיים וקבל כל דבר המקיימו וכל הלשונות ויפויי כחות וכל השעבודי והאופני המועילים והמספיקי בד"י ובדאיה בכל תוקף ואומץ שבעולם, וכל הלשונות הכתובי בשטר מתנה זה יהיו נדרשים ונדונים לתועלת ויפוי כח השטר הזה ולהעמידו על חוקתו ולעולם תהיה יד החלק המוכן לקיימו על העליונה ויד המערער עליו על התחתונה ואחריות וחומר שטר מתנה זה קבל עליו האלוף החכם אביר הרופאי יצ"ו הנ"ל כאחריות וחומר כל שטרי מתנות הנהוגי בישראל העשויים

² ובד"י אימת השלם³ בכל ישראל¹ Vulgare.⁴ Istrumento registrato in forma camera.⁵ Publico ed authentico.

עם כל תקוני חזק ועם כל האופנים המועילי והשויים דלא כאסמכתא ודלא כמופסי דשמי וקניא אן סהדי דחתימי לתתא מן האלוף וחכם אביר הרופאים יצ"ו הנ"ל ליד וזכות כל א' וא' ממקבלי מתנה הנ"ל על כל מאי דכתיב ומפרש בשטר זה מראשו ועד סופו במנא דכשר למקניא ביה, ומה שהיה ונעשה בפנינו ע"מ היום יום א' י' לולוי שי"ן סמ"ך ה"א לפק מה מנשובה כתבנו וחתמנו ונתנו ליד כל א' וא' ממקבלי מתנה הנ"ל להיות דם וביד באי כחם לעדות זכות וראיה והכל שריר וקים :

ידידיה שלמה בכמה"ר משה מנורצי זצוק"ל :

אלעזר בכמה"ר אברהם פרויניצאל זצ"ל :

DAVID KAUFMANN.

II.

TESTAMENT OF LEB NORDEN.

This testament is interesting less from its intrinsic merits than from the fact that it was written by an ordinary London business man. Its date is Thursday, 4th of Iyar, 1741, and the MS. forms one page (fol. 140) of No. 22 of Dr. Neubauer's Catalogue of the MSS. in the London Beth Hammidrash.

העתק צוואה מהמנוח הרבני מה' ליב נארדן זצ"ל לבנו

בני היקר זלמן ש"י לא אעמום עליך הרבה צואות והזהרות ופקודי כי די וטוב לך אם תקיים אזהרות ופקודי התורה. רק אזכירך מעט אתה ידעת את כל התלואה אשר מצאתני מנעורי וכמה השנחתי עליך ועל תקנתך. עכ' יהי זכרוני נגד עיניך תמיד. כבד את בוראך הרבה מאוד כי היא חייך ואורך ימים ואין הצלחה אמיתית בלתי. לך בדרכי הישר והתרחק מאוד מן העבירה מן הכיעור ומהדומה לה. הרחק עצמך מכל מיני שחוק. ואל תעסוק בהם כלל כי רבי' חל"י הפילו. ומעולם ראיתי שכל המתעסקי בשחוק נקרו ונדלדלו והבתי ששחקי בהם נחרבו עד היסוד. ומלבד זה הם עיקר הגורמי ביטול התורה. ואפילו בלאשרי אל תניח כא' לפרקי ועתים רחוקי. ובהמרה (שקורין וועמין) אל תעסוק כלל. וכל דברי' האלו הם יצר רע של איבוד ממון. ואך להעשיר נגד רצון הבורא. הרחק מאוד הנאוה והגאון הן במחשבה והן במעשה. ואל תרגיל עצמך במלבושי נאוה או בהוצאות בית הרבה וכלי נאים לחתונות כי כל זה איבוד ממון וחיי הבל וגורמים בלבול הראש לעשות מום בכך כדי להרוויח והרבה פעמי' מביאים לידי נזק מלבד ביטול התורה שגורמי. תן

¹ Lottery.

² Betting.

השנה בשבע עינים על המתנה טובה המעות שחנני ה' בחסדו אשר נתחיל לך כי לאו כל יומא מתרחיש ניסא • ואל תהי קמצן בנתינת צדקה • החק מאוד מאוד מן הכעס ומן המחלוקת ועל תבקש להשתרר על אחיי • הרגל עצמך במדת טובו • כבד את אמך כמו שצוותה התורה • ואל תעזב כל ימך • שמע לעצת אחי אנשיל כי הם ישיניחו על תקנתך יותר מאדרי בוורי • ואם תתמיד בתורת השם תדע המדות הטובות אשר תעשה ותחי בהם בעה"ז ותירש חיי עולם הבא הנצחי • ומפני זה אמרו ותלמד תורה כנגד כולם • ואל תבקש שום עילה לבטל שום דבר מצוואתי • כל זה כתבתי פה לונדון יום ה' ד' אייר תק"ט לפק מכני אביך ליב נאדרן • ותתמיד ליתן חלקך לעניי קרובי שהיינו רגילים ליתן בחיי עם אחיי וניסי :

My dear son, I will not burden you with many injunctions, for it will suffice for thee to obey the laws contained in the Torah. Yet, think of me always, for you know my love and my care for you. Honour thy Maker, walk in the ways of the upright, avoid both what is evil and what may seem so. Never gamble, for gambling has slain many victims; it leads to loss of money and to the neglect of the Torah. Moreover, it is an attempt to acquire wealth against the will of God. Avoid ostentation and arrogance, whether in thought or deed; dress simply, live simply, and be sparing in your household expenditure. Extravagance is the cause of worry, so be careful with the legacy I leave you, for miracles do not happen every day. But in giving alms be open-handed. Avoid quarrels, seek not to dominate others; be slow to anger. Honour your mother, and strive to perfect your character.

III.

THE TESTAMENT OF ELEAZAR BEN SAMUEL.

DR. GÜDEMANN publishes this text on pp. 295-298 of his *Quellen-schriften*, etc. (1891), from a Mersbach MS. Another copy may be found in the Bodleian (Cat. Neubauer, No. 907, fol. 164a). This copy opens with the lines:—

צוואה הגונה"	דרכיה דרכי נועם
ראויה ובחונה"	להודיע לכל העם

and closes with the following passage:—

חסלת צוואת בית אבי הח"ר אלעזר הלוי המכונה הח"ר זלמן והלך לעולמו
בראש השנה קי"ח ל' ביום ראשון ונקבר ביום שני בראש השנה •

ומנוחת כבודו בקבורות מנצא זה הלשון אשר כתוב במצבה שלו פה
 טמון וספון אדם חסיד והגון ומעשיו נעים ונעימים והגונים בדרכי חסידים
 וענים המקובלים בעיני הש' מרומים החר' אלעזר בן החר' שמואל הלוי
 וכר זכותו וצדקתו יעמוד לנו לאחז מעשיו וצדקתיו בידינו ומהם לא
 נסור אנו וצאצאינו אא"ם וכאשר אני קרוי אלעזר מכו' זלמן בחתימתו
 כן יזכני הש' לע"ה להיות עמו במחיצתו :

There are several variations in reading, but they are mostly unimportant. Dr. Güdemann's version permits women to play for "eggs" on the New Moon; the Bodleian MS. reads בעד כלום for בעד ביצים. Again, my MS. reads מרקט for עם הלייש (p. 295, line 7); בתוך for בתנור (p. 296, line 4). With one exception (that on p. 296, line 2 from end), all the corrections suggested by Dr. Güdemann actually occur in this MS., and thus his emendations are confirmed. The grammatical mistakes are fewer in the Bodleian MS., which is on the whole more accurate, but the variations are scarcely of sufficient importance to justify a complete collation.

IV.

ADDITIONS TO BIBLIOGRAPHY.

DR. D. SIMONSEN (of Copenhagen) has very kindly communicated the following additions to the list previously published in this REVIEW:—

JACOB OF LISSA (צוואות הנאונים, Warsaw, 1875).

AKIBA EGER (Ibid.).

CHAYIM COHEN RAPOPORT (ש"ת מים חיים, I. 41).

JOSEPH HA-ZADDIK, of Posen (זכרון שארית יוסף, 1881).

JOSEPH SAMUEL LANDAU (Preface to בור הבחינה, 1837).

MENACHEM CASTELNUOVO (Preface to שו"ת עמק המלך, Leghorn, 1868). —

SALMON COHEN (קול בוכים, Fürth, 1820).

MEIR, Rabbi in Tiktin (נויר השם, Lemberg, 1869).

MEIR MARGOLIOTH (מֵיר יִכִּין וּבֹעֶז). See Walden's רחש'ם הנדול'ים. part 2, p. 30).

SCHMELKE MEISELS (גויעת שמואל, 1848.)

The Testament of a pupil of בעש'ם, in דרכי ישרים (see Walden, *ibid.*, p. 11).

As Dr. Simonsen justly adds, many similar testaments must have been published of recent years in Russia and Poland. It would also fully repay the labour were one to carefully go through the prefaces to the large number of *Responsa* contained in the British Museum.

I. ABRAHAMS.

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THE COMPOSITION
OF THE
BOOK OF GENESIS
WITH ENGLISH TEXT AND ANALYSIS.

BY

EDGAR INNES FRIPP,

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SOCIETY OF HISTORICAL THEOLOGY, OXFORD.

THIS Work is an Analysis of the BOOK OF GENESIS (in English) into its constituent elements, with full Introduction and Commentary, and a series of seven Maps illustrating the historical relationships reflected in the patriarchal stories, an abridgement of the Chaldean Flood Story, Index, etc. The constituent narratives are not only distinguished by differences of type, but are separated and *restored as far as possible to their original forms.*

The "Priestly" narrative occupies the latter portion of the book; whilst the "Elohistic" and "Iahvistic" elements of the "Prophetic" remnant, which occupy the former portion, are presented in different types side by side in parallel columns. Editorial interpellations are marked also in different types. The full explanatory commentary runs at the foot of the page throughout.

The *Academy* of February 13, 1892, speaking of the fore-sheets of this book, says :—

"The Rev. E. I. Fripp will shortly publish, under the auspices of the Hibbert Trustees, a book called *The Composition of the Book of Genesis*, which aims not only to analyse Genesis into its constituent narratives, but, so far as possible, to restore these narratives to their original forms. Bishop Colenso's gallant attempt to reproduce the original documents is likely, as we can see already, to be renewed more vigorously, and with better success."

The Jewish Quarterly Review.

APRIL, 1892.

SPIRIT AND LETTER IN JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

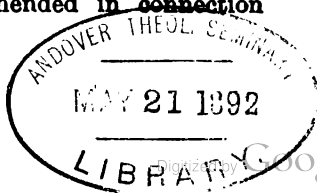
נִיתִי סֵפֶר וְנִחֲזֶה. —“Let us bring the book and see.”

(*Talmudic Saying.*)

AMONG those whom the Mishnah (*Synhedrin*, xi. 1) declares to have forfeited eternal life, the following are enumerated: —He who says that the Resurrection is not taught in the Torah; further, *he who affirms that the Torah does not come from God* (*min-ha-Shamayim*); also the Epikuros. This is immediately followed by, “R. Akiba says, He also who reads in strange books, and he who utters incantations over wounds” (literally “wound”). Although I am here only concerned with the assertion (*italicised in the text*) regarding the man *who denies the divine origin of the Torah*, I have cited the other dicta as well, because, from their being classed together, it is evident that, as regards their origin, they all belong to one and the same epoch. This can have been no other than the period which is marked on the one hand by the party divisions of the Sadducees, Pharisees and Essenes, and, on the other, by the birth of Christianity. The proof of this statement lies—apart from the impression produced by the collocation of instances—in the reference to the “Epikuros” and the “Strange Books.” Both conceptions point unequivocally to the period in question, and can only be comprehended in connection therewith.

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AA



If this view of the matter is kept in mind, then the assertion regarding the denial of the divine origin of the Torah has an interest attaching to that age, which I shall here endeavour to make clear. To this end it is necessary, in the first instance, accurately to define the above declaration, for, taken in the general terms in which it is enunciated, it suffers from a certain indistinctness that opens the door to the most diverse questions. What is to be understood by denial of the divine origin of the Torah? Is it that the Torah was not revealed by God, but is the work of man? This opinion is no doubt included in the statement of the Mishnah, but there is not the least justification for the assumption that in Jewish antiquity such an opinion had ever sprung up and spread so as to necessitate its resistance by the imposition of a penalty. . All antiquity, including the Jews, was more inclined to refer extraordinary appearances, marvellous discoveries, teachings and writings, directly to the Deity than to contest the intervention of God in the development of the human race; and it would be an anachronism without parallel to believe that the divine origin of so extraordinary a book as the Torah had to be established by means of a law, and to be protected against the attacks of sceptics and unbelievers by threats of punishment. As a fact the contrary appears from the discussions in Sabb., 30b: it was easier to pronounce in favour of the divine origin of certain writings than successfully to deny such origin to others. It required no little trouble to finally establish the canon and exclude therefrom the numerous apocryphal writings, so readily were people disposed to acknowledge the divine origin of everything for which such a claim was put forth. Accordingly, the denial of the divine origin of the Torah, of which the Mishnah treats, cannot refer to the *contents*, but to the *letter* of the Torah. Its intention is to establish the divine authorship of the *text* of the Torah, and hence the denier of this claim is threatened with the loss of "eternal bliss." In this sense also the statement of the

Mishnah is explained by the Talmud (*Synhedrin*, 99a): He who asserts that the Torah is not from God, or denies the divine authorship of even *one single verse of the Torah*, and affirms that not God but Moses of his own accord pronounced it, is guilty of the transgression referred to in Num. xv. 31, and will incur the punishment of excision thereunto attached.¹ It is now no longer open to doubt that the dictum of the Mishnah has for its object to give a sanction to the verbal text of the Torah, and that on this account it condemns the denial of its divine origin as a sacrilegious act to be avenged by the loss of future bliss.

II.

Herewith, however, the difficulty involved in that dictum is rather increased than removed. While, on the one hand, as I have shown, it was not rendered necessary by any denial of the divine character of the Torah itself, no such attempt ever having been made, there is, on the other hand, still less reason to believe that the divine origin of the wording of the Torah was even questioned. Had any such thing ever occurred, the inviolability of the text of the Torah would have had to be affirmed much more distinctly than has actually been the case,² and it is then hardly likely that people would have been content with a legal declaration of a purely eschatological character, such as the one under consideration or even with the whole Mishnah in which it is found. But *textual criticism*, especially biblical criticism, was unknown to the ancient Jews. This fact is not contradicted by the circumstance that the greatest importance was placed upon the

¹ Maimonides הל' תשובה regards as a denier of the Law (כופר בתורה) whosoever says שאין התורה מעם ר' אפילו פסוק אחד אפילו תיבה אחת.

² The views of the Talmud on this point, mainly attached to our Mishnah, are collected in משפחת סופרים by Rosenfeld (Wilna, 1883), p. 6, *seq.*

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II

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 and the Talmud on this point mainly attached to the
 subject in Ex. 31:18 by R. Simeon b. Lakshmi (190).

preservation and propagation of the traditional text, and that even in ancient times a special department of study, the Soferic or Massoretic, dealt with these tasks. Such criticism as was in vogue did not proceed from any doubt as to the divine origin of the text, but rather presupposed it, and nothing but the piety springing from such belief renders the care bestowed on the biblical books explicable. Josephus expressly says (*Contra Ap.* i. 8), "What credit we give to these books is also well known. In all these ages past no one has been so bold as to add anything to them, or to take anything from them, or to change anything in them. But it is natural to all Jews immediately and from their birth to regard those books as the teachings of God, and to persist in them, and, if occasion be, to die for them. . . . Who among the Greeks would suffer the least harm for such a cause, or even for the loss of all their writings?" If according to this evidence hardly any doubt concerning the divine origin of the text of the Torah could ever have been entertained, then, as I have remarked, the dictum of our Mishnah is rather darkened than illumined by its Talmudic explanation, and it is clear that the key to the comprehension of both passages must lie in some definite motive which it is for us to discover, since only by this means can we hope to overcome the difficulties referred to.

III.

Before, however, I undertake this task, I must draw attention to another circumstance which is closely connected with our inquiry. The use which both Talmud and Midrash make of the formula, "Read not thus, but thus" (. . . אל . . . תקרי) is well known. This formula, by means of which, for the purpose of supporting a particular opinion, a variant is proposed to the received reading, keeps the Bible text in a constant state of fluctuation, and the boldest conclusions of an arbitrary criticism do not touch the authenticity of the text in anything like the

same measure as does its frequent and capricious use. It will be said that in such cases no seriously-meant alteration of the text is intended ; and this is doubtless the case, though the suggestions introduced by that formula are at times as similar to the emendations of modern criticism as one pea is to another.¹ Indeed, there can be no question that many a critic of the present day, who, by his venturesome emendations, raises a storm in theology, might, in Talmudic times, have proposed the very same things without hesitation under cover of the formula. Be that as it may, we must at all events allow that its use even by way of Hagadic diversion or Halachic association, could not possibly have asserted itself to the extent it actually has done if every alteration of the text, however much it might commend itself and however lofty might be the object with which it was proposed, had been regarded as the grave sin which the dictum of our Mishnah and its Talmudic explanation declare it to be according to the view hitherto entertained. It is even reported that in the *Torah of Rabbi Meir* several variations upon the received reading had been found, presumably due to his own hand. Granted that these remarks were only intended as "humorous"² marginal notes, still such treatment of the Bible text—which, as the witty Frenchwoman observed of chess, was too serious for play, and too playful for a serious occupation—must occasion surprise, and all the more so, seeing that such a proceeding is in marked opposition with the severity with which our Mishnaic dictum and Talmudic explanation guard the text against all injury. Let us picture to ourselves what would be the result if, not in some comic journal, but in serious

¹ Comp. *Sota* 11b, where, instead of ערי ערים, it is proposed to read ערי ערי, which R. Samuel Edels (Chiddushe Hagadoth) seems to take as a seriously meant interpretation of the text.

² In this way Graetz (*History of the Jews*, iv. 2, p. 469) understands the "letter changes" of R. Meir there cited. Comp. Rapoport, *Errech Millin*, p. 8.

writings, and with a good motive, the texts of ancient and modern classics were treated in the same manner as the Bible text is in Talmud and Midrash; what confusion would be certain to ensue in course of time, and what censure such license would call forth from all earnest-minded men. Out of this dilemma there is in my judgment only one way of escape, viz., the assumption that in antiquity, philological fidelity to the letter was unknown, and that men did not hesitate to sacrifice a letter here and there, when the object was to find a home in the Torah for some religious idea, and to shelter it under its sacred authority. This fact, which ought not to cause surprise, since the early students of Scripture were certainly lacking in a sense for etymology, and in a profounder appreciation of grammar, perhaps gave rise to the legend that when the first Tables of the Covenant were broken the letters flew into the air (*Pesachim*, 87*b*). Whatever view may be taken of the matter, so much is certain, that this legend could only have arisen and spread among those to whom the letter was no *rocher de bronze*. This circumstance also explains the occasional occurrence of inexact citations of Biblical passages in the Talmud (*B. Kam.*, 55*a*. *B. Bathra*, 113*a*, and *Toss. ibid.*). It has hence been inferred that many a Talmudic sage was but little conversant with the Bible (*Toss.*, *ibid.*), an inference, however, which can hardly be sustained, seeing that searching the Scriptures formed the life's labour of the Talmudic doctors. Their minute acquaintance with the Bible text is made evident in almost every page of the Talmud. The truth is rather that they were not greatly concerned for the letter as such, and that in their *naïveté* they were free from that anxiety which fastens upon the letter of the Scripture, even the sages of the Tossaphistic age exercising a much freer and more unbiassed judgment, at least, in respect of the vowel signs, than later piety would have ventured to permit.¹

¹ Comp. Rapoport in his preface to Freund's שו"ת דבר ומוצא דבר (Vienna, 1866), p. 7.

Now this state of things is only explicable on the assumption that our Mishnaic dictum, which, according to the explanation of the Talmud, gives especial authority to the letter, was never transmuted into the flesh and blood of the learned world, which circumstance, again, can only be accounted for on the supposition that the assertion of the Mishnah had in view a particular object which was based upon certain contemporary conditions, but which lost its significance in the altered relations of succeeding ages. Upon this object, however, the true light appears to be thrown from a quarter to which I shall now direct the attention of the reader.

IV.

In the second epistle to the Corinthians the Apostle obviously sets himself the task of proving the continuity of the old teaching and the new, or of deriving the latter from the former. One can understand the endeavour to find in the soil of the Old Testament the foundation for the teaching of Christ. Equally natural was it that such an endeavour should incur the charge of falsification. Now to attack an opponent has been from of old a mode of parading one's own innocence; on that account the Apostle levels from his side the charge of falsification against those from whom he had to expect the same accusation against himself. He designates the many (*οἱ πολλοί*), *i.e.*, the Jews, as corrupters of the word of God (ii. 17), and asserts of them that they do not understand the word of God at all, as "even unto this day, when Moses is read, a vail is upon their hearts" (iii. 15). But what guarantee does the Apostle offer for the accuracy of *his* conception of the divine word, *i.e.*, the Old Testament? It is contained in the sentence, "For the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life" (iii. 6), to which the thesis is subsequently added, "Now the Lord is that Spirit; and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty" (iii. 17).

We have doubtless before us in these sentences the written precipitate of a mighty turmoil out of which the Pauline doctrine made its way to victory. If, however, we take these oft-quoted words in the simple sense that rightly belongs to them, they lose all point, and sink to the level of a commonplace, which certainly expresses a general truth, but which, on that very account, is not likely to have ever been contradicted. Does any one imagine that the idea that "the Lord is the Spirit" would have been combated by a Jewish contemporary of the Apostle? This can hardly be maintained, as it was chiefly because this same truth was so deeply rooted in the heart of the Jews, that the doctrine of the Incarnation encountered their opposition. But, further, the sentence "the letter killeth but the spirit giveth life" contains in its general sense nothing which would have been disputed by the Jewish contemporaries of the Apostle. This I think I have proved in the foregoing argument. We have seen that the Tannaim and the Amoraim used, as it were, to play ball with the letter of the Bible for the sake of the spirit, and I may here recall the Hagadah above referred to, that at the breaking of the Tables of the Covenant the letters flew into the air. What can this Hagadah mean, if any meaning is to be assigned to it at all, but that it is not the letter of the Bible but the spirit that is of value? I need not, in order to establish my contention that in Judaism undisputed precedence has at all times been accorded to the spirit over the letter, appeal to Hagadic utterances, the interpretation of which is a matter of individual taste. The history of biblical exegesis from the oldest times furnishes irrefutable proofs of this fact. How could the *jus talionis* (Exodus xxi. 24 *seq.*) have been set aside, how could the operations of the year of release (Deut. xv. 2) have been annulled, if the letter and not the spirit of the Torah had been clung to? This is also proved by the well-known traditional explanation of passages like Exodus xxi. 19, xxii. 1; Deut. xxii. 17, etc., all of which have reference to the administration

of justice, and on that account demanded the subjection of the letter to the spirit. If then these assertions of the Apostle do not in their general acceptance introduce anything which his Jewish contemporaries would not have freely conceded, one cannot understand the irritation which forces him to speak of the "vail of Moses" as of a bandage which prevents the eyes of the Jews from perceiving the truth, or the spirit of the word of God. This very irritation is an evidence, as is also the whole treatment of the subject in the Epistle to the Corinthians, that the Apostle's assertions are in no way intended to be taken in their general, purely doctrinal sense. As little do they bear this meaning as does our Mishnaic dictum which deprives of eternal bliss him who denies the divine origin of the verbal text of the Torah. The two declarations serve rather to mark the respective standpoints of two opposite parties in that conflict of opinion, which resulted in the separation of Christianity from Judaism; they can, therefore, only be explained by the light they mutually throw on each other, as I shall now endeavour to show.

V.

Where, in the New Testament, the person, life and teaching of Jesus are read into the Old, or are drawn out from it, it is by the employment of *symbolism and allegory* that this is accomplished, neither of which was foreign to Jewish modes of thought, the Hagadah itself making abundant use of both methods. The דרש דכתיב of the latter (the formula which indicates that a Hagadic observation was based upon a Biblical passage), thus finds its New Testament equivalent in the καθὼς γέγραπται ("as it is written"), or ἵνα πληρωθῇ ("in order that it might be fulfilled"), by which phrases certain passages of the Bible are directly connected with events in the life of Jesus. This method of exegesis was, however, the more dangerous, as being

hallowed by tradition, and beloved by the people. There is likewise no doubt that many Hagadahs, with Christian colouring, were written down, and became the common property of the people, even as there is no room to doubt that these Hagadahs, which, at the present time form a constituent part of the New Testament, led directly to an opposition against the Hagadah itself in the world of Jewish learning. We are told of scholars who most severely condemned the writing down as well as the study of Hagadahs, and who boasted of never having looked into Hagadic books.¹ However this and similar statements may be explained, it is clear that they can all be referred, partly to the recognition of the danger in which the symbolism and allegory of the Hagadah involved Judaism by favouring the intrusion of Christianity, and partly to the arrangements designed to obviate this danger. It is surely not by mere accident that R. Akiba, who in our Mishnah denies future bliss to one who reads in *strange books*, did not devote himself to the Hagadah, and perhaps even condemned it (*Synhedrin*, 38b, 67b; *Chagigah*, 14a). Akiba, moreover, was certainly not the first to adopt this opinion, his utterance in the Mishnah appearing only as supplementary to the preceding remarks; but, as I shall show, his name stands as representative of that mode of regarding the Scriptures, by means of which the intrusion of Christian elements could best be guarded against, and which emphasized the *letter* as the foe of all symbolism and allegory. The two latter designate the *spirit* of which the apostle, in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians (iii. 6), says that God "hath made us able ministers of the New Testament, not of the letter, but of the spirit." We only need the juxtaposition of the Jewish Tanna and the Christian Apostle in order to perceive how much depends upon the accentuation of the spirit. The Apostle was concerned, not with the spirit of the Biblical text, but with the Christian

¹ Comp. Zunz, *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge*, p. 335, and Rapoport, *Erech Millin*, article אנדרה. § 3, *seq.*

spirit, which was to be breathed into the Old Testament. But as this could only happen by adopting the Hagadic method of regarding the letter as something unstable and movable, the Jewish teachers felt themselves compelled to retain their hold upon the letter, *not for the sake of the letter, but for the sake of the spirit.*

Herein lies also the point of the Mishnaic declaration that he who asserts the Torah is not from God (*min-ha-Shamayim*), *i.e.*, that he who, while acknowledging the "spirit" of the Old Testament to be Divine, yet treats the letter as symbolic or allegoric in the interest of this "spirit," would be deprived of future bliss. A vital question for Judaism was involved, *viz.*, the purity of the Divine teaching, which could only be protected by the bulwark of the letter (*i.e.*, the literal sense of the word), from any admixture of foreign elements, and it is, therefore, comprehensible why he who threatened the very life of Judaism, was himself threatened with the loss of eternal life. It was the bulwark of the letter, or in the language of the Apostle, the "vail of Moses" which effectually warded off the invasion of Judaism by a foreign "spirit," and preserved the special characteristics of the old faith.

This explanation of the relation between spirit and letter, which, on the one hand, is represented by the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, and on the other by the Mishnah, corresponds in all respects with the doctrinal system of R. Akiba, which has rightly become of paramount influence in Judaism. R. Akiba is the exact antithesis of the Apostle Paul, and although he did not by way of opposition to the Apostle declare that the spirit kills and the letter gives life, he might well have done so, of course with the proviso that he had in his mind a "spirit" foreign to the Old Testament. For, that the sentence of the Apostle in its general sense, stripped of all notions due to religious party feeling, was accepted by R. Akiba as well as by Jewish tradition, has been, I think, convincingly

established. Although R. Akiba did not make the remark just suggested, nevertheless his whole doctrinal system is based upon the accentuation of the letter, and it is well known that a Midrash¹ having reference to this subject is assigned to him. This system is not only calculated to unite the oral with the written law, and to obtain rules for new juristic cases²—although it must be admitted that it has been abundantly and even excessively used in this direction—but it was founded in the first instance with the object of providing in the letter a bulwark against Christian symbolism and legend. To this object point also certain mystical utterances, such as (*Sabb.*, 89a) that God provided the letter with crowns, etc., as well as the saying frequently to be met with in later Jewish writings, that “Letters make wise,”³ the origin of which, it must be admitted, cannot be traced in Jewish literature. But the evidences traceable in that literature, and our Mishnah above all, suffice to prove that in the history of the origin of Christianity it was the letter which was made to enter the field, for the spirit’s sake, against the spirit emphasised by Paul.

M. GÜDEMANN.

¹ אותיות דר עקיבא

² Comp. Grätz, *History*, iv. 2, p. 56, seq.

³ אותיות מחכימות Comp. Dukes’ *Zur Rabbinischen Spruchkunde*, p. 91.

THE BAHIR AND THE ZOHAR.

PROFESSOR BACHER is rather optimistic when he says (*Revue des Etudes Juives*, xxii., p. 33) that the question of the origin and the date of the *Zohar* has been settled long ago, and that it is only in catalogues of second-hand books that the name of R. Simeon ben Yohai appears as the author of the work. The fact is that the orthodox rabbis of all countries, and among them are many who have had a university training, do not yet dare to proclaim from the pulpit that prayers consisting of *Zohar* texts (usually recited during the Feast of Tabernacles on the eve of the *Hoshanah Rabba*) ought to be discontinued, since it is now proved that the *Zohar* is a compilation of the end of the thirteenth century, and was very probably made by Moses of Leon. The *Bahir*, which lost its popularity through the appearance of the *Zohar*, is still considered in the orthodox schools as a work written by R. Nehonyah ben haq-Qanah, in spite of a document published fourteen years ago, from which it can be seen that a synod of rabbis of Provence, (and amongst them the great Meshullam of Béziers,) assembled in 1245, and declared that since the *Bahir* was composed by a contemporary, who was also the author of a Kabbalistical commentary on Canticles, it should not be considered a book of authority. The name of the author was either Ezra or Azriel (perhaps the two names represent one person); the latter was the teacher of the famous Moses ben Nahman.

This document having appeared in the *Israelitische Letterbode*, III. (1877), p. 20 (see also Dr. Gross, *op. cit.*, p. 299), which had not a great circulation, we shall give it here (revised by Dr. L. Modona, of the Parma Library), with an English translation; the latter is necessary for the

benefit of those who know the *Bahir* only from the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. xvi., p. 287, where the following statement was made in the year 1883:—"Some have pronounced the *Bahir* a late fabrication, but others, who have thoroughly studied it, justly describe it as 'old in substance if not in form.'"

Towards the end (fol. xxxi., 231b to 232b) of the MS. De Rossi, No. 155 in the Library of Parma, a manuscript which is of a controversial character (see *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, t. xxvii., pp. 558 to 562, and *Dr. H. Gross Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, 1881, pp. 295 *seq.*), by Meir ben Simeon of Narbonne, who lived about 1245, the *Bahir* is thus referred to in the following passage:—

הנה כתבנו כל זה לפניכם רבותינו שבכל עיר ועיר לגלות לכם כל הדברים האלה כי יראנו מפני החתימות אשר הסעו החותמים אליהם וגם שהונד לנו שזייפו בחתימות הרב"י מחכמי הארץ הזאת שלא חתמו בהם כי יסעו רבים מאנשי הארץ אחריהם ויתפארו בדברי כזבים לאמר בארצות בני תורה וחכמה מצאנו און ועצמה פן יאמרו ידינו רמה חלילה חלילה משה למנות אחרי דברי המינות הלא לא תהא כזאת בישראל ושמענו שכבר חבר אליהם ספר קראו שמו בהיר שהזכרנוהו למעלה ובו לא ראו אור וכבר הניע אותו ספר לידינו ומצאנו בו שתלו אותו בר נחוניא בן הקנה הם ושלום לא היה ולא נברא ולא נכשל בו אותו צדיק ואת פושעים לא נמנה ולשון הספר ההוא וכל ענינו מוכיחים כי היה מאיש שלא היה יודע שפת ספר ואמרי שפר ויש דברי מינות וכפירה בהרבה מקומות וגם שמענו כי חבר עוד אליהם פירוש שיר השירים וספר יצירה והיכלות ותכתבו שם דברים בדרך מינותם ופיירוש קהלת ושאר ספרים דרשו וחקרו היטב ואם הם בקרבכם בערו אותו מן הארץ ולא יהיה לכם לפוקה חסמו אחריהם כי כן בערנו אנחנו הנמצאים בקרבנו והמקום ברחמינו ישלח לנו גואל ויקבץ נפוצות יהודה וישראל ויסיר מקרב עמו ספקותם ומבוכותם והשיב לב אבות על בנים ולב בנים על אבות כתבנו כל זה בהסכמת אדננו הרב הגדול נר ישראל מוריני ר' משלם בן הרב הגדול ר' משה ניד ושאר חכמי הארץ מקצתם שידעו בצנעה שיש הענין אשר הביאו לכתוב והמשכילים יזהירו וכי :

¹ On fol. 230b the book is spoken of as follows:—*בן מצאנו באחד מספרי* והיכלות. *M.s.* מעותם שקראו שמו בהיר.

"Behold ! all this we have written to the Rabbis of all towns, in order to make you know what is going on ; because we feared the influence of signatures, many of which are falsified, as we are told. They boast that in the land of learning they found strength (in the Kabbalah). God forbid that a heresy of this kind should take place in Israel ! We have heard that a book with the name of *Bahir*, which we have already mentioned above, has been published, in which no light can be seen (allusion to Bahir—"light"). This book has now reached us, and we find it attributed to R. Nehonya ben haq-Qanah. God forbid ! Such a work of his has never existed. This pious man has never stumbled upon it, and he was not numbered with the transgressors (Isaiah liii. 12). The style and the contents of this book show that the author did not know the pure language, not to say that it often contains the grossest heresy. We have heard that the author of it has composed also commentaries on Canticles, Ecclesiastes, on the books of the Creation, and on that of the heavenly palaces and other books, which all savour of heresy. Do investigate if these books are found among you, and, if so, make them disappear from your country, as we did in ours, so that they should not become a stumbling-block to you. May God, in his mercy, send us the Redeemer, who will gather the dispersed of Judah and Israel. May he take away from the midst of his people all doubts and perplexities, and turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers (Malachi iv. 6). All this was written with the consent of our master, the great Rabbi, the light of Israel, our teacher, R. Meshullam, son of the great Rabbi, R. Moses, and of other wise men of our country, who knew secretly the object of our writing the present epistle. 'And they that be wise shall shine,' etc. (Daniel xii. 3)."

This epistle was written about 1245 A.D. Raymundus Martini, who composed his *Pugio Fidei* in 1278, does not quote from the *Zohar*, which, if in existence then, would have been of great importance for the purpose of his controversy. (See *The Expositor*, February, 1888, p. 103, *sqq.*) The title *Zohar*, brilliancy, looks like an imitation of that of *Bahir*, and the chief theory of the Endless (אין סוף) found in it was most probably borrowed from the *Bahir*. The forger tried to compose or to compile it in the Aramaic language, a dialect of which R. Simeon ben Yohai, of the second century A.D., spoke as having been Galilean. We shall see that the original part of the book was not written entirely in this dialect, but that many passages were in Hebrew. That the Aramaic of the *Zohar* cannot be genuine in its style and grammar was shown beyond

dispute by the late S. D. Luzzatto. The statement that this book, as the adherents of its authenticity pretend, was hidden in a cave of Galilee for nearly one thousand years, it having been discovered as is asserted by Moses ben Nahman, who resided at Accho in the thirteenth century, speaks against its antiquity. It is, indeed, impossible that any document written on leather, parchment, paper or papyrus could be preserved for one thousand years in the damp climate of Palestine. Our readers will remember the fate of the famous MS. of Deuteronomy, brought to this country by the late Mr. Shapira, who also maintained that it was lying buried in a cave in Moab during several thousand years. The only country in which written documents of old date can be preserved is Egypt.

But putting aside this undoubted argument against the antiquity of the *Zohar*, and admitting a miraculous preservation of the book, a miracle which the forger never brought forward, we possess similar documentary evidence as in the case of the *Bahir* against the supposition of an early composition of the *Zohar*. It is the great Kabbalist, Isaac of Accho, disciple of the famous Moses ben Nahman, who expresses his doubts concerning the antiquity of the book. His words, which are to be found in the last edition of the *Yohasin* by Moses Zakkutho (London, 1867, p. 59), and are reproduced by Professor Graetz in his *History of the Jews* (T. vii., second edition, p. 420), we shall give here, according to another MS. of the *Yohasin*, lately acquired by the Bodleian Library (MS. Hebrew d. 16). The publication of it, with an English translation, is needed, since the English translation of Professor Graetz's *History* gives no original documents at all, and will, therefore, not help much towards showing what was said by a staunch orthodox believer at the end of the thirteenth century concerning the *Zohar*. Perhaps those who make use of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* will not blindly follow the enigmatical statement there (vol. xvi., p. 286) to the effect that

"a nucleus of the *Zohar* is of Mishnaic time, and R. Simeon ben Yohai was the author of the book in the same sense that R. Yohanan was the author of the Palestinian Talmud—i.e., he gave the first impulse to the composition of the book. But R. Mosheh, of Leon, on the other hand, was the first not only to copy and to disseminate the *Zohar* in Europe, but also to disfigure it by sundry explanatory interpolations."

The following is the text of Isaac of Accho's letter, according to the above-mentioned manuscript:—

מצאתי בספר ר' יצחק דמן עכו שנחרבה בזמנו עכו ושבו כולם בזמן
בן בנו של הרמב"ן ובזמן ר' דוד בן אברהם בן הרמב"ם דל והוא הלך לספר
לחקור כיצד נמצא בזמנו ספר הזוהר אשר עשה ר' שמעון ור' אליעזר
במערה אשרי הזוכים לאמיתתו באורו יראו אור ואמר לאמתתו מפני שזיף
מקצתו המזויף אשר זיף ואמר שקבל שכל מה שנמצא בלשון ירושלמי
כי הם דברי ר' שמעון ואם תראה בלשון הקדש האמן כי אינם דבריו רק
דברי המזויף מפני שהספר האמיתי הוא בלשון ירושלמי כלו' זה לשונו:
ומפני ראיתי כי דבריו מופלאים ישאבו ממקור העליון המעין המשפיע
בלתי מקבל בשכמלו רדפתי אחריו ואשאלה את התלמידים הנמצאים
בידם דברים גדולים ממנו מאין בא להם סודות מופלאים מקובלים מפה
אל פה אשר לא יתנו ליכתב נמצאו שם מבוארים לכל קורא ספר ולא
מצאתי תשובותיהם על שאלתם זאת מכוונת זה אומר בכה זה אומר
בכה' שמעתי אומרים כי הרב הנאמן הרמב"ן דל שלח אותו מארץ ישראל
לקטלוניא לבנו והביאו הרוח לארץ ארגון ויש אומרים לאלקטם ונפל ביד
החכם ר' משה די ליאון הוא שאומרים עליו ר' משה די וודל הנזרה ויא
שמעולם לא חבר כזה חכם ספר זה אבל ר' משה זה יודע שם הכותב ובכחו
זה יכתוב ר' משה זה דברים מופלאים אלה ולמען יקח בהם מחיר גדול כסף
וזה רב תולה דבריו באשלי רברבי לאמר מתוך הספר אשר חבר ר' שמעון
בן יוחאי ור' אליעזר בנו וחביריו אני מעתיק לכם דברים אלו ואני כבאי
ספרד ואבא אל עיר ואלדוליד אשר המלך שם ואמצא שם לי' משה זה
ואמצא חן בעיניו וידבר עמי וידר לי' וישבע לי לאמר כה יעשה לי' אלהים
וכה יוסיף אם לא הספר הקדמון אשר חבר ר' שמעון בן יוחאי אשר הוא
היום בביתי במדינת ישיבתי היא אוילה בבואך שם אראך:

ויהי אחר הדברים האלה נפרד ממני וילך לו ר' משה זה אל עיר
אריבאלו לשוב אל ביתו לאוילה ויחלה באריבאלו וימת' כשמעי בשורה זו

ול. MS.

היטב חרה לי עד מות ואצא לי ואשים לדרך פעמי ואבא אל אוילה ומצאתי
 שם חכם גדול זקן ושמו ר' דוד די פאן קורבו¹ ואמצא חן בעיניו ואשביעהו
 לאמר הנתברו לו סודות ספר הזוהר שבני אדם נחלקים זה אומר בכת
 וזה אומר בכה² ור' משה עצמו נדר לי ולא הספיק עד שמת ואיני יודע
 על מי אסמוך ולדברי מי אאמין ויאמר דע באמת כי נתברר לי בלא ספק
 שמעולם לא בא לידו של ר' משה זה ואין בעולם ספר זוהר רק היה ר' משה
 בעל שם הכותב ובכחו כתב כל מה שכתב בספר הזה ועתה שמע נא באי
 זה דרך נתברר לידע כי ר' משה זה היה מפור גדול ומוציא בעין יפה
 מסוגו עד שהיום הזה ביתו מלא כסף וזהב שיתנו לו העשירים המבינים
 בסודות גדולים אלה אשר יתן להם כתובים בשם הכותב ומחר יתרוקן
 כולו עד שעזב אשתו ובתו הנה ערומות שריוות ברעב ובצמא בעירום
 ובחוסר כל וכששמענו כי מת בעיר אריבאלו ואקום ואלך אל העשיר הגדול
 אשר בעיד הזאת הנקרא ר' יוסף דאבילה ואומר לו עתה הניע העת אשר
 תוכה לספר הזוהר אשר לא ישרכנו זהב וזכוכית³ אם תעשה את אשר
 איעצך ועצתי היא זאת שיקרא ר' יוסף זה לאשתו ויאמר לה קחי נא מנחה
 נא⁴ ביד שפחתך ושלחי אותה לאשת ר' משה ותעש כן :

ויהי ממחרת ויאמר עוד לה לכי נא ביתה אשת ר' משה ואמרי לה דעי
 כי רצוני הוא להשיא את בתך לבני ואלך לא יחסר לחם לאכול ובנדר
 ללבוש כל ימך ואין אני מבקשת ממך דבר בעולם רק ספר הזוהר אשר
 היה אישך מעתיק ממנו ונותן לבני אדם דברים אלה תאמרי לאשתו לבד
 ולבתו לכד ותשמעי את דבריהם אשר יענוכה וטראה האם מכוונים אם
 לא⁵ ותלך ותעש כן⁶ ותען אשת ר' משה ותשבעל אשת ר' יוסף לאמר כה
 יעשה אלהים וכה יוסיף אם מעולם ספר זה היה עם אישי אבל מראשו
 ולבו מדעתו ושכלו כתב כל אשר כתב ואומרה לו בראותם אותו כותב
 מבלעדי דבר לפניו מדוע תאמר שאתה מעתיק מספר ואתה אין לך ספר
 אלא מראשך אתה כותב הלא נאה לך לומר כי משכלך אתה כותב ויותר
 כבוד יהיה לך⁷ ויען אלי ויאמר אליו אודיע להם סודי זה שמשכלי אני
 כותב לא ישיחו בדברי ולא יתנו בעבורם פרומה כי יאמרו כי מלכו הוא
 בודאם אבל עתה כאשר ישמעו שמתוך ספר הזוהר אשר חבר ר' שמעון
 בן יוחאי ברוח הקדש אני מעתיק יקנו אותם בדמים יקרים כאשר עניך
 וראות⁸ אחרי כן דברה אשת ר' יוסף זה עם בתו של ר' משה את הדברים
 אשר דברה עם אמה להשיאה לבנה ולתת לאמה לחם ושמלה ותען לה
 כאשר ענתה אמה לא פחות ולא יותר⁹ התרצה עדות ברורה מזו כשמעי
 דבריו אלה נשתוממתי וגבהלתי מאד ואאמין אז כי לא היה שם ספר רק
 בשם הכותב היה כותב ונותן לבני אדם¹⁰ ואסע מאבילת ואבא עיר
 טאלאבירה ואמצא שם חכם גדול מופלא נדיב לב וטוב עין שמו ר' יוסף
 הלוי בנו של ר' מודרוס המקובל ואחקרה ממנו על אודות הספר הזה ויען

¹ Or קורבו.² So.

ויאמר אלי דע והאמן כי הספר הזוהר אשר חבר ר' שמעון בן יוחאי היה בידו של ר' משה זה וממנו יעתיק ויתן לאחר טוב בעיניו ;
ועתה ראה נא בחינה גדולה אשר בחנתיו לר' משה אם מתוך ספר קדמון יעתיק או בכח שם הכותב יכתוב . והביחינה היתה שימים רבים אחרי כותבו לי קונדריסים גדולים ואומרה לו כי אבד ממני ואחל את פניו להעתיקו לו שנית ויאמר אלי הראני נא אחרית קונדרים אשר לפניו וראשית קונדרים אשר יבא אחריו ואני אעתיקו לך שלם כראשון אשר אבד לך ואעש כן אחרי ימים מועטים נתן לי הקונדרים מועתק ואניהו עם הראשון וארא כי אין ביניהם הפרש כלל לא תוספת ולא מנרעת לא שנוי ענין ולא שנוי דברים אבל שפה אחת ודברים אחרים כאלו הועתק קונדרם מקונדרים היתכן בחינה גדולה מזו ונסיון חזק מזה :
ואסעה מטלבריה ואבואה עיר טליטלה ואוסף לחקור על ספר אל החכמים ותלמידיהם ועדיין מצאתים חלוקים זה זה אומר בכה וזה אומר בכה וכאשר ספרתי להם בחינת החכם ר' יוסף הנזכר אמרו לי שאין זה ראיה כי נוכל לומר שטרם נותנו לאדם קונדרים מהשם הכותב יעתיקו תחלה לעצמו ולעולם לא יתרוקן ממנו אבל יעתיק ויתן יעתיק כמעתיק מספר קדמון אמנם נתחדש לי ענין כי אמרו לי תלמידים שראו איש זקן ושמו ר' יעקב תלמיד מובהק של ר' משה זה אשר היה אוהבו כנפשו שהיה מעיד עליו שמים וארץ שספר הזוהר אשר חבר ר' שמעון :
ומזה הספר היה חסר עליו שם ובעבור זה לא סימתי מה עלה בידו מכל זה :

I found in the book of R. Isaac of Acoho, which town was destroyed in his time, and all were made prisoners in the time of the grandson of Nahmanides, and in that of R. David, son of Abraham, son of Maimonides, that Isaac went to Spain in order to investigate how the *Zohar*, composed by R. Simeon and R. Eleazar in a cave, was found in Isaac's time. Blessed are those who reach to the truth of it, in its light they will see lights (Psalms xxxvi. 9) ; and for the truth, he said (there are, indeed, some falsifications), that he received that all which is found in it written in the Jerusalem dialect (Aramaic) is by R. Simeon ; whatever is written in Hebrew are not words of Simeon, but by a forger, for the true book was entirely composed in the Aramaic dialect. Isaac says :

"Since I saw that the wonderful words are drawn from a high source, I followed it up and asked the disciples whence they had obtained these mysterious words which are only handed on from mouth to mouth, and never written. Their answers did not agree together. I heard that Nahmanides sent the *Zohar* from the Holy Land to his son in Catalonia and the spirit¹ brought it to Aragon, and according to others, to Alicante, where it fell into the hands of Moses of Leon, who is also called Moses of Guadalupe. Others say that Moses never composed the book, but he

¹ Or, the wind, i.e., an angel (Psalm civ. 4).

wrote it with the name of the writer,¹ and in order to gain money by it, he attributed it to Simeon ben Yohai, to his son Eleazar, and their companions, saying that he copied it from their writing. When I came to Spain, I went to Valladolid and met there R. Moses; I found grace in his eyes, and he assured me with an oath that the old book which R. Simeon b. Yohai had composed is now in his house at Avila, adding, I will show it to you when we arrive there.

"He then separated from me, going towards Arivalo on his way home, where he fell ill and died; when I heard these tidings, I was very grieved. I then went to Avila, where I found R. David,² whom I urgently asked to tell me about the mystery concerning the *Zohar*, about which opinions are so divided. I told him that Moses of Leon promised me that he would clear up the mystery, when he suddenly died; thus I do not know whom to believe. R. David said: I am sure that Moses never had the book (which never existed), but he wrote it with the name of the writer. Now listen how I shall get at the truth; Moses was in the habit of spending a great deal of money, which rich people lavished upon him for the communication of his mysteries; so prodigal was he that he left his wife and his daughter entirely unprovided for. And when we heard that he died at Arivalo, I said to Joseph of Avila, a very rich man, as follows: Now is the time to get hold of the precious book, if you will follow my advice, as follows:—'Send your wife with a present to the wife of Moses, as well as to her daughter, telling the former that you are willing to marry your son to her daughter, and provide for both, for which you ask only the original of the *Zohar*, out of which Moses made his copies. The same proposal should be made separately to Moses' daughter; you will then see if they agree in their answers.' The wife of Moses affirmed on oath that her husband never had such a book, but he wrote all out of his brain, adding that she told him often, Why do you say that you copy from a book instead of avowing that you are the author of it, which would be more to your credit; to which his answer was, If I said so no one will care for it, and consequently not give a penny for it, but being the copy of the *Zohar*, composed by Simeon ben Yochai, and inspired by the Holy Ghost, they buy it, as you see, for a heavy sum. The same was said independently by Moses' daughter. Joseph said to Isaac, Do you want a clearer statement than that? Isaac continues:—When I heard these words I was astonished and perplexed, so that I believed that the *Zohar* never existed, and that Moses wrote the book with the help of the name of the writer, and sold it to various persons. I then left Avila and went to Talavera, where I

¹ A Kabbalistic term for "by the help of a holy name." According to a passage in a MS. given by Herr Senior Sachs (*Kerem Hemed*, VIII., p. 105), it was Joseph ben Todros ha-Levi, who was in possession of this wonderful name. No wonder then that Moses de Leon could have made use of it.

² The next words are still uncertain.

found the great and noble R. Joseph ha Levi, son of the Kabbalist R. Todros ; from him I also inquired concerning the *Zohar*. He said to me : —I believe that Moses possessed the original of the *Zohar*, composed by Simeon ben Yohai, from which he made copies and gave them to whom he pleased. Now I can give you a proof that Moses copied from an old book, viz., when he gave me a great part of his copies, and I pretended to have lost them, and when I asked him to make for me a second copy he replied, Show me the end of the quatrain which preceded the lost one, as well as the beginning of the next which follows, so that I may copy the missing one as perfectly as it was before. I did as he asked me, and after a few days he brought me another copy, which I compared with the one I had pretended was lost, and I saw no difference between the two ; there was nothing more and nothing less, no variations as to the contents as well as to the words. Can there be a stronger proof than this ?

“ Then I left Talavera and came to Toledo, where I continued my investigations concerning the *Zohar*, and here I also found that opinions differed concerning it ; and when I told them of R. Joseph's proof, which I have mentioned above, they said, That proves nothing, because Moses might have copied the quatrain for himself before he gave it to anyone, and this copy he kept always, which served him as the model. There is also a new fact concerning this book, viz., disciples told me that they saw an old man whose name was R. Jacob, a favourite pupil of Moses, who confirmed on oath that the *Zohar* was composed by R. Simeon. . . .”

Zakkutho says : “ Isaac's book was defective in this place, and consequently I cannot give his further statements concerning the *Zohar*.”

From this document we may conclude that the *Zohar* was, at the time of Isaac of Accho, written partly in Hebrew and partly in Aramaic. It seems that this was still the case in the copy of the book out of which R. Israel al-Naqawah (died 1391) took his quotations, which are to be found in his ethico-theological work *מנורת חמץ*, “ Lamp of the Light ” (not to be confounded with a similar work of the same title by Isaac Aboab), a MS. of which is in the Bodleian. (See concerning his work Mr. S. Schechter's article in the *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Literatur*, 1885, pp. 114 and 234 sqq.). Israel gives some quotations in Aramaic from a Midrash *ירי יאר* (he never uses the title of *Zohar*, the Yohasin mentions both titles), which agree *verbatim* with our editions of the *Zohar*, and other passages in Hebrew, which are to be found in the

Zohar in Aramaic. We shall give two instances only, from which it can be seen that Israel did not translate the *Zohar*, but quoted from a Hebrew original. Israel, however, never attributes the *אורי יודי* to R. Simeon ben Yohai.

1. Fol. 24b in the chapter on Prayers, he quotes the following passages:

וגרסי במדרש יהי אור אם עולה קרבנו מן הבקר איך יוסי מאי שנא מן הבקר לעולה ומן הצאן לעולה ומן העוף לעולה אלא לכל אחד ואחד כפי השנת ידו. אם יכול להקריב בקר יקריב. ואם לאו מקריב צאן. ואם לאו מקריב עוף דכתיב ואם דל הוא ואין ידו משנת שהביה אינו ממריח על אדם להקריב יותר מיכלתו. אמר ר' אלעזר כפי מה שהיה החוטא היה מקריב הקרבן עשיר שלבו גם עליו מקריב מן הבקר. בינוני מקריב מן הצאן מפני שאין לבו גם עליו ורוחו שפלה מקריב הקל מן הכל שהוא העוף. והביה הן דין כל אחד ואחד. שאל ר' אלעזר לר' שמעון בן יוחאי אביו ואמר לו שנינו על שלש עבירות רעב בא לעולם ועונות אינן מצויין בעניים אלא בעשירים שלכם גם עליהם. ואינן מצויים לפי שרוחם נמוכה וקורשא בריך הוא לא עביר הנא בלא הנא. מדוע העניים שלא חטאו מתים ברעב והעשירים שעברו על שלש עבירות שבעולם הרעב בא אינם מתים כדי שיוסיפו לחטוא לפניו: אמר לו כשהיב רוצה לפרע מן הרשעים ולאבד אותם מן העולם מרם משפיע להם הטובה בוא וראה ללים שהביה משתמש בהם. מה הם לב נשבר ונדכה וכשבצורת בא לעולם ויחזק הרעב על העניים מיד הן בוכין וגועין לפני הביה ושומע תפלתן שני כי לא בזה ולא שקץ ענות עני אוי להם לרשעים שהם בהשקט ובבטחה. ועכשיו כשהרעב בא אוי להם לחייבים שבעשירים בקולן של צדיקים שבעניים איך ר' שמעון זבחי אלהים רוח נשברה זבחי אלהים מדת הדין וימא מדת הרחמים. כך הזוכה ברוח נשברה הוא מונע מדת הדין ויגברו מדת הרחמים על מדת הדין. כך המתפלל ברוח נשברה כאלו הקריב זבחים לפני הביה ברוח נשברה יתגבר מדת הדין על מדת הרחמים. כי התפלות הם במקום הזבחים והקרבנות:

Compare with *Zohar* ויקרא, fol. 8b of the *editio princeps*.

2. Fol. 39b—וגרסי במדרש יהי אור איך יצחק אם הכהן המשיח יחטא. לאשמת העם. זה כהן שחתקין את עצמו לעבודה ונמצא בו חטא. לאשמת העם מאי וי לאינון דסמיכין עליה כיוצא בדבר שיצ שחטא וירד לפני התיבה וי לאינון דסמיכין עליה. ר' אלעזר ור' אבא היו יושבין לפני אלעזר בר שמעון אמר ר' אלעזר ראיתי לאבא ביום ראש השנה ויום הכפורים שלא רצה לשמוע תפלה אלא אם עמד שלשה ימים קודם לטהר אותו והיה אומר כתפלת שליח צבור שאם ממחר אותו קודם העולם מתבקר

וכי' בתקיעת שופר שלא היה שומע שופר אלא ממי שהיה חכם ברוח
השופר ובטעם בתקיעות :

Compare *Zohar*, *ibidem* fol. 18.

It is perhaps worthy of mention that the convert, Alfonso de Zamora, the coadjutor of Cardinal Ximenez quotes, in his controversial treatise, with other books, also passages of the *Zohar* in pure Hebrew.¹

Modern critics like Landauer, Graetz, Jellinek, and others have shown from the mention of the crusades in the *Zohar*, from the word *eshnogah* (אשנוגה) for synagogue (already observed by the great orthodox rabbi, Jacob Emden, who utterly condemned the *Zohar* on literary grounds), and from other passages that the *Zohar* could not have been written by R. Simeon ben Yohai. They have done the same in the case of the *Bahir*. But critical arguments are of no account among the orthodox school. Will it awaken to its senses after having read the judgment of the Provence Rabbis upon the *Bahir*, and the doubts thrown by Isaac of Accho on the *Zohar*, or will anyone dare to pronounce these MS. documents to be spurious? If R. Meir ben Simeon of Narbonne forged the signature of the Great Meshullam, and Abraham Zakkutho interpolated Isaac of Accho's work, there remains indeed no further argument to produce.

A. NEUBAUER.

The *editio princeps* of the יחסי' (Constantinople, 1566, quaterna 36, 2b) has also this letter in some shortened and inaccurate recensions; the second edition (Cracovie, 1588) omits it for obvious reasons. The edition of London, 1857, gives it according to the MS. of the Bodleian Library (Catalogue 2202, fol. 199b), which text is reproduced by Prof. Graetz (*Geschichte der Juden*, t. vii., p. 470 of the 2nd edition). The editor, the late Filipowski (fol. 88b seqq.), has the following misreadings: Graetz, p. 470, l. 3 (l. 1a) לא חמישי' instead of חמישים, thus Graetz's emendation is confirmed by the new MS.; l. 4, MS. באישטליא (Estella), instead of באיטאליא ;

¹ See *Archives des Missions Scientifiques et Littéraires*, Second Series, t. v., p. 428 (Paris, 1868).

the emendation of Prof. Graetz is consequently unnecessary; l. 9, האמן for הלשן ירושלמי ואם תראה בלשון הקדש האמן, l. 10, האמן; l. 11, האמון; l. 11, המקעין המשפיע בלתי מקבל, l. 13, מאין for ואין, which is a right emendation; l. 13, נמצאו for נמצאו; l. 16, הרוח for הריח, which is a right emendation; l. 16, לאלקנמ for לאלקנמ; l. 17, דוד for דוד; l. 17, אלחנארה; l. 17, חכם for כזה חכם; l. 19, לאמור for ואמר; l. 25, שם is not in the MS.; l. 26, ר' דוד רבאן קורכו; Page 471, l. ארבלו for ארבלו; l. 3, ר' יוסף דאבילה; l. 4, אשר תעשה; l. 13, ויחזר כבוד יהיה לך; l. 20, MS. has מלאבירה; l. 34, המעתיק for כמעתיק.

THE JEWS OF MOROCCO.

WHILE so much righteous indignation is being stirred up among us with regard to the barbarities daily chronicled in Russia, we are apt to overlook the condition of the Jews in Barbary itself. From time to time statements are made on behalf of the Jews of Morocco, and momentary interest is aroused, but ere long they seem again forgotten. Shall we wait until the treatment meted out under the *régime* of the Czar is imitated under that of the Sultan of the Maghreb? Or shall we, by united effort and by timely zeal, prevent the arrival of such a crisis? Which were better, to be snatched from drowning or to be kept from danger? It is seven-and-twenty years since the mission of Sir Moses Montefiore to Marrakesh obtained some slight concessions to the Jewish subjects of the Sultan, for which they have been ever thankful; but there is much more to be done. Bad as the position of the Moor himself is, under a rotten Government, that of his Israelitish neighbour is much worse, and ever will be till the Morocco rulers learn that even Jews have friends, and powerful ones, and that many of themselves are powerful. With a new generation the memories of the Montefiore Mission have passed away, and though the whole policy of the Moorish Government and its attitude towards foreigners have undergone changes for the better during the past quarter of a century, there is still much to be done. At the same time, the fact must not be overlooked that no royal or imperial rescripts, no Shereefian firmans, can afford the Morocco Jews the friendship or respect which they would fain experience. Nothing but their own behaviour can secure them these, and it will be long before the evil impressions of ages can be removed.

For a right appreciation of the present position and

future prospects of these communities some idea of their past history is needful. Though of course of one common stock, they are divided into two distinct classes, the one being formed of the descendants of those who first settled in Morocco, now to be found in their unmixed state only in the interior, chiefly in the Atlas. The other class consists of those who emigrated to Morocco when in the fifteenth century zeal-mad Spain expelled her Jewish subjects. Those who took refuge on the Moorish coast soon absorbed their co-religionists in their neighbourhood, and gave rise to what is to-day the more cultured and important section of the two. It will be well, therefore, to consider them separately before drawing any general conclusion applicable to the whole, though it is as one body that after all they appear to their rulers and the outside world. The main distinction has ever been the language, for while the one has spoken Berber and Arabic, the other has spoken Spanish and Arabic. The proportion who speak both Berber and Spanish—always with the intermediary Arabic—is microscopic, if it exists at all. As in other countries, the Jews of Morocco have shown themselves apt linguists, ever ready to master French or English in addition to their mother tongues, but the special facilities afforded in favour of the former in some towns enable it to be spoken the more correctly. The lads in the Tangier schools put the majority of English boys to shame with their assiduity and perseverance in this respect. The merest smattering is turned to the best account in practice upon visitors, till the progress made is often astonishing.

HISTORY.

How far back to date the first arrival of Israelites in that part of Barbary which we call Morocco, I am at a loss to say, though no doubt some of the diligent historical delvers, who bring so much of interest to light through the pages of this Review and kindred publications,

may be able to inform us. My researches have lain rather among such materials as during six years on the spot have come to hand in daily intercourse with my subject, than among dusty tomes and worm-worn pages. The people themselves have no intelligent idea of their past, beyond that at some stage or other their ancestors hailed from the Holy City. Some have opined that one of the earlier dispersions sent them forth, and doubtless there are in Morocco a few descended thus; but from the completeness of the teachings in their possession, it is evident that the bulk of the immigrants belonged to a later period.

The utmost I can attempt to do is to bring together a few scattered data gleaned from various sources, which, with no pretence at completeness, may serve as beacon lights along their history. The earliest authentic references I have come across are in connection with the invasion of the Arabs cir. 670 C.E., who found Jews already established in Morocco. Several references to this fact occur among the native historians, but one of the most curious is by Ibn Khaldoun, who says that in the year 688 the Berbers were allied against the Arabs under a queen named Dhimmeeah el Kahánah, or the Tributary Soothsayer, who belonged to *the Jewish tribe* of Jerocaa, of the Aures mountains. Where these are I know not, but the designation "tributary" is that always applied to a Jew in Moorish legal documents, instead of the national appellatives, Yahoodi or Hebráni, the former of which is in conversation applied to the people, and the latter to their language. Similar allusions in various quarters show that a goodly number of Jews must even at that early date have found their home in Morocco. In one of the legends which recount in so many ways the founding of Fez, about 807 C.E., a native Jew plays his part, and as soon as the town began to rise, a number of Jews took refuge there, and were allotted a quarter to themselves, on the payment of tribute of 30,000 dinars a year in lieu of military service. This tax continues to be levied, not

only in Fez, but throughout the kingdom, though of course the sum has increased very many times during these centuries. Owing to the present Sultan's generosity this tax has been paid very irregularly, and is much in arrear in some parts.

In 1275 the mob rose against the Jews of Fez, and fourteen had already been slain when the Ameer, riding to the spot himself, succeeded in quelling the tumult. He forbade any Moor to approach the Jewish quarter, and next morning laid the foundation stones of New Fez, in which he accorded them the district they still inhabit. Previous to this time it would seem from the record called Raod el Kártas (the Garden of Documents) that their home was in the centre of the old town, for in 1133, when the famous Karueein Mosque was enlarged, the adjoining property of certain Jews had to be seized and paid for at a valuation. The quarters thus allotted to their Jewish subjects by the Moorish Sultans after a time became known either as the Mellah (place of salt), or as the Missoos (the saltless place). The former designation is explained by the fact that the Jewish butchers are forced to pickle the heads of rebels which are to be exhibited according to custom above the gates of the towns as a warning to others. The latter name is given in derision, saltlessness and worthlessness being terms proverbially synonymous.

It is probable that the Jewish inhabitants of Morocco have never been free from a certain amount of oppression,¹ and that from the first they have had to suffer indignities which have long been regarded from both sides as matters of course. Under the heading of the present condition of the Moorish Jews an opportunity will be afforded of dealing further with these indignities, of which too many still exist, as also with the causes or excuses for some of them.

¹ For the persecutions of the Jews of Morocco and of North Africa generally, during the reign of Abd Allah bin Toomert, cir. 1146, see Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, VI. 170.

Whether any of the Jews expelled from Italy in 1342, from Holland in 1350, from France and England about 1400, found refuge in Morocco, with most of those expelled from Spain in 1492,¹ and from Portugal two years later, I must leave others to determine, but it is very likely that to them some of the Moroccan families owe their origin. Those who sought shelter with the Moors from the outset suffered treatment hardly better than that which had driven them forth, and the story of their sufferings is a harrowing one.

PAGES OF HONOUR.

In spite of the subservient position enforced upon these "Tributaries" by their cousins, the Arabs, their inherent cleverness was no less manifest in Barbary than elsewhere, and those who oppressed them also took care to avail themselves of their business qualities. At times the rulers of the Empire drew their chief advisers from this race. The influential posts once held by Jews under the Moorish dominion of Spain, and the renown of many of their learned men during that period of comparative enlightenment, are sufficiently known to need no recapitulation here; but it may be well to recall the names of some of the famous Israelitish diplomats of the Moorish Empire in Africa. Their most prosperous time in Morocco itself would seem to have commenced soon after the expulsion from Spain, and it was doubtless the arrival of so many men of higher training and superior ability which secured them these posts. Shoomel-el-Barensi was one of the first to rise to power, as Minister of the Ameer Saïd-el-Watas, who reigned during the first quarter of the sixteenth cen-

¹ Prof. Graetz, *ibid.*, VIII. (ed. 3, 1890), p. 360, *seq.*, gives a full account of the Jews who found an asylum on the Berber Coast in 1391, as also in 1492. In Fez exiles at the latter date were well received by Mulaï Sheikh, though the populace at first was unfavourably disposed to them. A general survey of the Jews in Morocco is given in the opening chapter of Graetz's ninth volume.

tury; and his influential position opened the court of Fez to many a co-religionist. This was the hey-day of the Moorish Jews, as one after another of their number became a sort of privy councillor, notably during the reign of Mohammed VIII., in 1576. As controllers of finances the successive Sultans had the same experience of them as have European potentates, but they also employed them as ambassadors. In 1610 Shoomel-el-Farrāshī was sent by Mūlāi Zeedān as his representative to the United Provinces, and he was succeeded in 1675 by Yoosef Toledano, whose brother Haīm was Ambassador to England. Few ever exercised more power in the Moorish Court than did the favoured Maīmaran at the close of the seventeenth century, without whose money and influence the brutal Mūlāi Ismāīl would never have reached the sultanate. Though he virtually ruled his poorer brethren, he had a formidable rival in Moses Ben Attar, whose inhumanities rivalled those of his master. It is this man's signature which appears as Moorish plenipotentiary at the foot of the treaty with Great Britain of 1721, which was the basis of every subsequent agreement with European nations, and also laid the foundation of the Protection system. It is a curious and interesting fact that a Jew should have, on the Moorish side, permitted the entrance of the thin end of a wedge which has since entered so much further as to have become not only the *sine quā non* of intimate European relations with Morocco, but also the one hope of the Jews in the country almost ever since that time. But Ben Attar's competitor Maīmaran offered the Sultan so many coins for his head, and the millionaire Moses of those days, being informed of the bid, offered twice as much to reverse the bargain, which then became his; but the Sultan, having pocketed both sums, commanded the two he could so ill spare to become friends, Maīmaran to give his daughter to Ben Attar, who henceforth stood supreme. An instance of both his power and his cruelty was afforded on the occasion of the British

Embassy of 1720, when he had his Gibraltar agent brutally maltreated and all but strangled for cheating, without the interference of any other authority, or the semblance of a trial.

In 1750 the Morocco Ambassador to Denmark was a Jew, and thirty years later Yakooob ben Ibráheem, of Beni Idder, came to London in the same capacity, being succeeded in 1794 by one named Zumbal, who had been in charge of the Sultan's finances, and was high in favour. St. Olon had found him thus when he went to Marrákesh as envoy from France just afterwards. Yakooob Attar, who acted as secretary to Mohammed X., had the credit of speaking English, French, Spanish and Italian—presumably in an original style—and of being a great rogue. In 1859 an English Jew from York was captain of the port at Mogador, and it is stated that one Sultan had a Jewish cook.

To-day, though no son of Israel holds office of note under the Sultan, many of those whose parents enjoyed European protection, and who have become to a greater or less extent Europeanized, occupy positions of influence, both among natives and foreigners, such as hardly a single Moor has attained.

FOLK LORE AND FACT.

There exist among the Moors a number of curious traditions concerning tribes among the Berbers who are affirmed to have once been Jews. Unfortunately these are too fragmentary and too scattered to be of any real service till they have been collated, compared and condensed by some painstaking student of Folk Lore. To such an one there is little doubt that they would yield abundant interest, and at the same time furnish historic clues of importance. In a similar way other tribes in the Anti-Atlas are reported to have once been Christian, and an entangled series of myths is current about them all. To unravel the most prominent would be a worthy undertaking, but a toilsome labour of love.

This question as to the presumed Jewish origin of certain tribes is of itself most interesting, and there is probably some foundation for it. One writer states that MŪLĀI Edrees, the founder of Fez, was considered a saint because he secured the conversion of so many Jews to Islam. The unfortunate Davidson, who rashly attempted to cross the Atlas unprepared, half a century ago, and lost his life in consequence, was told of such a tribe who betrayed their origin by their features, and who, according to the Arabs, had a Jewish odour about them. They engaged in commerce only, or acted as clerks, and although Mohammedans, never attained to high civil or religious positions, nor did they observe the Friday as the "Day of the Congregation."

Side by side with these rather doubtful reports of conversions is a series of accounts of advantage taken of some thoughtless word to inflict punishments for presumed apostasy. In 1820 a Jew, in a tipsy condition, was caught entering a mosque, and was induced to testify belief in the Divine mission of Mohammed. Realising, when sober, next day, what he had done, he went to the governor to explain the matter, but word being sent to the Sultan that he had recanted, the answer came, "On the arrival of the courier, off with the Jew's head and send it to me." Within half an hour after the message arrived the head was on its way to Court in a leather bag.

The story of Sol Hachuel is far more touching, and is, indeed, one of genuine heroism. Two Moorish women swore, in 1834, that this Hebrew girl, who had fled to them on account of domestic troubles, had agreed to "resign herself" to the will of God as taught by Mohammed. After imprisonment for some time, she was sent to Court, and her extreme beauty obtained for her a promise of the imperial hareem with every honour, if she would but confirm her presumed change of creed. But her noble courage brought her to a martyr's death, for she was beheaded outside Fez.

It is hardly possible that this sort of thing should be

repeated now, though theoretically the same threats exist for the pervert from the faith of Islam. Richardson, writing in 1859, tells a story, then fresh, of a Jewish lad, who went to his Kaïd and proclaimed himself Mohammedan, but this official, with greater sense than usual, sent him to prison till next day, when he had him beaten and sent back home. In reply to King John of England, whom a well-known ecclesiastical historian¹ states to have appealed to Morocco for help against Louis and the Pope, —offering to hold his kingdom in fief from Morocco, and to embrace Islam—the Sultan En-Nâser expressed a similar sentiment. “I have read a book in Greek by a Christian sage named Paul,” he told one of the ambassadors,² “whose words and doings greatly pleased me, but what displeased me was that he left the religion in which he was born. I say as much to the king, your master, who now wishes to leave the Christian law, so holy and so pure. God knows—He who is ignorant of nothing—that if I was without religion I would choose it in preference to any other.” But Mûlâi En-Nâser overlooked the fact that Paul accepted Jesus as the promised Messiah because he was born and remained a Jew; that to become a Christian one must become a Jew by religion first, and that to become Mohammedan great portions of the teachings of both must be accepted. Mohammed held his creed to be the natural outcome of Christianity as we Christians consider our creed the fulfilment of Judaism.

A set of traditions, perhaps more curious than those of desertions from the Jewish ranks, exists to account for the earliest peopling of the country itself. Authors, too many to quote, tell of legends that Morocco welcomed the nations whom Joshua drove out of Canaan, and from Procopius downwards they have offered proofs in the shape of pillars with inscriptions, and stories handed down without them, but hitherto all these have failed to prove their case,

¹ Matthew Paris.² Robert of London, a priest.

although it may nevertheless have some foundation in fact.

PRESENT CONDITION.

Morocco is an absolutely non-statistical country ; for this reason it is altogether impossible to arrive at any conclusion as to the actual numbers of the Moorish Jews, or even as to the proportion which they bear to the population of the country. Even if one endeavours to mentally form an idea, it is an impossibility to do so without an intimate acquaintance with every town of the Empire, for they are much more numerous in one part than in another, and even their agglomeration in one town often means their sparsity in its immediate neighbourhood. In Tangier, the advantages afforded by the presence of so many foreigners, by the opportunities for trade, and, above all, by the comparative immunity from the indignities inflicted further inland, have all tended to allure considerable numbers, and to keep them there. For these reasons it is probable that, out of some 25,000 inhabitants, of whom some 5,000 are Europeans (there are 3,500 Spaniards and 500 British subjects on their respective Consular registers), as many as 7,000 or 8,000 are Israelites. Mogador, which ranks second to Tangier as a busy port, takes the same position with regard to its Jewish population. It has been estimated by men well able to judge that the average proportion of the Jewish inhabitants of the towns is one-fourth ; though out in the country, with the exception of the Atlas district, it is only under the protection of powerful governors, few and far between, that little colonies of the peculiar people thrive. The largest settlement is naturally found in the largest city, Fez, the dwellers in which are reckoned at 150,000, including, perhaps, 30,000 Jews.

With the exception of the ports of Tangier, Arzila, Casablanca, Mazagan, and Saffi, every town, and almost every hamlet, has its Jewish quarter, wherein alone, enclosed by gates at night, the sons of Israel are allowed to

live. The sacred city of Zerhôn they and all foreigners are prevented from even approaching, and in Wazzán they live in rookeries on sufferance. It is curious that, in 1834, they were not to be found in Saffi or Agadeer. Perhaps the fanaticism concomitant with the veneration in which the rabat, or camp, of the former port is held had something to do with that case. It was only in the end of the last century that Chenier, when representing France there, broke the spell, as it were, by boldly riding through on horseback, where Jews and foreigners were previously compelled to stumble bare-foot. It should be remembered that, till within the last fifty years, "Christians"—a term which in Morocco is equivalent to "foreigners"—and Jews were classed together and treated alike. It is only awe of the superior power of the former which has secured them the privileges they now enjoy. Even to this day, unrecommended foreigners are forced to dwell in the Jewries of the interior and some of the ports, no Muslim daring to take them in without an order. In certain places, Jews who can afford it dwell outside the Mellah, in the portion allotted to Europeans, but this is not possible everywhere. In the country, several districts are reported to be without Jewish inhabitants, such as the Berber tribes of Benî M'teer, Benî M'gild, Benî Waghaïn, Ait Yoossi, Zemmoor Shilh, and Zâïr.

THE ATLAS JEWS.

Of these, who speak only Berber, we have yet very much indeed to learn. There are stories current about agricultural colonies dwelling beyond the Atlas, which, if true, would add a further interest to an already fascinating subject. The man who has given to the world the most complete account of the peoples of that district, meagre as it is, is De Foucauld, the prince of Morocco explorers, the only one worthy of the name. From him we know that the customs observed in comparatively well-known dis-

tricts with regard to them extend to the whole of the vast area embraced by the Great and Lesser Atlas. Their condition there varies between that of serfs and slaves. Sometimes they are practically the property of the local sheikh, and at others they belong to private individuals, who have the right to sell them. They are not only compelled to do much without payment, but they are imposed upon at every turn. They may not marry, nor remove their families, till they have, to all intents and purposes, re-bought themselves. All this is inflicted in the name of protection, without which they would not be safe for a day. Yet some five-and-twenty shillings has been considered sufficient blood money for one of these unfortunates. On the other hand, outsiders are permitted to do them no injury, which would be considered as inflicted upon their protector, who makes the duty of revenging it a point of honour. Disputes of this nature between powerful men not infrequently lead to intertribal quarrels. In travelling it is sufficient for the *protégé* to bear some article belonging to his master to ensure his safety, written documents being scarce up there, with few to understand them. The treatment that individuals receive depends entirely on the temper and the pleasure of their masters, for their chance of redress for injury is practically *nil*, so that their position is in some respects worse even than that of negro slaves, who, being Mohammedans, may benefit from certain rights in law, denied to those who spurn their Prophet. Centuries of this oppression have naturally had a very deleterious effect upon the characters of the victims, who are cringing, cowardly creatures, never daring to answer back, and seldom even standing erect—a people demanding our utmost pity.

DAILY INDIGNITIES.

From the day of his birth till all trace of his last resting-place has disappeared, the Hebrew of Morocco is despised and scorned. "Dog of a Jew!" is a very mild term to be

employed in abusing him, and the soubriquets of "ass!" and "swine!" stand in equal favour. But the various indignities to which his race is exposed in daily life differ too much in one district from what they are in another for any complete list to apply universally. I shall, therefore, only attempt to take notice of the chief, with the exception of those specially connected with the serfdom of the Atlas, dealt with already. The enforced collection in Mellahs, except round Tangier, outside which they may acquire no lands or property, has been noted. As at times the Moors have made raids upon the riches concentrated in these Mellahs, the gates are strictly shut and watched at night for their protection. In the day-time, in most towns, except on the coast, they can only leave their quarter barefoot, and until recently they could not ride in towns, and outside only on mules, with the exception of the Hazzán (Rabbi). Before certain Mosques they must always remove their shoes, and formerly this was incumbent also upon the women, till Múlái Suláimán exempted them, in the words of a quaint writer, "because it was indecent and disturbing to devotion to see their tremendous calves." To leave the country, the men used to have to pay \$4 and the women \$100, and sometimes the departure of the latter is still prohibited. The compulsory dress is considered also an indignity, which is fast being laid aside in favour of European ugliness, when foreign protection is obtained. Múlái Ábder Rahman objected to this, and once ordered all dressed as foreigners to be stripped and put in black again, a colour no Moor ever wears in any garment. It is most unfortunate that the younger ladies on the coast are so misinformed as to reject their own becoming costumes to such an extent as they do, in favour of hideous Parisian fashions, not to be compared for beauty or grace with that worn by their mothers. Many of the elder members of the community are conservative enough to retain the time-honoured style, but their juniors think they know better.

For an unprotected Jew to lift his hand against or curse

a Moor would be to bring down untold vengeance on his head. Yet in the Muslim Courts they may tender no evidence on oath—nor may the foreigners—so that they are obliged by *force majeure* to put up with whatever is inflicted on them. At one time the slightest retaliation meant death to the avenger, however he might have been provoked, except by violation of domicile. While in Tangier considerable laxity of these restrictions is allowed, in other parts they are much more severe, and every day unlucky Jews are punished for imaginary offences or out of pure spite. Lack of civility to a Moor, or outbidding him on the market becomes an offence, and an attempt to seek the aid of strangers an unpardonable crime.

In addition to the poll-tax, it has always been customary for the Jewish subjects of the Sultans to present them with specially valuable offerings on the occasions of family festivals. Though these continue, they are not now the irksome impost which they once were. A century ago, the usual thing was, on the birth of a son to the Emperor, to contribute gold pendants and earrings set with pearls, with gold plates bearing as inscriptions prayers in favour of mother and child. The value of this jewellery was estimated in 1715 at £15, a much more considerable sum in those days and in that country than it represents to us—and as Mûlâi Ismael was credited with some 900 sons, and received this amount for each, as well as similar articles in silver (minus the pearls) for some 300 daughters, he must have reaped a considerable harvest in this field alone. Forced labour, and the most unreasonable levies of manufactured goods, have also been frequently inflicted on this much-suffering people. In public works, such as the building of the walls of Mequinez and Tetuan, we have it on record how they, by the side of the European slaves were compelled to toil unpaid. When Mûlâi Ismael was besieging Ceuta during a space of many months, he was wont to make the Jews supply the powder used on Fridays, when they did the chief cannonading.

COSTUME.

The peculiar dress to which unprotected male Jews in Morocco are confined, consists outwardly of a dark blue or black gaberdine of a sort of felt cloth, embroidered with narrow silk braid of the same hue, in which is worked on the right-hand side a distinctive badge almost identical with that once worn in England. Below this garment are visible the ankles—bare or clad in white stockings—thrust into black slippers, while the Moors wear yellow, a colour which, in common with all other bright hues, is strictly forbidden to the sons of Israel. At the throat a bit of white, or what was so once, is visible, and the sleeves, tight when buttoned, may be flapping loosely open. The face, a characteristic one, often pox-marked—though not so often as among the Moors—will be surmounted in the North by a proverbially greasy skull-cap, black, of course, while abundant locks crop out all round, left long, and forming a most unintellectual-looking fringe in front. Mourning customs are in this respect most strictly adhered to. In the south, peculiar bunches of curly, almost “frizzly” hair, adorn each temple, and this is a distinctive feature of one of the tribes of alleged Jewish origin, the Oodāiā, now the royal body-guard. Here, also, the cap is replaced by a blue cotton handkerchief spotted with white, which is folded corner-wise, with the ends tied under the chin, giving a most “old-womanish” appearance, far from prepossessing. This costume is varied considerably in the Atlas, where a hooded cloak of one piece, identical with that worn by many Moors, is much in vogue, thrown back over the left arm, and, of course, everywhere there are deviations from these costumes, down to shirt and drawers alone, or rags and tatters.

The dress of the women affords the most extreme of contrasts. At home, in the morning, it is of the dirtiest and most slovenly—skirt and bodice, not unlike the European

equivalents, but the latter often very low and loose. On high days and holidays the gorgeous attire worn by the same individual will be overwhelming in value and brightness. Rich dark velvets, loaded with gold braid, form the costume, while the hair of a married woman, which the public may never see, is enveloped from the forehead in an expensive Lyons silk kerchief, bedizened with costly jewellery, as also are neck and wrists. A whole fortune is sometimes invested in these inalienable chattels, which, from their value, often develop into heirlooms. The free use of antimony to darken the eyelashes far from enhances their undisputed good looks in European eyes.

Among the Berbers, the dress of the women sometimes so nearly resembles that of Muslimhas as to deceive even a native when a stranger. I have a lively recollection of the sudden change of my servant's language from courtesy to vituperation when he discovered one day in an Atlas village that he was addressing Jewesses instead of Moresses, as he had supposed.

CUSTOMS.

For one who has the misfortune to be classed with the Goïm to attempt any detailed comparison of the method of performing the religious ceremonies of Israel followed in Morocco with the better known kindred rituals of other lands, would be presumption. I would rather refer those specially interested to accounts I published some years ago in *The Times of Morocco*, which merely set forth in order such facts as I had been able to observe or glean from inquiry. Subsequent experience would, it is true, necessitate considerable additions and some corrections, but they may serve to convey an intelligent idea.

The synagogues of Morocco are, on the whole, despicable, but only on a par with the habitations of the worshippers. I have visited many, but they have a wearisome sameness. I speak now of the typical ones, with no reference to the

fine modern buildings erected by public subscription or by private liberality in some of the coast towns, as for instance the New Synagogue on Tangier Wall, next door to my home, or that of the Messrs. Nahon, close by. I may point out here, *en passant*, that the position of the former Jewry of Tangier is fairly well determined by the fact that the street into which the latter opens, tenanted entirely by Jews, contains no less than seven synagogues. One of these is the oldest in the town, on the other side of which are three more, and there is a small one outside the Walls. Most of these are merely private houses, fitted up for worship, which is not unusual. The segregation of the women in the galleries is general, and in some towns the women veil themselves in the streets somewhat like the Mooresses, but they are poor attendants of the house of God as a rule. Several of these synagogues are small, with labyrinthine entrances, some passing through dwellings, and are distressingly odoriferous. The accommodation on the great feast days is so very inadequate that numbers of the congregation have to stand in the street outside. In other towns the condition of things is often very much worse, the houses of prayer serving also to sleep, eat, and kill chicken in, not to mention cooking and trade. I never saw more neglected places in actual use than in Marrákesh (Morocco City) and Amziniz, the latter a town on the slopes of the Atlas. As a rule the Shochet performs his duties in the poultry line at street corners and other public places, where the interesting preliminaries may be studied gratis. However carefully the slaughtered bird is handed to the bright-eyed maid who stands there to receive it, the final struggles often prove too much for her, and it is dropped to flap about among the passers by, or the operator holds it under his foot as he examines his blade, and prepares for action again.

The visits of the Mohel are made occasion for the most prodigal feasting, and a still more prodigal display of female attire and jewellery, as well as of female adiposity.

and flashing eye. The chair belonging to the community being set up on one side of the courtyard or balcony, the other side is thronged with lady spectators, as the venerable Rabbi, who combines so many functions, initiates the scion of the house to Judaism, always performing the *meziza*. In some instances the birth of a daughter serves for little less rejoicing. It is the invariable custom for the mother to lie in bed in state to receive her guests, for in Morocco no distinction is known between bed and sitting-room.

But the weddings! If money is foolishly wasted in London to make a grand affair of these, the Morocco brethren are not one whit behind. The Arabs are credited with a proverb in which there lies much truth, to the effect that while the Muslim squanders his substance in religious festivals, and the Christian in lawsuits, the Israelite does so in nuptial bouts. What shall I say of the days of preparation, of the breaking of a jar of corn at the door of the bride's room to ensure her fruitfulness, of the slaughter of cattle and sheep and fowls, of the synagogue service, of festivities at the bride's house, of the jollifications at that of the bridegroom, of the special bathing, of the customs and fun of the *talamo*, of the torchlight procession of the lady to her new home, of her induction in state by two of the most important male guests, of her sitting for hours like a waxen doll, of her stealthy tears from beneath closed eyes, of the binding forms and ceremonies, of the nasal chant, and irregular chorus, of the reading and the signing of the settlement, of the exchange of the ring, of the drinking of wine and the breaking of the glass, or of the thousand and one minor observances which vary indefinitely here, there, and then? Suffice it to say that on every hand hospitality abounds; that in place of the hard boiled eggs—two a-piece—which are customary at the *Melah* and minor ceremonies, luxurious repasts are spread and include a series of excellent almond sweets with preserved and dried fruits, of which each guest takes away a kerchief full; and that for drinks there are good

wines and bad, with abundance of villainous anis-seed and fig spirit, while the utmost good humour prevails, even though there is hardly standing room, and the din of the seldom-ceasing native music necessitates abnormal exercise of lung. So they get married in Barbary.

Their well-attended funerals, too, are imposing sights and sounds, for the sonorous chanting of a procession of male voices as they slowly pace to their special graveyard is very beautiful. Transported from their homes where the hired mourners wail, in coffin-like biers, the property of the community, they are buried in shrouds under horizontal stones some eighteen inches thick, which a Moor once suggested to me were made thus heavy by the heirs to keep the dead one quiet in his grave! The Habra is an institution in full work in Barbary, and after burial at stated times the women shriek upon the tombstones, but especially at the feast of Tammuz, when a whole night is spent in camp there. The customs of Bar Mitzvah and Pidyon Habben are also generally recognised.

RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS.

In proportion as the conditions of life in Morocco approximate the more to those under which the Mosæic festivals were instituted, it will be understood that so much is their observance more literal, and altogether more primitive. In this consists a special charm. Probably no Israelitish communities are more strict in the fulfilment of their ceremonial duties than the one now under consideration. In more ways than one their ritual is allied to, and in some parts is identical with that of the Spanish and Portuguese congregations in other lands, a considerable proportion of them being of the same origin. A whole volume might be written on this point alone, but it must suffice to glance in passing at a few of the special features of the greater fasts or festivals. Nowhere could the Sabbath be more strictly adhered to than among these

people, and on Fridays everything is "redded up." The shalet—containing the Sabbath meals—is prepared over a carefully built fire, to keep it hot for twenty-four hours, with the seuda shilshit, or food for the third meal snug down at the bottom of the jar.

Yôm Kippur is a great day in Morocco, duly observed with groans and lamentations in the Synagogues, by the slaughter of fowls for sacrifice, and by repairing to the largest body of water available to pray for forgiveness and often to cast in stones as they would cast away their sins. The fasting is general, and on the conclusion of the Day of Atonement the Birkhat ha lavana is performed in open spaces on the way home.

The Feast of Tabernacles sees its Succah in or on top of every house, frequently gay with evergreens and flowers, real or artificial; and the subsequent Simhat Torah is kept with the greatest of show and excitement, while the daily use of etrôg and loolav, and the processions of the Sepharim give quite a gay appearance to the synagogues.

During the Feast of Hanuca or Dedication, a curious form of the special lamp is used, with a representation of the seven-branched candlestick on the back. A peculiar fritter called sfinj, or in Spanish banuelo, is sold about the streets during this week.

Purim is duly taken advantage of by beggars of all sorts for themselves and for charitable purposes, in subscribing to which the Jews of Morocco are not backward, and the payment of the *half shekel* is not forgotten. While the Megilla is being read in the synagogue the boys rap the seats vigorously with wooden hammers when the name of Haman occurs. At this time visits are made at dusk *incognito*, and presents of sweetmeats and fruits are sent from house to house on trays. Shushan Purim is also observed.

But Pesach, after all, is *the* feast, withal a fast. The preparatory search for leaven and the Serifat Hekhamis is most diligent and careful, and the care exercised in the

growing of the wheat and the selection of the water for the Mazzoth are almost superstitious. Space prevents my entering upon the well-known detail of the solemn Seder, with its shoulder of lamb and its bitter herbs, its unleavened cakes and its wine, though in many points it doubtless differs in Morocco from that of Europe, and is altogether more primitive. The "reception" on the last day of everybody by everybody else is a notable occasion over there. And on the same day they have in some parts a curious custom of going to the sea to say the Kaddesh and the Tephilot. During the Feast some Jewish confectioners "sell" the keys of their shops to Moors, to repurchase them afterwards.

The Feast of Weeks is marked by few peculiar customs, except the reading of the prayers called *Azhuroth* in the synagogue at noon, a verse each by members of the congregation. If any one is caught tripping he is made to correct himself, and on going out has water thrown at him. Another observance of this feast is for the young folk to mount their roofs and syringe the passers-by with the same liquid, whence this is sometimes spoken of as the "water feast." The sea-bathing season then commences.

SOCIAL CONDITION.

In each community intermarriage of the various families has rendered the relationships between the members complex and confusing. Often unions take place which must be bugbears to genealogists, as once when a young lad puzzled me greatly by referring to a certain individual as uncle and grandfather indiscriminately, for it seemed that his grandfather had married his aunt-in-law. Divorce is not difficult to obtain under certain conditions, but the husband seems always to retain some semblance of authority. I believe that bigamy is also legal though uncommon. The greatest evil, however, is the system of child marriages. These take place in the interior from the ages

of six or eight, the "wife" coming to live with her "husband" at his parents' home. At twelve or so she may be a mother, but very many lose their lives at this critical stage. If the lad has got tired of her ere this, and he is rich while she is poor, he will put her away in favour of some one else. As a set-off against all this, the Jews of Morocco set a good example to their Muslim neighbours in the general level of their morals, and as a result the national skin diseases of the Empire are but rare among them, though they are cruelly libelled by the Moors, who accuse them of having introduced them when they came from Spain. In habits of drinking, nevertheless, they lead the way, and teach the Moors this vice. The Sabbath afternoon to the poorer classes means invariable drunkenness, and a well-known Hebrew gentleman of Tangier, in explaining to me the Passover ceremonies, concluded by saying "then they all fall about drunk, and lie till morning."

In matters of food no one could be more particular. In large communities there are special Jewish markets, where Kosher viands may be obtained, while even water-barrels bear this word embranded on the ends. The preparations for Passover take the place of spring cleaning, and are very thorough, including even whitewashing outside, while old crocks are broken and new ones brought out. The streets of the Jewish quarters are the filthiest of all the Moorish towns, and are often several feet deep in rubbish, so that visitors descend by steps into the houses. Ceremonial washings are, of course performed, but otherwise water is not beloved. Interpreting for a doctor one day to a Moorish Jew suffering from a skin complaint, I had to ask how often he bathed, which brought out the indignant answer "Me wash? Of course I don't, except three or four times a year. Otherwise I only wash my face and hands sometimes. Oh dear no." The Moors, when rain is scarce, make the Jews go out with them to pray, and with but scant justice declare that they shall stop outside the walls till

their reeking breath and feet shall so annoy the Almighty, that he shall grant their prayers to get rid of them ! It is striking to see how readily those who become more cultured on the coast adopt the European standard in respect of cleanliness.

SUBSISTENCE.

Although the possible existence of agricultural Jews in the unknown parts of the Atlas has been hinted at, the means of obtaining a livelihood followed by the Israelites of Morocco do not differ greatly from those adopted in other lands similarly situated. As artificers they are conspicuous in the manufacture of jewellery, and of brass, tin and metal work generally ; in the embroidering of slippers, etc. ; in tailoring and in carpentry, as also in the preparation of a number of useful and ornamental articles produced by the Moors as well. As merchants and shopkeepers, a large proportion of the trade of the country passes through their hands. Perhaps it would be no exaggeration to state that the larger proportion does so, first and last, much of that which is eventually retailed by Moors having been imported by them. In this special branch they probably do as much as Europeans and Moors together, though in exports the Europeans rank first.

It is, however, where the handling of money comes in that our Hebrew friend ranks *facile princeps*. At the street corner you may see him squatted on the ground, in dirty gown and dishevelled hair, complacently passing through his bony fingers a peck or two of copper "change" in a basket set before him. From the deep recesses of his ample leather wallet, slung across his shoulder to the left, he can produce quite a quantity of silver coins, from dollars down to pieces worth but $2\frac{1}{2}$ d., which he gives or receives in change at the current rates of the day. Or in the seaports you may see his fellow trudge from house to house, negotiating cheques and bills and what not at a micro-

scopic commission. Or you may see him appear before the Moorish notary with a starveling Arab who has borrowed twenty dollars from him. The poor fellow states that Yakoob has purchased of him thirty dollars' worth of wool, or grain or oil, which he has undertaken to deliver, carriage paid, that day three months. When that day comes, instead of bringing goods, or *returning* the cash, he consents to the signing of a document for forty dollars, to replace the first, and so the ball rolls on, till the presumable value of the pledges entrusted to the usurer is reached, when further extension of time is refused, and the debtor is cast into prison and sold up, or perhaps this is not sufficient, so he dies there. Powerful governors are frequently the debtors, who have borrowed to purchase their post, or to secure it, and often they have a Jewish partner, each playing into the other's hands.

But the highest ambition of the average Jew in Morocco who means to rise in the World is an interpretership to a foreign legation, which not only secures a comfortable living, with unlimited opportunities for "palm oil," but also gives a certain rank and importance which may be made the means of stepping higher. Many of the principal Jewish bankers and merchants of the coast towns owe their present position to this initiatory lift, enjoyed either by themselves or by their fathers, and many occupy foreign vice-consulships. From what has been remarked on their share of the trade, the commercial importance of many of these gentlemen will already have been inferred. Two families have obtained hereditary protection by France and Great Britain respectively, and the others are almost invariably protected in some way. Many are decorated with European honours.

CHARACTER.

It is a matter of deep regret that in speaking faithfully of a portion of the grandest nation upon Earth, of a people

among whose finer characters I count so many friends, I am obliged to note one or two serious faults. Let me, therefore, at the outset make it plain that I consider them less as innate qualities than as the outcome of adverse circumstances, as the result of evil surroundings and of great inherent talents misdirected. De Foucauld remarked that the Jews of Morocco "observe with the utmost rigour the external practices of their religion, but conform in nothing to the moral duties which their religion prescribes to them. Not only do they not follow them, but they oppose them." This may be true, generally, with regard to principles of honesty of which both native Moors and Jews—ignorant on the whole as to any but the ceremonial teachings of the Pentateuch—know but little, but it applies far less to social morals. Before condemning them it must be remembered that they have had no chance to do better. Another writer says that the poor Jews believe it no sin to rob Moors and Christians, while the Moors regard their treatment of Christians and Jews in the same light. I have no hesitation in adding, as a rider to this, that many so-called "Christians" consider themselves fully justified in defrauding Moors and Jews. Too many such, equally black themselves, refuse to hear anything good about natives of either class.

I would not have it supposed that in quoting from these authorities I wish to imply that such a character is universally deserved by the Moorish Jews. Though it undoubtedly is so by a large number, there are many who stand out the brighter for surrounding darkness, and whose credit is the greater for the hindrances with which they meet.

In other points I do not think the Moorish Jew is peculiar. He is hospitable, and his family are genial; if his habits are dirty and his probity weak, his morals are the highest in Morocco. With the exception of the disgraceful child-marriages alluded to, he stands as far ahead of the Moor in this, as he is behind him in other respects.

POLITICAL STATUS AND PROSPECTS.

What has already been recorded of the present condition of the Morocco Jews will have thrown considerable light upon their political status. Strictly speaking they enjoy no status at all under purely Moorish *régime*, for without even the most elementary rights in the native tribunals, and no position of authority in view, they are treated altogether rather as serfs than citizens. Those instances in which their high intelligence and skill have won great power for single individuals have seldom to any extent affected the well-being of the race. Had Morocco remained ever closed to outside influence, had the concessions wrung at intervals from the unwilling Sultans by the European Powers not opened up a pathway for the Jews, their lot would be to-day upon the coast what it still is in the interior. The possibility of sharing foreign rights and privileges has, however, changed all this for those who come within its range. The treaties assuring protection to the native agents of foreign officials and merchants have been taken far greater advantage of by Jews than Moors; firstly, because they feel the need of protection in a higher degree, and secondly, because they are more astute in obtaining it. I am not going here to discuss the indispensable *protégé* system in force to-day in Morocco, but I must point out two of its chief—its typical—abuses, which immediately concern my subject. The one is the purchase of its benefits, which are only really intended for *bond fide employés*. Since the Jew, whatever his outward circumstances, has always a larger amount of cash than his Moorish neighbour, in proportion as he excels him in point of brain, he here scores a decided advantage, and is able to secure far better protection. The other abuse to which I would refer is the enforcement of unjust claims, and the imprisonment of debtors under the ægis, and through the influence, of foreign Powers. Though too many foreigners commit the same abuses, and are equally blameworthy—nay, more so,

on account of their superior education and opportunities of learning better—it is the Hebrew community which, from its numbers, gets credit for the bulk of these misdeeds. The sin of grasping usury, for which, even in the early days of the Exodus, their nation had to be so sternly reprehended, flourishes and cankers in Morocco to the full. I might fill a whole paper by itself with disclosures of the oppression meted out by Jews in that country to their Mohammedan fellow-subjects; I might even go further, and proclaim what grinding of the face of their own poor, more grievous still in its nature, goes on in those semi-civilized Mellahs. But I will not dwell on this unpleasant side of things. Suffice it to hint at what will ever breed retributive oppression from the Moor, incurring, too, the wrath of God.

In Morocco two causes have for centuries acted and reacted one upon the other to produce the existing strained relations between Moors and Jews. The steadfast independence which has cut the latter off from intermixture with the former, and their greed of gain, have fostered enmity and hatred, in a populace itself almost as dishonest, which have brought about reprisals and revenge. These have been repaid with that amount of interest which they would make their victims pay; so fire has kindled fire. The misgovernment of the Empire permits and encourages this sort of thing in a manner unknown in England, though even here that page of history has had its parallel.

It is idle for us to demand emancipation for the Jew unless we are prepared to raise his moral level and to educate his powers. Until dishonesty, as a universal characteristic of the country, gives way to honesty, peace cannot be hoped for. If foreign protection could be secured for every son of Israel in Morocco, it would rather expose them to the fury of the populace, and threaten serious war, than attain its primary objects, if the immediate result were a multiplication of the present holders of that privilege without raising their tone. The

presence among them of civilised and well-instructed men, with the polish and air of Europe, men whom the foreign schools have drawn from their ranks and placed by the side of any European, proves their capabilities, and forms one of the brightest hopes of Morocco. The schools of the Alliance Israélite and those of the Morocco Relief Fund, under the Anglo-Jewish Association, have steadily worked wonders, and they need abundant extension everywhere. Many of the leading citizens of the Moorish ports—not only as members of the despised community, but also as members of their cosmopolitan society—have been their pupils, who have completed their education abroad and returned to honour their nation at home. These, even when poor and unprotected, suffer so little indignity at the hands of the Moors, that they might almost be born Europeans, and in proportion as the whole Jewish population of Morocco can be rendered like them, the greatest inducements to oppression will vanish, and day will have broken on the horizon of the Morocco Jews. O for a Jonah to stir them up, that they may repent ere it be too late ! O for a Samuel to teach and warn them ! They need not only the united political influence on the behalf of their brethren in more favoured lands, to secure from their government what is their due as free-born men, but they need awakening themselves, and raising till they shall be worthy of the pedestal on which we fain would see them.

J. E. BUDGETT MEAKIN.

THE BRESLAU SCHOOL AND JUDAISM.

WHAT was the attitude of the late Prof. Graetz towards modern Judaism? It is to throw more light upon this question that these notes are written.

That Prof. Graetz was imbued with the modern critical spirit is not denied; that he was, *on the whole*, a conforming Jew is also not denied; but it has been denied in effect that he and his school were religious at all, if by being religious be meant desiring communion with God, living a life in accordance with his will, because such a life was his will. Prof. Graetz and his school are accused of being mere external formalists, mere worshippers of the letter, neither having nor caring for spirituality in religion. So long, it has been said, as they have their beloved rites and ceremonies they are content, albeit these rites and ceremonies have lost all religious significance.

Surely this is a most serious charge, and should never have been made unless it could be substantiated. But is it true that Prof. Graetz did not care for religion in the sense we have defined, that it was a matter of indifference to him whether a religious rite had any religious significance or not? In the *Jewish Chronicle* of August 5th, 1887, in an article entitled "Judaism and Biblical Criticism," he wrote as follows:—"The essential fact remains, in spite of criticism, of the recognition of the unity and lofty holiness of God; from this follows the demand for a *holy life* for his servants, for the love of our neighbours, and care for the stranger, the widow and the orphan; in fact, for the lofty ethics which Judaism points as its ideal, and of which the Ten Commandments offer only a short summary." Can there be any doubt that, according to this, Prof. Graetz has the

strongest faith in Judaism as a religion. Judaism was for him certainly not a mere bundle of rites and ceremonies, nay more, it is not merely an ethical system founded upon utility; it teaches an ethical system issuing out of our belief in God, and having our desire to please God as its motive.

In the "In Memoriam" article I wrote in the *Jewish Chronicle*, September 18th, 1891, the following passage occurs, and I think it necessary to re-write it in full:—

"The last time that I had a long conversation with Prof. Graetz, we spoke about the new criticism of the Pentateuch. He said, 'Whatever view we might hold concerning the date of a certain religious document, Judaism would still have taught the purest of beliefs, and the noblest of ethics. The Sabbath would still recall the Divine Providence, ruling over nature. There was no reason, because, the Pentateuch was a composite work, why the Jew should not keep the Passover, and commemorate with his brethren the deliverance of his people by the Divine hand, and bring before himself their great mission. There was no reason why he should not approach his God on the Day of Atonement. The great institutions of Judaism would always be the best means of discipline, the best bond of union between Jew and Jew.' If by this be meant theoretical heterodoxy united with practical orthodoxy, it is no reproach." This last sentence seems to have excited the indignation of one of the editors of this review. With prophetic glow he says that he "cannot away with theoretical heterodoxy united with practical orthodoxy." But curiously, the phrase is the voice of his co-editor—the voice of Jacob, and not the voice of Esau. In an article on the late Prof. Graetz signed I. A. in *Jewish Chronicle*,¹ the writer spoke of this union as being characteristic of the late Prof. Graetz. I, thoroughly "realising the Tragweite of these words," explained the

¹ September 11th, 1891.

only sense in which I thought Graetz would have been inclined to adopt them. More curiously still, Mr. Montefiore, in a note to his Notes which appeared in the last number of the JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, suggests to his "Unitarian Jew" the adoption of the very same institutions as Graetz suggested. Very possibly the only difference between Mr. Montefiore and a pupil of Prof. Graetz is this—the former adopts in small print that which the latter adopts writ large.

Mr. Schechter, writing in the *Jewish Chronicle*,¹ said that the Holy Scriptures were to Graetz the "life of his life." If the Holy Scriptures were to him the "life of his life," and I believe it was so, must not Graetz have felt the divine presence in the starry heaven above him, and in the moral law within him? And if this be so, can we say that the religion of Graetz was merely a bundle of rites and ceremonies without religious significance?

And were Prof. Graetz's views so thoroughly opposed to progress? Did he not believe in the potentially universalistic character of Judaism? Mr. Schechter wrote,² "There can be no doubt that he was in full harmony with all the tendencies of our time. Both in his history and more particularly in the JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, he expressed his innermost belief in the progress and development of Judaism." That Mr. Schechter did not misrepresent Prof. Graetz we may see by the following passage.³ Prof. Graetz says:—"During the long years of persecution and suffering, the few words that were raised in warning against this excess of ceremonialism passed unheard, Judaism gradually assumed a repellent aspect. As a consequence, there followed (and there follows still) apostasy." I cannot refrain from quoting another passage which I wrote myself,⁴ "But although there was (at Breslau) this tendency to a

¹ September 18th, 1891.

² *In loco citato*.

³ JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, Vol. II., p. 261.

⁴ *Jewish Chronicle*, September 18th, 1891.

reverent conservatism, we were never taught to paint that which was ugly with a rose colour. It was never hidden from us that Judaism had developed sometimes in a wrong direction, and that, in the Middle Ages especially, unhealthy growths had appeared, which it would be our duty to cut away. I think that Prof. Graetz always regretted that the Talmud had been codified. Development was arrested, Judaism thereby ceased to have an oral law, and we were converted into Karaites of the Schulchan Aruch."

I will not deny that there were apparent inconsistencies in Prof. Graetz. After having proved that the Feast of Purim was nothing more, originally, than a *παισινία*, it does seem strange that he should still observe the festival. But surely where we do not understand a teacher, we ought to judge him in the scale of merit. Christianity adopted the Yuletide festival, and made it teach the lesson of goodwill to all men. Does not the book of Esther, in spite of its faults at the end, exemplify the strong nationalism of those of us who still believe with the Psalmist, that "He who guards Israel neither slumbers nor sleeps"?

Prof. Graetz was inconsistent, but must we not all be inconsistent when we leave the orthodox belief of verbal inspiration? Mr. Montefiore teaches that Judaism is theism at its very best, but he wishes to keep the Jewish race distinct: he objects to mixed marriages. What is his sanction for this objection? Not the moral law, for he considers it immoral to call mixed marriages sinful; not a divine external law—for that has ceased to be binding upon him. What is his sanction? Expediency. Prof. Graetz would probably say that on account of the lesson they teach in holiness, in self-denial, remotely, perhaps, on account of the advantage they have upon our health, and certainly as a bond of union within and a wall of separation without, the dietary laws should be observed. Does Mr. Montefiore do well to be angry? Both he and the late Prof. Graetz wished to keep the Jewish race distinct, and for exactly

the same reason. Did not this same desire for separation bring about very much of the nomism of the Talmud? It is possible that Mr. Montefiore will say that his instincts tell him that exogamy is dangerous, but that the non-observance of the dietary laws is not. Perhaps he is right, but if we approve his following his instincts, we must approve the pupils of the Breslau school following theirs.¹ I believe that he is no friend of Judaism who would carry the laws to their extreme logical consequences, but I must try to be liberal. I think Graetz was wrong, with his views, to be illiberal to the school of Holdheim, although he was perfectly right in thinking that the founding of such synagogues as that of the Johannesstrasse in Berlin would lead to the forming of sects in Judaism. My revered predecessor at the Owens College used often to tell me that he had never known a truly liberal man, and never one who was always consistent and logical. Prof. Graetz was not consistent or logical. All Israel may be deemed happy that he was not. Had he been logical he would probably have been held to be outside the limits of Judaism. Mr. Montefiore is illiberal, as I think Prof. Graetz was, and the Jewish community of England may truly congratulate itself that he is neither logical nor consistent.

Personally I believe it would be a misfortune if in religion we pinned ourselves down to a strict logic. Logically there is no resting place between rigid orthodoxy in belief and being outside the limits of a positive religion. There is nothing new in this. Hobbes pointed it out in the seventeenth century. But we should be guided by our hearts as well as by stern reason. I might state what I feel myself as follows: I agree thoroughly with Mr. Montefiore, as to Judaism teaching Theism. I believe that

¹ This argument is not affected by the fact that exogamy is specially prohibited in Exodus xxxiv. 16, as leading to apostasy, while the dietary laws are laid down as laws of "holiness" and, according to some critics, referred originally, at any rate in their full development, to the priests only. It is most probable too, that the idea of *separateness* lay in the root קדש.

the divine spirit rested upon the prophets of Israel in a measure that it rested upon no other of God's creatures, but I believe in the immanence of God in history, and I do not deny the inspiration of men like Jesus of Nazareth, or of the prophet of Mecca or, going outside the Semitic race, of men like Gautama Buddha. I believe that a man who could separate himself from all family ties, from all former friends, to become a simple priest in an alien church, and who could write such a beautiful hymn as "Lead, kindly light," was also inspired. I should not deny inspiration even to great poets and statesmen, or even to the great legalists of the Roman Law. This is truly the Jewish view. Many of the blessings in the ancient *Amidah* seem to refer exclusively to Israel, but one blessing does not, "Thou favourest man with knowledge, and teachest mortals understanding." All knowledge, all understanding come from God.¹

I hold with Mr. Montefiore that the Jewish race should be kept distinct. If I am asked for my reasons, I should answer, because Judaism has kept its belief in one holy God far purer than other faiths have done. The majority of Christians are still Tritheists or Dutheists.² Islam, though it holds strongly to the belief that there is no God but Allah, seems to adopt superstitions with a fatal readiness.³

¹ Maimonides specially refers to Jesus and Mohammed as paving the way for the Messiah. See also the ritual Blessings in *Berachot* 58 a, where a non-Israelite is called a חכם receiving his חכמה (wisdom) from God. It is true, however, that in the *Schulchan Aruch* (*Orach Chayim* 224), the wisdom which the non-Israelite receives from God is stated to be *secular* wisdom. Maimonides in the parallel passage does not make this restriction.

² A clergyman recently told me that the doctrine of the Trinity could be accepted by the most advanced Theists. God the Father stood for the immanence of God in nature, God the Son for his immanence in every individual soul, and God the Holy Ghost for his immanence in history; and he suggested that Trinitarian Christianity would be the universal religion of the future. I could for the moment only hold my peace, and say to myself "Che sarà sarà."

³ We must not suppose that Islam is incapable of appropriating the best

I often muse on the idle question as to what would have been the position of Judaism in Europe if Charles Martel had been defeated at Poitiers. And turning to the Indian religions, however pure and subtle Buddhism may have been at its inception, it has now become idolatrous. Let Israel keep distinct holding to the faith in one holy God, let us not hide our light behind a bushel, and God will make use of his people in his own good time.

With respect to the question of progress in Judaism, I should remind my friends that we are not beginning with a *tabula rasa*, and that, therefore, reformers cannot disregard the past, and that they, therefore, must be attached to historical Judaism. But I should like to insist, with Graetz, that history does not repeat itself. We cannot disregard the past; but, at the same time, a Jew of the nineteenth century must not act and teach as if he still lived in the Middle Ages. To follow Maimonides, we must not be disciples of the Græco-Arabic philosophy, but we must act in his spirit, as Maimonides would have acted if he had been living here and now. In England, perhaps, the learned Reader in Rabbinical Literature at Cambridge is the best exponent we have of historical Judaism. He shows us the importance for our own time of both the Maimonists and anti-Maimonists, of the Chassidim in Poland, and the author of the *Moreh Nebuchim* Hazzeman. With regard to ritual reforms, I think that each congregation should, reverently and cautiously, consult its own needs and its own wants. Each congregation should worship God in the manner which satisfies its own spiritual aspirations. But I am very much opposed to insisting upon the differences in principle

thoughts of the age. I need only refer to the Moorish culture of the Middle Ages. Djelal-ed-Din in his Commentary on the Quran (Sura 88) to the words "the earth is extended," says "This passage shews that the earth is flat and not round as the astronomers assert, but whether it be round or flat, not a single pillar of our religion is disturbed." See also an article on "Cultural Progress in Islam," by Professor Vambéry, in the February number of the *Eastern and Western Review*.

between orthodoxy and reform. Whether the sacrifices shall be restored, or the walls of Jerusalem rebuilt, are much more eschatological questions than questions the answers to which will bear much upon our practical ethical life. I should much regret if the expression of a man's faith upon these points should be made a shibboleth, and a Jew classified according to his belief upon them. I believe that the question of ritual reform is a question of means, and not of ends. I do not think that the great truths of God, and immortality, and the blessedness of prayer, are better taught in my own religious class in the Manchester congregation of British Jews than they were in the Ghetto in the Middle Ages.¹ I believe that, both in the East End of London and in the West End, there are to be found amongst Jews many patterns of shining virtue, of kindness, of gentleness, of forbearance. I believe that, both in Whitechapel and in Hyde Park, Jews are to be found thoroughly conscious of the mission of Israel, and earnestly desirous of being faithful to it. I, therefore, do not hope that either the right or the left party in Judaism will conquer the other. Both parties are necessary, and each will satisfy its own followers.

As I have said, I am opposed, as in the highest degree inexpedient, and perhaps unspiritual for our own times, to the carrying of the laws of the Bible to their extreme logical consequences;² but I believe that the future of Judaism, so long as Judaism remains a particularist religion, must lie

¹ We must not forget that the beautiful prayer על כן נקוה, and the magnificent additions to the third blessing of the Amidah on the New Year and the Day of Atonement were offered up, in the Ghetto, at least as fervently as the prayers for the restoration of sacrifices.

² With regard to carrying laws to their extreme consequences, the following interesting passage from the pen of a lawyer occurs in the *Law Quarterly Review* of January, 1892, page 15: Certain "legal rules pursued to their logical conclusions, land us in moral anomalies, but human nature, when expelled with a pitchfork, only returns in the form of equitable rules." What we need in modern Judaism are a few equitable rules.

in a spiritual nomism. Prof. Toy tells us that Jesus of Nazareth preached such a nomism.¹ When forms and ceremonies have become utterly harmful they should be lopped off. But, as a rule, it is better to build up than to destroy, better to breathe new life into the old vessels than to shatter them. When the Feast of Pentecost lost its importance as the Day of First Fruits, it was made to live again as the Day of Revelation. Though sacrifices were abolished, and the priesthood disappeared, and, therefore, the Day of Atonement lost much of its Biblical significance, it lived a brighter life as a day of individual reconciliation with God, and of mutual peace and goodwill between man and man.

Of course, a pupil does not identify himself with every word a teacher spoke, however beloved that teacher may have been; but I hope that in what I have now said I have not widely departed from the views of the late Prof. Graetz.

Of course, also, I do not deny that the best teaching of Breslau may sometimes be abused by its adherents, and misunderstood by friends as well as by those who are unfriendly.

L. M. SIMMONS.

¹ Cf. especially the Epistle of James. Conscience is so often called the supreme arbiter, that it is worth while to point out that its dictates, even in the sphere of morality, are not always to be relied upon. The Stoics held suicide to be a virtue; English law keeps the conscience of the ordinary Englishman right upon this subject by telling him that if he attempts to commit suicide, whatever may be his motives, he will be punished as a criminal. For some weighty remarks upon the importance of external positive law as the guide of the inner voice, I refer the reader to the third volume of Sir James Stephen's *History of the Criminal Law*. Sabbathai Zevi abolished the law, with what results history tells us. The dividing line between antinomianism and immorality is very fine indeed.

THE ORIGIN OF THE WORD HAGGADA (AGADA).

THERE are few words of which the etymology is so clear, and the original signification nevertheless so enshrouded in obscurity, as the word הַגָּדָה (or in its Aramaised form אַגָּדָה). In spite of the undoubted fact that this word is formed in the usual way as a *nomen actionis* from the verbal derivative הִגִּיד (of the root הִגָּד), and that in its widest sense it signifies in Rabbinic literature all that does not belong to the sphere of Halacha—yet the manner in which the actual meaning of this word has been determined upon the basis of this etymology is by no means satisfactory. In the various attempts that have been made to deduce the exact connotation of the word Haggada (or Agada) from the undisputed meaning of the verb הִגִּיד, we may notice a peculiar and unmistakeable hesitation and perplexity, which cannot be explained away by the mere circumstance that the idea of Haggada, varying as the application of the word does so frequently, is itself of an uncertain and indefinite character. When we take a glance at the etymological definitions of "Haggada" given by the best authorities, we especially observe that most of them refer it to the sense "to narrate," which, although only to a very limited extent, is the translation of the verb הִגִּיד in Biblical Hebrew. Sometimes in the definitions of the word, the meaning "to tell," or "to discourse" is referred to. A brief survey of these various definitions, which, however, is far from being complete, will prove to demonstration the great uncertainty that exists upon this apparently simple question.

From among the earlier works, there need only be mentioned the *Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum et Rabbinicum* (Basle, 1639), of J. Buxtorf, which explains the

word חגדה in the following manner, (s.v. חגד ; Col. 1295): "Narratio, enarratio, historia jucunda et subtilis, discursus historicus aut theologicus de aliquo loco Scripturæ jucundus, animum lectoris attrahens. Et ita est ab Hebraeo חגד narravit, nunciavit, *ein kurzweilige Rede* (a diverting discourse.)" To this verbose definition, a strong contrast is formed by the laconic explanation of Zunz in his *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge* (p. 42), which was the first work in which the Agada was scientifically treated. Zunz divides the Midrash into "Halacha (*Regel*) and Haggada (*Gesagtes*)," and in the chapter upon the latter subject (p. 58) he gives expression to the only opinion offered by him upon the derivation of this word, in the form of the following antithesis: "The Halacha must have been really *heard* by the person who publishes it; whilst with regard to the Haggada, it suffices for the purpose of it receiving the name of Haggada, that it shall have been merely *spoken* somewhere."¹ This definition was adopted by Steinschneider without discussion in his history of Jewish literature (contained in *Ersch und Gruber's Encyclopädie*, 1850; also translated into English with the title *Jewish Literature*, 1857). An anonymous writer in the Hebrew journal *Zion* (edited by Creizenach and Jost), Vol. II., p. 109, has further employed this definition in a contemptuous sense; and obviously basing his remark on Zunz, observes, ושם אגדה מורה על כזבה ובדויה, שהיא אגדת דברים בלבד יוצאים מקרב איש ממושני אדם כרעיוני המלצים ולא חלק להם בבינה. In the prefatory paragraphs of his work "The Spirit of the Earliest Commentaries to the Bible or *Haggadic Exegesis*" (1847), H. S. Hirschfeld defines the "Haggadah" as "the theoretic view, that which is spoken and believed"; and further as "a truth that has hitherto only been given utterance to, and has not yet been carried into realisation, or desires no actual practical application." The same author had

¹ Cp. also *Gott. Fort.*, pp. 333 sq.

previously offered the following explanation of הגדה [in his *Halachic Exegesis*, (1840), p. 13, note 1]: “dicta, sermones, from נדד to speak, to narrate, to mean—an opinion.” S. L. Rapoport, in his *Erech Millin*, 1852, p. 6 (s.v. אגדה), does not enter into the question of the etymology of the word, but at the head of the article he places four German expressions as its equivalents, from which his opinion upon the subject may be ascertained. The words are “Sagen, Erzählungen, Legenden, öffentliche Vorträge” (sayings, tales, legends, public discourses). This fourfold definition is criticised by Z. Frankel (*Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*; second year of issue, 1853, p. 388), who especially misses “an essential part of the real explanation, viz.: the religious and moral interpretation of Holy Writ, and its application to actual life.” He then continues, “In the course of time, the Hagada extended its sphere; originally it undoubtedly corresponded to its etymological idea of a “Saying, a tale,” and in this indefinite sense was employed as the simple expression of a series of thoughts based on religion and morality, etc.” Graetz appears to take the word in the sense of “Discourse.” He defines the Agada as “a peculiar, skilful kind of discourse, rich in descriptions, full of fine passages and enigmatic observations” (*Geschichte der Juden*, vol. iii.; 1st edition, p. 231). J. Levy distinguishes the word אגדה (from the root אנד) from הגדה, an opinion already mentioned by Buxtorf, and commences his article upon אגדה as follows (*Neuhebr. Wörterbuch*, I. 19a):—“Agada, properly narration, a tale, a fable, etc.” In his article on הגדה (I. 450a) he describes it as “a narrative, a tale, Biblical exegesis.” Similarly Kohut (*Aruch*, III., 178a), “a narrative, tale, Biblical exposition.” Hamburger (*Real-Encyclopädie*, Part II., p. 19) gives the following definition; “the meaning of the word, according to its root נדד, signifying to say, to relate, to declare, to explain, to specify, to communicate, to inform, to report, is a narrative, a tale, instruction, a communication, an explanation, a

discourse, the word being a collective term for the various branches of Talmudic knowledge which are not concerned with the regulation of religious practice, which is the province of Halacha." According to Güdemann (*Jubelschrift* upon the ninetieth birthday of Dr. L. Zunz, p. 116) הגדה signifies "tradition" (unwritten, oral), in contrast to כתב "the written word." And for the purpose of citing a Christian scholar, we may mention that Schürer translates Haggada by "legend" (*Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes zur Zeit J. Chr.*, I. 86) and אגדות according to him are "legends" (*ib.* II., p. 278).

When we look at this list of definitions, that could very easily be increased, we cannot fail to observe the uncertainty of the methods employed, and the contradiction between the pretended primary signification of the word הגדה and its actual application. We cannot avoid the impression that, as Frankel in the quoted passage puts it, the conception of "Hagada" in reality can be "more felt than explained." No unbiassed critic will be satisfied with any of the above-quoted definitions. The explanation of Zunz appears to be comparatively the most correct, since it approaches nearest to the common meaning of the verb דבר, to relate, to communicate something to some one verbally. This definition can boast of no less an authority than that of Moses Nachmani, who, in his account of the disputations in which he was engaged in the year 1263 (ס' ויכוח הרמ"ב), edited by Steinschneider, p. 10), renders הגדה by "razionamiento," and adds the following comment: רוצה לומר שאינן אלא דברים שאדם מגיד לחבר. But it is quite clear how insufficient a word derived from the meaning "communication, a tale, or that which has been told," must be to express what is meant by Agada, however much may be imported into this colourless notion; for this signification is so wide that none of those points that are the real characteristics of the Agada are to be recognised in it. The derivation of the word הגדה from the sense of "announcing," found, *e.g.*, in the work of L. Löw

(*Praktische Einleitung in die heilige Schrift*, 1855, p. 62), according to which it would mean "public discourse, a sermon," has some support from the fact that the addresses of the prophets, especially those that deal with admonitions and rebukes, are introduced by the verb *הגיד* (cp. Micah iii. 8; Isaiah lviii. 1; Ezek. xxiii. 36). But this use of the verb even in the Bible is very limited, and is nowhere imitated in later Hebrew; besides which we usually find the verb *דרש*, employed to signify "a discourse, a sermon," and the Halacha, as well as the Agada, formed the topics of public discourses. The explanation of the word *הגדה*, that corresponds least to the meaning of the verb *הגיד*, and to the contents of Agadic passages, is that which takes it as being equal to "a narration," which is the translation of Buxtorf, who renders "an amusing discourse," and of Rapoport, whose idea has since been generally adopted, and who renders "a tale, a legend, a poetic fiction." For whilst it is true that *הגיד* also means "to narrate," it is only so used in the sense of intimating or communicating some special event or some facts which have hitherto remained unknown to the hearer (cp. Aramaic *הגיא*). A "narration" in its general sense, that indicates a connected enumeration of a series of real or imagined occurrences, is expressed by the word *קשר*, corresponding to the Aramaic *אשרעי*. For even if it be admitted that *הגיד* may signify "to narrate" in its general sense, and it really is occasionally interchanged for *קשר* (cp. Gen. xxxvii. 5 and 9; Ps. xxii. 32 and lxi. 15; and the parallelisms in Ps. xix. 2, xl. 6), while a transference of meaning is no uncommon thing, yet this fact is no justification for accepting the statement that just from this verb have been formed the conceptions that the above-cited opinions have ascribed to the word *הגדה*; nor do we find in post-Biblical Hebrew, to which the word belongs, either the verb or its derivative in the sense of "narrating." But the most cogent objection to this view is, that it is quite impossible by accepting the primary

meaning of the word to derive from it that signification which must especially be regarded in the definition of the term Agada, viz., the exposition and application of the Scriptures; there is no means whatsoever of connecting the supposed original signification of "narration, tale," etc., with the main contents of all Agada, the interpretation of the Scripture. And, further, why should the term Agada, which always consisted of interpretations of Scripture, and in which the narrative element, an extension of the original Biblical narrative, was also based upon exegetical rules, be borrowed just from this incidental element to the utter neglect of the precise contents of the Agada. In reality it is an inversion of the real state of the case, if, according to the view adopted especially by Güdemann, we derive the origin of the Agada from folk-tales, to which, according to Güdemann, first through Akiba, was superadded the Midrash, that is Biblical exposition, in order to connect in an exegetical sense the peculiar contents of the popular tales about the narratives of the Bible and their heroes with the Biblical text. It would lead me too far afield were I to undertake here to refute in detail this theory and the certainly ingenious and closely-reasoned argument of Güdemann upon this question. The fundamental error upon which his explanation is based will be at once apparent as soon as I have demonstrated—I trust with convincing force—that חגדה indeed does not signify "a tale, myth, legend." There is, however, one "documentary proof" adduced by Güdemann in support of his assertion that Haggada means folk-tale ("that which is told") as opposed to the Biblical text, which I cannot pass over in silence. He refers to the passages in the *Sifre* (to Num. v. 19 § 12), in Jerus. Talmud (*Sota* i. 4, 16*d*), and in the Babyl. Talmud (*Sota* 7*b*), where injunctions are given as to what the priest is to read to the wife suspected of unfaithfulness in order to admonish her. These instructions run as follows in the *Sifre*:—אומר לפניך דברי חגדה מעשים:—שאיירעו בכתובים הראשונים כגון אשר חכמים יגידו ולא כחדו

מאבורם. The passage is the same in the Babyl. Talmud, except that instead of דברי הגדה מעשים, we read דברים של חגדה ומעשים; moreover, the verse from Job (xv. 18), according to its Agadic application, is said to refer to the repentant confessions of the two sons of Jacob, Reuben and Judah. In the Jerus. Talmud we read, with reference to the corresponding words in the Mishna, כגון מעשה ראובן בבליחה, ומעשה יהודה בתמר אשר חכמים יגידו אלו ראובן ויהודה. The verse from Job is quoted in all three passages, and is also elsewhere (*Sifre* to Deut. xxxiii. 6, the beginning of § 348)¹ applied to the penitent confessions of the two sons of Jacob. In the *Sifre* to Numb. § 12 this application of the verse in Job must also have originally been in the text, and it is out of the question to assert, with Güdemann, that the words in the Babyl. Talmud כגון אשר חכמים יגידו, are to be considered as a later addition, seeing that they form an essential portion of the whole phrase, and are to be found in all the three sources. It is certainly possible to derive דברי הגדה (or ד' של חגדה) from הגיד, to tell, to confess, and to bring it into connection with the יגידו of the verse in Job, as was hitherto commonly done, following the example of Rashi; or the phrase may be understood as denoting "Words of the Haggada" (Agada), as is urged, *e.g.*, by Wünsche (*Der babylonische Talmud*, ii., 249), and certainly the following sentence (.....מעשים שאירעו) is to be joined to this former phrase as an amplification of it, and indicates whence these דברי הגדה are to be taken, *i.e.*, from the "narratives of the earlier writings,"² which contain examples of repentant confessions. The verse of Job is then brought with its

¹ Also in the Targum to Job xv. 18, though in a תרגום אחר, that, however, is to be regarded as the original text of the Targum (*v. R. d. E. J.* xxi., p. 122), the words חכמים יגידו are rendered by דיעקב חכימא יתובון, which is an undoubted allusion to the sons of Jacob (called in the Agada שבעים).

² The words בכתבים הראשונים may be taken to indicate the book of Job, which is first in the traditional order of the כתובים (Hagiographa); *op. נביאים ראשונים*.

Agadic application as an illustration (כנון). The Jerus. Talmud gives only the example without the introductory words. How strained, compared with this explanation of our Boraitha, is that of Güdemann, which, as I have shown, uncritically sets down a whole passage as a later interpolation, and, nevertheless, still retains the ו before מעשים as authentic,¹ solely in order to be able to prove the contrast between the כרובים, the written (Biblical) sources from which the priest delivered his admonitory address, and the הגדה the oral source, i.e. the "tale, folk-story." But, according to this explanation, why are not examples adduced also for that portion of the admonitory speech that was intended to move the suspected wife to confess her guilt? Such examples would certainly have had a special interest for us; the lack of them, without any further arguments, is sufficient to demonstrate the view of Güdemann as untenable in every way.

Some time ago I thought that a plausible explanation of the word Haggada was to be found in a special signification of the word, hitherto unmentioned. הגדה denotes also, as is well known, an important portion of the ritual for the Eve of Passover, containing, by means of Agadic explanation of several Biblical verses, a glorified account of the Exodus from Egypt. The reason for this designation is not far to seek. One of the commandments by which the narrative of the Exodus was imposed as a duty upon future generations begins with the words: והגדת לבנך (Exod. xiii. 8). The ritual for Passover-eve that carried this ordinance into effect was therefore called הגדה.² This title, which con-

¹ In the *Lekach Tob* of R. Tobias b. Eliezer to Num. v. 19, the passage in the *Sifré* is inserted, and just without the ו of which we have spoken; besides, instead of שאירעו מעשים, he reads שאירע מעשים.

² Perhaps the word הגדה, in Deut. xxvi. 3, also had some influence upon the fixing of this designation, seeing that the interpretation of the verses (Deut. xxvi. 5-8) form the most important portion of the Passover Haggada, according to Mishna *Pesachim*, x. 4. Exod. xiii. 8 is also quoted by Gamliel in M. *Pesachim*, x. 15, but only in reference to

tained in this instance a special portion of the non-Halachic Midrash, or of Agadic exposition of Scripture, was then transferred to the whole species of that kind of Midrash that did not belong to the Halacha—in which there is nothing unusual, as numerous instances of similar transferences from a special to a general sense can be adduced from the history of terminology. But I soon gave up this hypothesis, plausible enough as for a time it seemed to me, when I recognised the fact that the antiquity of the expression *הגדה* used for the service for the Eve of Passover had not been sufficiently proved, so as to be able to be employed in the explanation of the word *Agada*, which was almost certainly already in use in its wider sense before the destruction of the Temple. The expression is not found in the Mishna; when anything is said about that which afterwards was termed the Passover-Haggada (*Pesachim* x. 5), the verb *דורש* is used (*דורש מארמי אובד אבי עד שיגמור כל הפרשה*) (כולה). Neither the Mishna nor the Tosefta, nor even the Jerusalem Talmud, contains a general name for the ritual for the Eve of Passover. Only in the Babylonian Talmud—and that, too, only in the sayings of the Babylonian Amoraim—do we find the word *הגדה*, and its Aramaic equivalent *אגדרא*, in the sense of the Passover-Haggada,¹ as it was afterwards generally understood. Still the whole ritual was not styled by this name, for we find the section consisting of praises (*The Psalms of the Hallel*), bearing a special title, *הלילא*.² Now since it is nowhere stated that the reason why the ritual for the Passover Eve is called

the explanation of the word *ליל*. V. also *המצות ס' of Maimuni* (ed. by Bloch, p. 132), Commandment 157, and the passages quoted there from the *Mechilta* of R. Simon.

¹ *Pesachim* 115b, *לפני מי שאומר הגדה*, in the controversy between *אמר רב אחא בר יעקב סומא* and *רב הונא*; *ib.* 116a, *אמר רב אחא בר יעקב סומא*; *ib.*, *ib.*, it is related by the two blind Amoraim of Babylon, Joseph and Shesheth, that they themselves had recited the *אגדתא* on the Passover Eve.

² *Pesachim*, 115b (in a saying of an Amora). *בין רביעי למימר*. *אגדתא והלילא*.

הגדה is derived from the commandment והגדרת, it is possible that this designation must be attributed to the more general signification of the word; the Agadic passages (and they are real Agada in the least disputed use of the word) that are recited on the Eve of Passover in honour of the deliverance from Egypt, were called exactly by their true name, and spoken of as the Haggada of the evening of the festival.¹

After this digression, we will now return to the subject of our inquiry. What is the primary meaning, and what the origin, of the expression Haggada (Agada)? That which is especially noteworthy in the above-quoted explanations, and that which has been the cause of their peculiarly hesitating and uncertain character, is the fact that none of them has a philological basis. In that stage of the development of the Hebrew language at which the word הגדה originated, we do not find attached to the verb הגיד, to which it belongs, any of those significations that are conjecturally ascribed to the noun. For "to say, to communicate," אמר is used in New-Hebrew, or נא; for "to relate," כוון or קשר; for "to discourse," דרש; but to my knowledge the verb הגיד never occurs in any of these senses.² Still, this verb is by no means rare in the New-Hebrew of the time to which we must ascribe the origin of the word

¹ Perhaps this portion of the liturgy of Passover Eve was expressly called הגדה, because learned men discussed also the Halacha of the festival. Thus says Eliezer ben Hyrcanus (*Mechilta* to Exod. xiii. 14, ed. Friedmann, 23a):—מנין אתה אומר שאם היתה חבורה של חכמים או של תלמידים שצריכים לעסוק בהילכות פסח עד חצות..... שהיו.....עוסקין בחלכות פסח כל אותו הלילה, In the corresponding piece of our Pesach Haggada (..... אליעזר בר, (מעשה בר, the learned men (Gamliel II. is missing from this list) are also engaged in eager discussion the whole night, but the subject of their conversation is not Halacha, but Agada—ביציאת מצרים—מספרים (note the use of מספרים, not מנידים, a point that supports the above-mentioned remarks upon the difference between the two verbs).

² Neither Levy nor Kohut discuss the verb; both only speak of the Aramaic verb נגד.

now under treatment. We there meet with it in quite a special sense, as a scholastic technical expression of the Palestinian exegetes, and just this signification which has strangely hitherto been altogether neglected by the numerous commentators upon the word Haggada is the one most especially fit for its thorough explanation.¹ We find it in a place where above all others it is our right and obligation to seek for the extensive word-family to which our expression belongs, viz., in the memorials of the oldest Palestinian exegesis, which have fortunately been preserved in the works of the Midrash of the Tannaim. These works, the final redaction of which took place at the beginning of the time of the Amoraim (first half of the third century), contain, as is well known, numerous ingredients that reach back to the earliest age of the Tannaim; these oldest elements of the Tannaite exegetes are to be found in the Midrashim emanating from the school of R. Ishmael. In the Midrash of the school of Ishmael our verb does not occur in isolated places, but is constantly employed as a technical term, and in one definite sense. I allude to the term *פני*, which very frequently introduces the meaning exegetically derived from the text of the Bible, and by which the interpretation or deduction from the text is linked on to it. Thus in the very introduction to the *Mechilta*² (to xii. 1, 1a), we read as follows: — *אל משה ואל אהרן שומע אני כל הקודם במקרא הוא קודם במעשה כשהוא אומר הוא אהרן ומשה מגיד ששניהם שקולים זה כזה*, i.e., because in one passage Aaron is mentioned before Moses, and in another the order is reversed, Scripture indicates that both were equal in rank. Then

¹ As far as I know the only person who has hitherto connected the word *פני* with the technical term of Tannaitic exegesis which is now to be discussed is Simon Ungar, pupil of the Seminary in Budapest, at present Rabbi of Szegzárd (Hungary), in his Hungarian dissertation upon the exegesis of the *Bereshith Rabba* (Budapest, 1890). Certainly he does not pursue the idea with sufficient precision, but nevertheless to him belongs the merit of having been the first to discover the right track to the explanation of our word.

² The edition of the *Mechilta* here quoted is that of Friedmann.

follow three similarly-couched instances to show that by inverting the ordinary order the text means to indicate the equality in rank. Here we may notice quite distinctly the manner in which מגיד introduces the teaching which is deduced from the Holy Writ, lessons that are not directly evident from the text, but which are to be drawn from what the text says (אומר). The subject to the word מגיד is to be understood, viz., the text, Holy Writ; as it is distinctly stated in many examples (cp. to xii. 41, 16a). מגיד הכתוב עין שמכיון שהגיע הזמן לא עכבן המקום כהרף עין (i.e., by the word מקץ Scripture teaches that as soon as the predetermined length of time for the duration of the Egyptian bondage had drawn to an end, God did not keep back the Israelites a single moment); to xiii. 22 (25b) מגיד הכתוב¹ שעדיין עמוד הענן קים היה עמוד האש צומח. Usually, however, the הכתוב is omitted, and that which is deduced from the words of the text is prefaced simply by 'מגיד ש'. E.g., xii. 31 (13b) ויקרא למשה ולאהרן מגיד שהיה פרעה מחזר ושואל (37b); xv. 3 (37b); בבל ארץ מצרים היכן משה שרוי היכן א' שרוי יי' איש מלחמה... מגיד שנגלה עליהם חק"בה בכל כלי זיון... מגיד שלא היה בהם כח לקבל יורה מעשרת; xx. 19 (71b); אבות הוא; xxxi. 17 (104b); הדברות שנאמר אם יוכפים אנחנו לעולם מגיד שאין שבת בטלה מישראל. From these and other illustrations it is clear that the peculiar kind of textual exposition and application which was introduced by the term מגיד was what we should now call *par excellence*, Haggada (Agada), viz., the amplification, the development of the contents of Scripture, which is nevertheless based upon some peculiarity of the Biblical text in question. The text of Scripture itself (הכתוב) indicates the new thought found

¹ The following passages contain further examples of Agadic exegesis in the *Mechilta*, introduced by 'מגיד הכתוב'—xiv. 8 (27b); xiv. 20 (30b); xv. 21 (44a); xv. 27 (46b).

² Other examples of Agada introduced by 'מגיד' are as follows:—xii. 17 (10a); xii. 33 (14a); xii. 34 (ib.); xii. 39 (15); xii. 42 (16b); xiv. 9 (27b); xv. 1 (36a); xv. 12 (42a); xvii. 14 (55a); xviii. 1 (57b); xix. 1 (61a); xix. 3 (62a); xx. 11 (69b); xx. 20 (72a); xxi. 18 (81b); xxi. 17 (104b); an instance of 'מגיד' without the 'ש', xii. 22 (11b).

in it by the interpreter, the text itself teaches him, and this indicating, this teaching, is what is denominated by the term **הַגְדָּר**. In this way is derived the simplest method of arriving at the origin of this word from the very atmosphere of thoughts that produced it—a method that once recognised can never be shaken. The early expositors of the Palestinian schools, probably long before the destruction of Jerusalem, investigated exegetically (**דרש**) whatever the Scripture contained beyond the simple meaning of the words, whatever it seemed to allude to, or to deduce, or to teach; and the outcome of their investigations and of their exposition they called simply **הַגְדָּר**, the deduction, the instruction, the subject to the predicate being “the text” understood.¹

From the same source we can now proceed to show that originally this application of the term **מניד** was not restricted to the so-called Agadic expositions, for we also meet with expositions of legal Biblical passages, the effect of which is to fix the Halacha, which are prefaced by the formula ‘מניד הכתוב ש’, **מניד ש’**.² The fact is that

¹ This personification of Holy Writ belongs to the linguistic usage of the early Midrash, as can be shown by a number of constant or isolated phrases. We need only call to mind the extremely frequent phrase **הכתוב מדבר**. From the *Mechilta* I will mention the following examples, **הקיש הכתב**, to xxi. 24 (84b); **נחקו הכתוב**, to xxii. 13 (93b); ‘**חד הכ**’, to xii. 5a (5a); **הכ מתמיה עליו**, to xviii. 5 (58a); from the *Sifre* to Num., **הקיש הכתוב**, § 118; **שינה הכ**, § 84; **הוסיף בה הכתוב**, § 69. Cp. also the usage with **למד**, which will be treated of more at length afterwards; and the phrase ‘**כנה הכ**’, that is used to introduce certain euphemistic passages in the Bible, called in the Massora **סופרים** (*Mechil.* to xv. 1 (39a); *Sifre* to Num. x. 35, § 84; cf. *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, II. 206). It is to be observed that wherever **הכתוב** is used, it can denote the verse under discussion, that is the single passage, or even the Scriptures as a whole. The case is the same with this word as with **מקרא**, which has the same two meanings.

² V. *Mechilta* to xii. 8 (6b): **מניד הכתוב הפסח צלי מצה ומרור**, to xxi. 2 (75a), **מניד הכתוב שהוא עובר שש ויוצא בשביעית**, to xxii. 13 (93b); **מניד שאינו חייב עד שיוציאו ברחו**; v., further, *Mechil.* to xii. 6 (5b); xii. 7 (6a); xii. 22 (11b); xii. 44 (17a); xii. 48 (18a); xiii. 10 (21b); xxi. 5 (76b); xxi. 11 (79a); xxi. 14 (80b); xxi. 18 (82b); xxi. 20 (83b).

originally there was no formal distinction in the methods of Halachic and Agadic exposition, and it is a false view that would regard Halachic and Agadic Midrash as having been from the first divided into two different spheres. One need only examine the extant remnants of the early Midrash to be assured of this truth. Here we find, verse by verse, as each paragraph in the Bible is discussed, one explanation after another, and the Halachic or Agadic character of the commentary is determined by the contents of the verses under treatment. Seeing that such is the case, we need not be surprised that the same term, מביד is prefixed to both kinds of interpretation. But owing to the circumstance that in the *Mechilta* this term is found much more commonly with Agada than with Halacha, we may be permitted to conclude that it was preferably used with non-Halachic exposition, until by reason of differentiation in the terminology of the schools, the word הגדרה was fixed in one sense, and came to denote only interpretation of a non-Halachic nature.

Besides the verb הגיד, another verb was used by the old expounders, which was also designed to connect the exposition with the text, and which in a yet more distinct manner marked the latter as the source of the former. This was the verb לימד, as used in the phrase, "The Scripture comes to teach (thee, us)," which formula is very often employed in the *Mechilta* to introduce both Halachic¹ and Agadic² interpretations. From this longer formula there arose the shorter one, "in order to teach thee,"³ with which is connected the phrase 'מלמד ש', exactly corresponding to 'מביד ש'. It is, indeed,

¹ בא הכתוב ללמדך; v. to xii. 4 (4a); xii. 11 (7a); xxi. 22 (84b); xxii. 15 (94a); xxii. 25 (96b); xxiii. 18 (102a).

² V. to xii. 29 (13b); xvi. 13 (49a).

³ ללמדך, to xii. 27 (13a); xiii. 21 (25a); xiv. 27 (32b); these are purely Agadic passages.

⁴ V. to xii. 21 (11a); xii. 36 (14b); xix. 16 (64b); xix. 17 (l. l.); xix. 21 (65b).

remarkable that this last-mentioned expression, which, as we shall shortly see, became one of the most commonly used terms of the Halachic Midrash, is, in the *Mechilta*, only prefixed to Agadic passages, whilst, as we have shown, מגיד occurs also with Halachic passages.¹ On the other hand, the noun תלמוד,² formed from למד, which became one of the most frequently used terms of the Midrash, especially of the Halachic Midrash, is employed in the *Mechilta* both with Halachic and Agadic explanations, thus, e.g., in the formula which asks for the underlying sense of the text, מה תלמוד לומר, literally, "what kind of teaching is it," that Scripture intends to convey, "in that it says?"³ Cp. also the extremely common formula שומע אני (שמעני) שומע אני תלמוד לומר....., that means, "I understand" the text in a sense that is derived from the simple construction of the words, but there is still "some teaching" in the Scripture that opposes that sense, "in that it is said."⁴ This is indeed the earliest signification of the word Talmud, which is of importance for us because in this meaning the term תלמוד bears the same relation to מלמד as הדמה to מגיד: in both expressions the word Scripture (כתוב) is to be understood as the subject.⁵

¹ That this difference in usage between מלמד and מגיד is no accidental one, can be seen from the following observation. We frequently meet in Agadic expositions with the formula, consisting of question and answer, מלמד..... מה תלמוד לומר; cp. to xvi. 10 (48a); xviii. 12 (59a); xviii. 14 (ib.). Only once do we find this formula in an Halachic passage, where האשה וילדיה מה תלמוד, to xxi. 4 (76a); מלמד, to xxi. 4 (76a); לומר מגיד שילדיה כמות.

² Cp. תלמוד from תלם.

³ V. the examples in note 1 above.

⁴ For an example in an Halachic passage, v. to xxi. 19 (83a), שומע אני יתן ערבים ניטייל בשוק תלמוד לומר אם יקום והתהלך בחוץ מגיד שחובשין ערבים (תלמוד is here the equivalent for שומע אני). For an Agadic example, v. to xii. 12 (7b), שומע אני על ידי מלאך או על ידי שליח תלמוד, לומר וי"י הכה כל בכור לא על ידי מלאך ולא עיי שחיה.

⁵ The principal meaning of the word Talmud, as afterwards understood, indicating the dialectic and exegetical commentary of the Mishna, is to be referred in a direct line to this original signification. Independently

In the inquiry upon the usage of the verb **הגיד**, and of its parallel **למד**, as a part of the terminology of the earliest Biblical exegesis of Palestine, I have intentionally restricted myself to the one chief work of the Tannaite Midrash, viz., the *Mechilta* to Exodus. Now, however, we will examine the remaining Midrashim of the Tannaim upon this question. The result of the investigation will not prove uninteresting for the history of our technical term, as well as for the composition of the several works in which it occurs. The *Sifre* to Numbers stands, as is well known, next to the *Mechilta* to Exodus, and with reference to the application of **מגיד ש'**, of **לימד** and its group of phrases, there is exactly the same usage met with as in the *Mechilta*.¹ **מגיד הכתוב** and **מגיד** are chiefly prefixed to Agadic explanations, but also very frequently to those dealing with Halacha, except that the fuller formula (with **הכתוב**) is of more common occurrence in the *Sifre*.² From the word **למד** we very often meet in Halachic expositions with the phrase **בא לימד** (instead of **ולמד**, and occasionally come across **ללמד**, the usual form in the *Mechilta*); also the common formulae **תלמוד לומר** **אני** ... **שומע** **אני**,³ and **תלמוד לומר** occur,

of this word, the phrase **תלמוד תורה** was formed, immediately from **למד** (**למד**), to study, to teach the Torah, where the subject is "the student" or the "teacher." The phrase also occurs without the word **תורה**, e.g., as a counterpart to **מעשה**.

¹ The edition of Friedmann, with its divisions of the paragraphs and of the verses (in the second part, viz., of Deuteronomy), is the edition of the *Sifre* here quoted.

² Agadic examples:—**מגיד הכתוב** to v. 21 (§ 15); vii. 1 (§ 44); vii. 10 (§ 47); vii. 89 (§ 58); viii. 4 (61); xi. 35 (84 frequently); xii. 1 (99); xii. 10 (105); xxvii. 1 (133); xxvii. 2 (*ib.*); end of § 135; beginning of § 136; xxvii. 16 (139); xxxi. 5, 6, 8, 12 (157); **מגיד**. vi. 26 (42); ix. 7 (68); xv. 39 (115); xxvii. 13 (136); xxx. 2 (153); xxxv. 34 (161). Halachic examples: **מגיד הכתוב**, v. 17 (10); v. 23 (end of 16); xv. 11 (107); xviii. 11 (117); xviii. 19 (119); xxx. 12, 13 (154). **מגיד**, v. 15 (8); v. 17 (10); vii. 15 (50); vii. 17 (51); xv. 34 (114); xix. 9 (124); xxvi. 56 (132); xxviii. 10 (end of 144); xxv. 30 (161). V. also the expression **מגיד** **אני** **שומע** **אני**, v. 15 (8).

³ At v. 10 (end of 6) instead of **אני** **שומע** **אני**, we find the corresponding term used in the "Akiban" Midrash, **יכול**; cf. also to xi. 21 (94).

being applied to countless instances. The participle מלמד is here also only prefaced to Agada.¹

Just as the *Mechilta* and the *Sifre* to Numbers are characteristic of the school of R. Ishmael, so is the *Sifra* (Torath Kohanim), which is the Tannaite Midrash to Leviticus, of the school of R. Akiba. One of the peculiarities of the terminology of this Midrashic work² is the fact that the expression מניד ש' is never used. And, as if to mark this singularity yet more distinctly, we find in the two passages, both derived from the Midrash of the school of Ishmael, which are subjoined to the sections אדרי מור and קדושים, the formula מניד used in one place with Halacha and in the other with Agada.³ Once in the *Sifra* להניד indeed occurs, but this passage also seems to have come from the Midrash of R. Ishmael, as it is also to be found in the *Sifre* to Deuteronomy.⁴ The expression מלמד ש' has completely displaced מניד ש' in the *Sifra*, and is used regularly without its subject הכתוב.⁵ It occurs chiefly with Halacha, but not infrequently also with Agada.

The Tannaite Midrash to Deuteronomy, which, together

¹ To v. 19 (12); xi. 4 (86); xi. 8 (89); xi. 10 (90); xi. 16 (92); xi. 30 (96), xi. 31 (97); xi. 33 (98); xii. 2 (100); xxv. 12 (131). In § 114 it is Halachically inferred from xv. 36, מלמד שכל חייבי מיתות נהרנים חוץ לבית דין, originally, however, מניד was the reading, since we find to xv. 34, מניד מלמד שלא נתחלקה, Cp. also § 132 to xxvi. 54, מניד שלא נתחלקה, ארץ ישראל, with the following to xxvi. 56, מניד שלא נתחלקה א"י.

² Cp. Hoffmann, *Zur Einleitung in die halachischen Midraschim*, p. 31.

³ *Sifra* (edited by Weiss), 93a, to xx. 18: העוה מניד הכתוב שעשה—; 86a, to xviii. 3, מניד הכתוב שמעשהו של..... בה את הפערה כנומר מצרים מקולקלין מכל צממין.

⁴ *Sifra*, 84a to xvii. 14: להניד מה נרם..... להניד מה נרם; cp. also *Sifre* to Deut. xiv. 27 (§ 108), להניד מה נרם, It is preferable to believe that this expression originated with the school of R. Ishmael, and found its way into the *Sifra*, than to ascribe it to the school of Akiba, which latter can claim the greater part of the middle portion of the *Sifre* to Deuteronomy.

⁵ J. Lewy in his treatise *A Word upon the Mechilta of R. Simon* (p. 33) remarks that in the *Mechilta* of R. Simon b. Jochai (of the school of R. Akiba) the expression הכתוב ללמד does not occur.

with that to Numbers constitutes the work called *Sifré*, originates chiefly from the school of Akiba, though it contains both in its Agadic and Halachic passages much that can be traced to the school of Ishmael.¹ The mixed character of this Midrash is further made manifest by the use of both the terms מלמד and מגיד. We find that neither is מגיד quite omitted, as in the *Sifra*, nor is מלמד employed only for Agadic expositions, as in the *Mechilta* of R. Ishmael. Most frequently we meet with 'מלמד ש' for Agadic explanations; but in the central portion (§§ 105-301) this expression preponderates in Halachic passages: it is just this central portion that bears the impress of the school of Akiba. In several paragraphs of the first and third parts that are mainly Agadic, and can be traced to the school of R. Ishmael,² 'מגיד הכרוב ש' and 'מגיד ש' occur in connection with Agadic expositions. The instances of the Halachic use of מגיד are to be found scattered about chiefly in the middle part.³

The knowledge of numerous fragments from a *Mechilta* to Deuteronomy, which Dr. Hoffmann has collected and elucidated from the "Midrash Haggadol,"⁴ we owe to that scholar, whose work upon the relation between the Midrashic writings of the school of Ishmael and that of Akiba is of exceptional merit. The few examples of the use of מלמד and מגיד that are to be found in the extracts given by Hoffmann, confirm the result of his investigation that this *Mechilta* is chiefly the work of the school of R. Ishmael, but also contains elements of the Akiban school.

¹ V. Hoffmann, p. 66 sq.

² V. to i. 24 (beginning of § 22); i. 20 (§ 23); xi. 12 (40); xi. 13 (beginning of 41); xi. 18 (beginning of 45); xi. 22 (beginning of 48); xii. 2 (beginning of 60); xii. 23 (beginning of 76). In § 353 to xxxiii. 13 sq., we find in the midst of a number of explanations, introduced by מלמד, one commencing with מגיד. In the central portion, to xv. 4 (114); xv. 8 (118).

³ To xv. 19 (beginning of 124); xvii. 12 (155); xxi. 5 (208); c. also to xii. 15 (71); xii. 20 (75).

⁴ *Jubelschrift* on the seventieth birthday of Dr. Israel Hildesheimer, pp. 83-98 in the German, and pp. 1-32 in the Hebrew section.

We, above all, meet with illustrations of the employment of מניד both with Agada and Halacha;¹ and also of the fact that מלמד is prefixed to both kinds of passages.²

The fact that the school of R. Ishmael used the expression מניד as a fixed technical term of Scriptural exposition, proves that this term had for a long time previously formed an integral part of the dialect of the Palestinian exegetes, for it is the Midrash of the school of R. Ishmael that preserved the tradition of the older exegesis as regards its contents, and certainly also as regards its terminology. The noun חנניה, connected with the term מניד, was in existence long before the Halachic and Agadic Midrash had reached its highest stage of development in the schools of Ishmael and Akiba; and whilst the school of Akiba altogether gave up the use of the verb חנני, as a technical term in Biblical exposition, in favour of its parallel לָמַד, the derivation (חנניה) of the first verb had already become well known, and had obtained the special signification which we find connected with it in the oldest examples furnished by Rabbinical literature. This signification is none other than that which is derived from the meaning of the verb חנני as an exegetical term. The evidence for this statement can also be made to serve as a test of the novel explanation that has been put forth in the present investigation in such complete opposition to previous interpreters of the meaning of the word Haggada. The original sense of the word is most clearly to be recognised in the instances where it is used in the plural. Eleazar b. Arach in his consolatory speech addressed to R. Johanan b. Zaccai upon the death of his son, praises the latter as one who had read the Holy

¹ Agadic, to xiv. 23; Halachic, to xvi. 8, xvi. 11, xx. 19, xxiv. 20. It is noteworthy that in the latter instance the *Sifre* (§ 284) introduces this Halacha by מלמד שיש לו פאה; here we read מניד שהוית חייב (בפאה). The phrase מניד דבר מניד (v. *supra*, p. 421, end of note 2), as Hoffmann remarks (p. 87), "occurs very frequently."

² Agadic, l. 1; xx. 19; xxvi. 5 (all these quotations occur also in the *Sifre*). Halachic, to xxi. 17.

Scriptures, and had studied the Halachoth and Haggadoth.¹ These plural forms denote the sum of the Halachic and non-Halachic expositions attached to the separate verses of the Bible, because originally הגדה naturally signified a single instance of the latter kind of exposition, whilst הלכה described a single instance of a law deduced from the text. Another disciple of R. Johanan b. Zaccai, Joshua b. Chananya, speaks of the "highly esteemed Haggadoth which are eagerly listened to by everyone."² R. Tarphon reports of R. Ishmael b. Elisha that he was very deeply versed in the Haggadoth.³ The exegetical nature of that branch of learning known as הלכות והגדות, becomes clear when we observe that both words are used along with the expression מדרש.⁴ But besides the plural הגדות (אגדות), the singular form הגדה (אגדה), also very early obtained the meaning by which it denoted the general body of non-Halachic interpretation of the Scripture, so that it came no longer to signify the individual explanation of a particular verse, but exposition in general. Wherever

¹ *Aboth di R. Nathan*, end of b. 14 (edited by Schechter, 30a):—קרא תורה מקרא נביאים וכתובים משנה הלכות ואגדות. It is impossible that should have been the original reading, because the verb קרא can only be applied to the Bible, and מקרא, here placed in the midst of the three divisions of the Bible, is superfluous and unmeaning. It seems to me that משנה should be emended to ושנה, and the words נביאים וכתובים be regarded as an explanatory gloss to מקרא (*v. Recue d. E. T.*, xv., 113). The sentence would then read קרא תורה ומקרא ושנה הלכות והגדות. Among the branches of knowledge for which R. Johanan b. Zaccai was himself celebrated, is הלכות והגדות; *v. A. di R. N.*, beginning of c. 14; *Succa*, 28b, *B. Bathra*, 134a.

² *Mechilta* to xv. 26 (46a), כל אדם, אגדות המשובחות הנשמעות באזני כל אדם.

³ *Mued Katon*, 28b, בגי באגדות; Joshua b. Levy says in the Midrash בפעולות יי' אלו הנרות, 5, to Psalm xxviii. 5.

⁴ The two legates of the Roman government learn with R. Gamliel also מדרש הלכות ואגדות, *Sifre* to Deut. xxxiii. 3 (344); in *Jer. Baba Kamia*, 4b, occur the words הלכות והגדות by themselves. According to R. Judah b. Ilai, a person who wishes to officiate upon the occasion of a service on a fast-day, must also be skilled in מדרש הל' והג' (*Taanith*, 16a). In telling of the learning of R. Johanan b. Zaccai. *Mass. Sifrim*, 16, 8, in מדרש הלכות ואגדות.

we meet with the word in this abstract sense in the singular number, the meaning is quite evident, and there is absolutely no reason for ascribing to it such significations as "tales, that which is said, narration, legend, discourse." In examining the passage where the people of Alexandria solicited an answer from the aged R. Joshua b. Chananya upon שלשה דברי חכמה and שלשה דברי חנדה,¹ we are not in any doubt about the meaning of the two abstract terms חכמה and חנדה, because tradition itself tells us the questions denoted by these terms. חכמה here denotes Halachic legal lore, for which signification הלכה is generally used; חנדה indicates non-Halachic interpretation of the Scriptures, because the three questions refer to Biblical passages which contradict each other, and R. Joshua b. Chananya is asked to reconcile them by means of his intimacy with Agadic exposition. R. Levi b. Sisi, a disciple of R. Judah I., was recommended as a judge and teacher to a certain congregation. In order to test his capability for the office, the members of the community addressed to him, though he had such a high recommendation, certain Halachic questions. Seeing that he was unable to answer them, they said, "Let us ask him some Haggada!" Then they asked him how the seeming contradiction between the words רשום and אמת (in Daniel x. 21) was to be solved.² A third characteristic illustration from the third century is the following:—R. Jonathan b. Eleazer had set up the thesis, that in the Holy Writ God permitted three persons to make a request, by means of the expression שאל, viz., King Solomon (1 Kings iii. 5), King Ahas

¹ *Nidda*, 66b; v. *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, I. 186.

² *Jer. Jebamoth*, end of c. 12 (13a); *Genesis Rabba*, beginning of a. 81. Instead of שאל ליה שאלו דאנרה (as it ought to read in the *Jerushalmi*, from שאלון, the plural to שאל, it has become incorrectly ליה שאלון, Gen. v. reads ברננה הוא נשאלה קראי. In this anecdote חנדה is opposed to אלפון (knowledge of traditional Halacha); so also in the anecdote about Rab and Chiya, that belongs to this period, *Gen. R.*, c. 56.

(Isaiah vii. 11), and King Messiah (Ps. ii. 8.) Thereupon, one of the Rabbi's pupils, Samuel b. Nachman (both were Agadists of the first rank), observed that he knew of two other persons to whom the same favour was extended by God, though the text does not distinctly say so; but מן חכמה, i.e., exegetically, it can be proved that such was the case. These persons are, Abraham, in which instance the question לי presupposes the anterior invitation שאל (Gen. xv. 2), and Jacob, where from Gen. xxviii. 22, the same can be derived from the words לי וכל אשר רתן לי. This last example shows very distinctly what idea was connected with חכמה; here, too, the word denotes the same as was above deduced from the corresponding verb (חגיד, מניד), viz., the exegetical elaboration of the contents of a verse, the evolution of new ideas based upon the interpretation of the Biblical text. It would take me too far were I to discuss the other illustrations that traditional literature furnishes for its use. The conclusions at which we have arrived by means of the preceding considerations form, according to my opinion, an unassailable foundation for the determination of the origin and primary significance of the word Haggada. To this fundamental meaning, the different shades of its use can be referred without any strained or finely-drawn arguments, but in a purely natural manner.

There is only one more point to be touched upon in this question, viz., that the expression חכמה was at a very early date brought into connection with the Aramaic verb נדר (corresponding to the Hebrew משך), without any reference to its real etymology. It was said that the חכמה was so called because it "attracts" (draws) the heart of men. This loose etymology, used with the idea of exalting the Agada,² was employed by Eleazar of Modiim (the

¹ Gen. R., c. 44, שחר טוב, to Ps. ii. 8. Cf. also the question of R. Johanan b. Chananya to the disciple who had heard a lecture given by R. Eleazar b. Azariah, בכה היה חכמה חסד (Chagiga Babyl., 3a), Jerus. reads instead מה היה פשוטו.

² V. *supra*, p. 425, note 2, for a similar description of the effect of the Agada upon its hearers, though differently expressed.

As is known, whilst the Babylonian Talmud most frequently spells it *הגדה*, the Palestinian works write it *אגדה*. Both Levy and Kohut assume that the form with an א is in no way a phonetic and orthographic modification of the word with the ה, which is the older of the two, but is a word entirely distinct both grammatically and radically. Both punctuate as follows: *אגדה*, and Levy supposes a simple root *גד* (with which he connects the Hebrew *גדר*), and from which comes the secondary root *אגד*, while Kohut takes the Aramaic word *גגד* as the root, though without any grammatical basis for his assertion. The real solution of the difficulty, however, is that the form *אגדה* is an example of that common softening of *הפצלה* into *אפצלה* so frequently made in Palestine. Notwithstanding this, the word in this form is not to be looked upon as an Aramaic noun derived from the Aphel, because no such Aphel form as *אגיד* = *הגיד* exists in Aramaic. It is merely an Aramaised form of the original Hebrew word, a parallel to which can be found in Biblical Hebrew in *אזקרה*, a term belonging to the sacrificial ritual.¹ The word ought, moreover, to be pointed *אגדה*, and its correct transcription would be *Aggada*. But the spelling *Agada* has become so common in the majority of scientific works of this century that treat of the word and its significance, that it would not be right to insist that the strange form with the double "g" should supersede the ordinary accepted spelling.² Even Zunz transcribed *הגדה* with one "g," and in his *Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge* and other later works he invariably writes the word *Hagada*.

W. BACHER.

¹ Similar *אפצלה* forms of purely Hebrew words are *אבטחה*, *Mechilta* to xviii. 21 (60a, line 1), *אברלה*, *אונאה*, *אדלקה*, *Jer. Shebiith*, beginning of c. 7.

² Cp. JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, III., 790.

NOTES IN REPLY TO MY CRITIC.

THE last number of the JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW contains a review of my book, *The Jewish Religion*, written by Mr. Claude Montefiore from the standpoint of Radicalism. The editors intimated to me that a reply would be welcome. I avail myself of the invitation, and propose to examine some of the criticisms passed on the book. In justice to Mr. Montefiore, I readily admit that he wrote the review *sine studio*, but to my regret I cannot add *et sine ira*. For had he written *sine ira*, he would not have been so inconsistent in the distribution of praise and blame, the two essential elements of a review. Whilst praise is lavished on me personally, the blame is mostly laid on the shoulders of orthodoxy. If I, *e.g.*, choose to call my work *The Jewish Religion*, why should all the orthodox be charged with the crime? Does Mr. Montefiore desire to imitate those barbarians who impute to the whole nation the crime committed by one individual? Or what is the meaning of the words, "That is naturally what orthodoxy claims to be. It cannot recognise any other phase of Judaism except its own"? (page 204). If this statement is correct, Mr. Montefiore is decidedly the most orthodox, every page of his article testifying to his inability to recognise any other opinion except his own.

There are other instances in which Mr. Montefiore attacks the orthodox rather than the author of *The Jewish Religion*. One of these may suffice. "For some time yet official orthodoxy will, I suppose, welcome gallant majors and colonels to preside at the distribution of prizes for proficiency in religious knowledge, while it will turn a cold shoulder to the gallant private, refusing to recognise in him a man who fulfils a 'national obligation'" (page 241).

I most positively deny the existence of any fact that could justify the latter part of this statement. Had the review been written *sine ira*, such an unjust and invidious charge would not have proceeded from the pen of Mr. Montefiore. There is not a word in the whole paragraph on Loyalty, or in any other part of my book, that could in the remotest way imply a recommendation of a major or colonel for the chair at a distribution of prizes. Nor have I personally anything to do with the appointment of chairmen for such occasions. But I declare that those who are responsible for the invitation of a major to distribute the prizes for proficiency in religious knowledge, can only be commended for having done so, and I have no doubt whatever that *cæteris paribus* a gallant private has in this respect as much chance as a gallant major.

Another striking feature of the review is the predominance of imagination, to the detriment of calm reasoning. Take, *e.g.*, the following passage:—"Why it is any satisfaction or excellence that there is no precept 'Thou shalt believe' it is very difficult to understand. The current opposition to a supposed fixed type of Christianity still makes itself felt in Dr. Friedländer's book (page 208)." In the first instance, nothing is said of satisfaction or excellence in the passage referred to. Secondly, the passage does not contain *my* view, but is distinctly introduced as an exposition of Moses Mendelssohn's theory. If the critic had been writing with strict objectiveness, as he no doubt intended to do, he would have stated that he criticised Mendelssohn and not my book. He would then not have had any occasion for lament that "the old Mendelssohnian theory has not been entirely got rid of." Although I differ from Mendelssohn, I cannot but speak with the greatest respect of the opinion of the Berlin Socrates, and think that his words are worth recording. My own view, that faith is an essential and indispensable element in Judaism, is repeatedly expressed in my book, and is the fountain from which every word in

it is drawn. Mr. Montefiore's quotation, "You cannot eat your cake and have it too," has thus been sent to the wrong address. Thirdly, the current opposition to a supposed fixed type of Christianity is a product of the critic's imagination. I had here not the slightest intention to oppose Christianity; my sole object was to expound Mendelssohn's view on faith.

The scoffing tone in which the critic sometimes indulges when speaking of things sacred to others—the Deity and religion—is, to say the least, astonishing. Undignified indeed are his utterances with regard to the Deity (p. 211), though it be only the Deity worshipped by me. Josephus, an historian of the age of barbarism, who was not writing in the nineteenth century, found in Exod. xxii. 27 the lesson that we must not revile the Deity worshipped by our neighbours. Even *The Jewish Religion*, whose "duties are merely so and so many laws" (page 234), and whose "virtue is broken up into small change" (*ibid.*), recommends "respect for the religious feelings of our fellow-men," and demands that "none should wound the feelings of members of another community in respect to anything they hold sacred." This lesson the book teaches both theoretically and practically; its author nowhere loses sight of it. I do not make this remark because I am the author of the book under discussion, but because it pains me exceedingly to find in a Jewish review ridicule and scoffing instead of argument and criticism.

There is a certain un-Jewish or even anti-Jewish spirit that permeates Mr. Montefiore's review. His knowledge of Judaism seems to have been obtained from other than Jewish sources; his contact with Jewish life seems too loose to produce a thorough understanding of that which fills the mind and heart of a faithful Israelite. I will illustrate what I say by a few examples. It is a well-known fact that it was not a difference of opinion about metaphysical or theological problems that brought about a rupture between the Jews and the early Christians. The

recognition on the one hand, and the rejection on the other, of the Pentateuch as a permanent code of laws for the Israelites formed the partition-wall between the two religions. The hostile position which the new religion took up against the Torah widened the breach. In the New Testament this hostility found full expression. Judaism, without the recognition of the Torah, has no *locus standi*, and the first words which a Jewish child is taught by its pious mother to utter are, therefore, the following:—תורה תחתי אמונתי. "May the Torah be my faithful companion." What has Mr. Montefiore to say on this point? He cries, "Laws, laws, laws! All through life, and even in death" (page 237). The term legalism, imported from a foreign land into the Jewish camp, is frequently met with, and Professor Butler's authority is cited by Mr. Montefiore in support of his attack upon legalism. A splendid sentence of Professor Butler's is quoted, "That though there are ten commandments in the Decalogue, there is still one Righteousness." What is its bearing, if admitted, on the recognition of the law as our truest guide? Does it not rather confirm our view, that the Ten Commandments—I only speak of Professor Butler's dictum—are all based on Righteousness, and that we cannot do better than keep them all? Surely the repeated reproach of legalism is un-Jewish; it may have some meaning in the mouth of Paul, but in the mouth of a Jew it is an absurdity.

But what does the outcry against the laws mean? Can Mr. Montefiore live and exist without laws? Is not his very breathing and moving controlled by laws of nature? Would he feel safe in his home without the existence of laws? Can he move in society without adhering to the laws of the country and the dictates of custom? Can he write a single line without due regard for certain established rules of grammar, logic, and good sense? Why, then, bewail the existence of moral and religious precepts? The key to the lament is given by Mr. Montefiore—

"Perhaps those who have not lived under the law cannot properly criticise it" (page 238). This may be the reason why the utterance of King David, "The laws of God are upright, rejoicing the heart" (Ps. xix. 8), finds no echo in their heart. Hence it is impossible for Mr. Montefiore to understand the way in which the pious Jew seeks communion with God, or the delight he feels in reading the Word of God, and in meditating on it, whether it be his Word revealed in Exodus or his Word revealed in Leviticus and Numbers. The scoffing at the practice of the observant Jew of reading the Sidra, Text and Targum, on Friday evening, is by no means an act of righteousness, and is neither justified by the precepts of the Pentateuch nor by any set of ethical laws.

Mr. Montefiore asks: Is a person who has broken fifteen commandments necessarily more sinful than one who has broken ten? This question does not trouble us in the least. All that we are anxious to learn and to teach is this—what is right and what is wrong; what does our holy religion tell us to do, and what are we forbidden to do. We say with our forefathers, *נעשה ונשמע*. It is of no importance to us to know the degree of sinfulness of every sin. As soon as we discover that we have committed a sin, we do not examine of what kind or of what degree that sin is, but listen to the voice of our conscience that calls: Return. I have classified the Rabbinical laws in accordance with their origin, with the view of instructing those who wish to live accordingly. If anyone that seeks information in my book for the purpose of pulling down our religious edifice finds himself disappointed, I have no sympathy with him.

A very important element in Judaism is the belief in the Unity of God. To Mr. Montefiore "the Divine Unity seems to have become some fetish, of which no rational and soul-satisfying explanation can be given" (p. 214.) He admits that "in the sense that there is only one Divine Being, God's Unity is obvious." It is, in fact, in this sense, that we daily proclaim God as One; and in this sense we are

repeatedly told in the Bible, "He is God and there is none besides." But Unity in this sense, in the Jewish sense, does not satisfy Mr. Montefiore; it is "vague and negative." He is satisfied with Plato's definition of Unity as self-consistency and changelessness, and says, "that is precisely what Dr. Friedländer does not and cannot mean." But without giving it as the definition of Unity I do say precisely the same thing in my book, viz., "In declaring his Unity, we declare also his Immutability" (p. 45). But instead of taking into account what I actually say, Mr. Montefiore prefers to criticise what I do not say; for he sees "nothing but scholastic argumentations on the divine attributes, with indirect reference to the doctrine of the Trinity." Is it perhaps in my explanatory remark on the concluding words of the second principle, in which I find the expression of our belief that God never existed in a *double* form, that Mr. Montefiore finds reference to the *Trinity*? And would there be any harm if, in speaking of God's Unity, I expressly rejected Dualism and Trinity?

Again, in discussing my remarks on the eleventh article, Mr. Montefiore says, "what Dr. Friedländer is really combating when he so emphatically affirms that, if death is punishment, everyone dies for his own sin, is not the transmission of punishment by virtue of the solidarity of society, but the doctrine of Vicarious Atonement. Yet here in his opposition to Christianity he goes too far," etc.; "he neglects a most important ethical truth, which has both Biblical and Talmudical sanction: the virtue of self-sacrifice" (p. 223).

Why is Mr. Montefiore constantly on the look out for opposition to Christianity? I most emphatically declare that this was not my object when writing the book, not even when writing on Vicarious Atonement. It has really the appearance as if the article were written not with a view to state any shortcomings of mine with regard to the Jewish religion, but to defend Christianity from any real or suspected opposition on my part. As Mr. Montefiore himself

knows, we have in Jewish literature sufficient evidence to show that the idea of Vicarious Atonement was not altogether foreign to Jewish thought. Although the idea was held also by Jews. I deny its correctness, and support my view by quotations from the Bible, without having any direct cause to attack Christianity. Equally erroneous is Mr. Montefiore's statement that antagonism to Christianity suggested my emendations in the A. V. of Is. liii. Nothing but grammar and context were my guides in the work of revising the A. V. As to the reason why the apparently righteous and innocent suffer and die, my view is clearly stated in *The Jewish Religion*. I declare it a mystery to the human mind, although we may *suggest* some explanations. I must leave it to those who profess to know better the plans of Divine Justice, to speak with greater exactness of things unknowable to me. But a word on the virtue of self-sacrifice. What is meant by the term? If it is the virtue of our sacrificing our wealth, health and life, in the interests of our fellow-men, it is a virtue generally accepted and practised by Jews and non-Jews alike; and is taught in *The Jewish Religion* under the various heads of duties towards our fellow-men. When after the death of a person, friends of the deceased express the wish that they had suffered death instead of him, or utter a desire to be the atonement for him, their wishes, though meaningless, have a justification. I can also understand the merit of those who voluntarily suffer pain with the purpose of setting to their fellow-men an example of patience and submission to the Will of God. But the virtue of one who shortens or destroys his life, without any known purpose, and merely in brooding and grieving over the sins of others, I cannot see; such an act is sinful, and perhaps the outcome of insanity. Our religion by no means recommends such self-sacrifice; it is practised neither by Jews nor by non-Jews, and seems to have been invented merely as a plausible explanation of the Vicarious Atonement or Vicarious Death in the Christian Faith.

Mr. Montefiore asks, Is a state of sin a merely Christian conception? It is certainly not a Jewish doctrine. We believe that we are not in a state of sin, unless we have actually sinned. Man has weaknesses, and is inclined to sin. To struggle against this inclination and to guard against falling into the snare of sin, is, from a Jewish point of view, our duty. My book is intended to be a guide and a help to everyone in this struggle. When man has sinned it is return from sin, *תשובה*, that can save him. I purposely avoided the term repentance; it is *תשובה* on which the Scriptures insist. The theory of *תשובה* is Jewish, and has therefore found a place in *The Jewish Religion*.

There are in Mr. Montefiore's review more questions and objections of this kind, but I pass them over in silence. It is but natural that a writer filled with anti-Jewish ideas should find in a book written from a Jewish point of view theories that are unintelligible to him, and teaching to which he objects. That I am not the only one that sees in this review, and in other articles written by Mr. Montefiore, an anti-Jewish tendency, becomes patent from the following fact: My attention was called to the table of contents of the February number of the *Review of Reviews*, and I noted the title: Are Jews becoming Christians?¹ I turned to page 159, when I saw that this was nothing but a reference to Mr. Montefiore's notes on the effects of Biblical criticism upon the Jewish religion.

Besides this un-Jewish tendency, Mr. Montefiore's standpoint from which he views religious faith and religious practice is admittedly widely different from mine. His supreme authority seems to be modern philosophy, mine is the teaching of Holy Writ. Mr. Montefiore says that I throw down the gauntlet to anything that savours of criticism, reform and progress (page 206). This is not the fact. I only oppose faulty criticism, destructive and retrogressive tendencies. Or am I expected to recognise *reform* in mere

¹ The title is supplemented on p. 159 by the words, "or Christians Jews," in small print.

disobedience to the Word of God revealed in the Scriptures, or any *progress* in mere opposition to the truths taught in the most trustworthy of books? Why should we have more confidence in the teaching of philosophy than in the teaching of revelation? Can Mr. Montefiore point even to one single problem concerning God, His attributes, His relation to the universe, and in particular to man, or concerning the object of man's existence, or concerning his life and death, that has been brought nearer its solution by the philosophical theories propounded by profound and learned thinkers up to the present day? Is not philosophy now, "in the nineteenth century," as far from the right solution of these problems as our remotest ancestors were in the very beginning of philosophical research? But if Mr. Montefiore thinks that I "do not greatly approve of philosophy" (page 206) he is mistaken. In love and regard for philosophy and science I yield to none, but I will not deceive myself in accepting as *final* such solutions as at best can only be proposed as suggestions or hypotheses, and of which from time to time "the old has to be removed because of the new."

Revelation is the only source that supplies true and permanent solutions to these transcendental problems, and it is through the Scriptures that we obtain a knowledge of the contents of Divine Revelation. "But do we know that it is so?" asks Mr. Montefiore. "How do we know that the Old Testament is the only genuine work? To this question Dr. Friedländer can give no rational answer" (page 208). Had Mr. Montefiore stopped here, I should have agreed with him; for I never pretend to prove that which is exclusively a matter of faith, and never attempt to pass the limits which the Almighty has set to our faculties (Comp. *The Jewish Religion*, page 6). Mr. Montefiore, however, continues: "But the worst of it is, that he does in a sort of way, attempt to give one, and lo, it is the old answer of the Jewish mediæval philosophers over again (*The Jewish Religion*, page 47). It is really amazing to find the circular argument, that because all Israel heard God's voice pro-

claiming the Ten Commandments, the trustworthiness of Moses was thereby tested and established for ever, revived in the nineteenth century." If Mr. Montefiore had read page 47 of my book, to which he refers, with a little more attention, he would have found that his statement has no other basis than his own imagination. I am speaking of the possibility of prophecy, and *he* attacks a proof which he fancies that I have given for the belief in the genuineness of the Scriptures. More than this. What he calls "the old answer of the Jewish mediæval philosophers," is a direct quotation from Exodus xix. 9, 11, and I am not at all ashamed that I am caught quoting the Bible "in the nineteenth century."

Mr. Montefiore asks, "Why not say frankly, I choose to believe the truth of the Bible, although I am unable to prove it?" I do say so. Turn to pages 2 and 6 of my book. He asks further, "Why not say frankly, I choose to believe it, although it be contrary to reason?" Simply because I do *not* believe so. I am convinced that the contradictions are only apparent; they disappear when thoroughly examined. What the Torah teaches is true, but, or rather, therefore, I am unwilling to shut my eye to the results of science. So long as the distinct line of demarcation between faith and reason (*The Jewish Religion*, pages 6 and 12) is not ignored, there is no fear of injury to either, and a complete reconciliation—not a half-and-half reconciliation, as Mr. Montefiore assumes—is obtained. When a contradiction presents itself to our mind, we must be mistaken, either in that which we believe to have been proved by reason, or in that which we believe to have been taught by Holy Writ; either the former is a mere hypothesis, and not a fully established fact, or our interpretation of a Biblical text is erroneous. The critic, ignoring this standpoint of mine, discovers contradictions in my book where there are none. See, *e.g.*, his review, page 212.

In order to show my estimate of Biblical criticisms, Mr. Montefiore (page 226) quotes the following "two categorical

statements":—1. "There is nothing in the Pentateuch that betrays a post-Mosaic origin"; 2. "There is no reason whatever to doubt the correctness of the headings" (of Psalms, Proverbs, Prophecies, etc.). These two categorical statements are the result of many years' earnest study. The arguments of sceptics and writers have up to this day always had my fullest attention. The more I see of these arguments the more am I confirmed in my principles. Mr. Montefiore may perhaps think that I do not approach criticism which proves to be hostile to the integrity and the authenticity of Biblical books with sufficient freedom; in fact, he speaks repeatedly of my "preconceived ideas." I do not deny the fact. My mind is not a *tabula rasa*; I have certain views, the result of education and training, which lead me in a certain direction: I have faith; and nothing but forcible and demonstrative arguments will ever cause me to turn into another direction. I unhesitatingly admit this. But I ask Mr. Montefiore whether he can conscientiously assert that he approaches questions of this kind without preconceived ideas, and examines with an unbiassed spirit opinions and explanations which are opposed to those to which he has been accustomed and which, therefore, appear to him natural?

Mr. Montefiore fears that homiletics and exegesis are in the class rooms of Jews' College frequently confounded (p. 227), and he authoritatively rejects explanations suggested by me of Biblical words and passages, because they seem strange to him. With authority it is difficult to argue. Has Mr. Montefiore, *e.g.*, before passing judgment on my explanation of עֵבֶר הַיָּרְדֵּן, examined all passages in which the word עֵבֶר occurs, as I have done? Has he met with another explanation of the headings of Hab. iii., Ps. vii., etc., that is more satisfactory and more in harmony with grammar and context than the one suggested by ancient commentators and repeated by me? An impartial examination of my rendering of Biblical passages would have convinced him that they are without exception

based on the rules of grammar. As to the relation between homiletics and exegesis it is not impossible that they are at times confounded, there being no clear and distinct border between them, and what at one time appears to be the homiletical interpretation of a Biblical passage, is at another time found to be in fact its literal explanation. I nevertheless can assure Mr. Montefiore that the distinction between דרש and פשט is not ignored by the teachers of Jews' College.

In accordance with the different standpoints of *The Jewish Religion* and Mr. Montefiore's review the conception of the Deity in the latter is different from the former. My conception of God is based on the teaching of the Scriptures; God is the Creator and the Ruler of the Universe, and by his decree phenomena appear and events occur which are contrary to human expectation, *i.e.*, miracles are wrought by him. According to the idea of Mr. Montefiore the Divine Being is bound to act according to certain laws established by human reason. This is by no means a new theory. Asaph in Ps. lxxviii. 41, speaking of the Israelites in the wilderness says, "Yea, they turned back and tempted God, and limited the Holy One of Israel."

Mr. Montefiore asks whether Orthodox Judaism teaches an immanent or a transcendent God, or a God who is at the same time both. As Orthodox Judaism has no God of its own, I cannot answer this question. What, however, Judaism teaches is clearly set forth in my book. I am by no means "silent upon this momentous question," although I do not employ such philosophical terms as Immanent and Transcendent. The doctrine that although God is omnipresent, and his power and wisdom permeate everything we notice, the things themselves are not identical with the Deity, is expounded in my book (pp. 22 *seq.*), and Mr. Montefiore's wish that a doctrine implying Immanence and Transcendence should be presented to the enlightened Jew has thus, to some extent

been anticipated. To demonstrate how these two opposites are combined in One Being is beyond human power.

Equally impossible it is to prove the coexistence of God's omniscience and man's freewill. This is a problem too difficult for us to solve, it is one of the hidden things that belong to the Lord our God. This is the teaching of *The Jewish Religion* (page 149). Mr. Montefiore, quoting from the same page, ignores this plain statement, and thinks it necessary to blame me for not imitating the boldness of the Mishnaic sage, who said, "Everything is foreseen, yet freedom of choice is given" (page 215). But first, there is no boldness in the saying; secondly, the translation "foreseen" is inaccurate, the original for it is צפרי which simply means "seen," and the Mishnaic sage probably did not intend to state a philosophical problem, but to emphasise the lesson that our actions are watched by an all-seeing eye, although the wicked continue in wickedness without restraint, as if there was no judgment and no retribution (לית דין ולית דין). The same mistake Mr. Montefiore repeats still more emphatically on page 216.

The different conceptions of the Deity lead naturally to different opinions about the nature of prayer. Prayer in a wider sense is used of all communion with God, including petition, which is the original meaning of the term. The basis of a petition is the belief that the being addressed has it in his power to grant the petition; it would be contrary to all logic and common sense to pray to any being for something which that being is unable to grant or to refuse. Mr. Montefiore has a different conception of prayer. According to his view, prayer must not anticipate a change in God, who is immutable. Exclude from our prayer all material wants, restrict it to spiritual things, even to the words, May thy will be done. What force or meaning can be in our *prayer*, if the will or decree of God is immutable and *must* be done? Whatever phrases and paraphrases may be used in defining the word prayer, if you analyse them you will find in them the idea of a petition, the granting of which

is believed to be exclusively in the hands of him to whom the petition is addressed. I admit that prayer purifies the soul, ennobles the heart, elevates us and brings us nearer to our Creator; I admit all this, but as a prayer it still retains its original meaning as taught in the Bible. The contradiction between prayer and God's Immutability is only a fiction; we choose to define God's Immutability as identical with the stability of the law of nature, and deny the efficacy of prayer because of this definition. Define it as the immutability of his kindness and justice, his wisdom and his omnipotence, and the contradiction will disappear.

Mr. Montefiore thinks that there are serious omissions in *The Jewish Religion*, he misses in the book all reference to sin and repentance, to the virtue of self-sacrifice, and to Immanence and Transcendence; but I have shown in the above that these subjects were duly and fully considered in my book. Mr. Montefiore further finds in the book "two moral blots" (page 242). First, my opinion that a divorce may take place when man and wife are a source of trouble and misery the one to the other. Mr. Montefiore thinks that I ought to have clearly stated that only when the trouble is caused by adultery should divorce be granted. Even if I thought so, the explanation would not be necessary. According to *The Jewish Religion* (page 488), the religious acts of marriage and divorce should only take place in accordance with the laws of the State. I am, however, unable to see the morality of the law laid down by Mr. Montefiore, that man and wife, who, from any cause whatsoever, are unhappy in each other's company, should be doomed to unhappiness all their life-time.

The second moral blot is my statement of the fact that the issue of mixed marriages are, before the tribunal of our Religion, which does not recognise such marriages, illegitimate. The term, I admit, sounds rather harsh. But where such marriage is not recognised, the children are naturally considered as born out of wedlock. Mixed marriages are

a growing evil in the Jewish community, and silence on this point would be cowardice.

Finally, Mr. Montefiore says (page 244) that that which is wanting in my book is Hellenism. The combination of Hebraism and Hellenism, which Mr. Montefiore recommends on the authority of Professor Butcher, has been tried two thousand years ago, and has proved a failure. Orthodox or not orthodox, the Jews are not prevented by their religion from acquiring the culture of the time. The Jews have always "freely mixed with the big outer world, and with the wide stream of general civilisation"—a fact entirely ignored by Mr. Montefiore. But there is no necessity or desirability to introduce into Judaism foreign or even antagonistic elements. Judaism, based on Revelation, cannot be arbitrarily modified. That it has vitality, the past has proved; it has been victorious in spite of many hard trials, and I have the firm conviction that the present trials will likewise pass away without injury to Judaism, for *זרע קדש מצברת* (Is. vi. 13).

M. FRIEDLÄNDER

“THE HISTORY OF JEWISH TRADITION.”

THERE is an anecdote about a famous Orientalist to the effect that he used to tell his pupils, “Should I ever grow old and weak—which usually drives people to embrace the safer side—and alter my opinions, then pray do not believe me.” The concluding volume of Weiss’s *History of Jewish Tradition*¹ shows that there was no need for our author to warn his pupils against the dangers accompanying old age. For though Weiss had, when he began to write this last volume, already exceeded his three-score and ten, and, as we read in the preface, had some misgivings as to whether he should continue his work, there is no trace in it of any abatement of the great powers of the author. It is marked by the same freshness in diction, the same marvellous scholarship, the same display of astonishing critical powers and the same impartial and straightforward way of judging persons and things, for which the preceding volumes were so much distinguished and admired.

This book, which is recognised as a standard work abroad, is, we fear, owing to the fact of its being written in the Hebrew language, not sufficiently known in this country. Weiss does not want *our* recognition; we are rather in need of his instruction. Some general view of his estimate of Jewish Tradition may, therefore, be of service to the student. It is, indeed, the only work of its kind. Zunz has confined himself to the history of the Haggadah. Graetz gave most of his attention to the political side of Jewish history. But comparatively little was done for the Halachah, though Frankel, Geiger, Herzfeld, and others

¹ The Hebrew title of the work is דור ודור.

have treated some single points in various monographs. Thus it was left for Weiss to write the *History of Tradition*, which includes both the Haggadah and the Halachah. The treatment of this latter must have proved, in consequence of the unyielding and intricate nature of its materials, by far the more difficult portion of his task.

In speaking of the *History of Tradition*, a term which suggests the fluctuating character of a thing, its origin, development, progress, and retrogression, we have already indicated that Weiss does not consider even the Halachah as fallen from heaven, ready-made, and definitely fixed for all time. To define it more clearly, Tradition is, apart from the few *Tekanoth* or ordinances, and certain customs for which there is no precedent in the Bible, the history of interpretation of the Scriptures, which was constantly liable to variation, not on grounds of philology, but through the subjective notions of successive generations regarding religion and the method and scope of its application.

Weiss's standpoint with reference to the Pentateuch is the conservative one, maintaining both its unity and its Mosaic authorship. Those passages and accounts in the Bible in which the modern critic traces the sources of different traditions, are for Weiss only indicative of the various stages of interpretation through which the Pentateuch had to pass. The earliest stage was a very crude one, as may be seen from the case of Jephtha's vow, for which only a misinterpretation of certain passages in the Pentateuch (Gen. xxii. 2; Numb. xxv. 4) could be made responsible. Nor was Jephtha, or even Joshua (ix. 18), acquainted with the provision for dissolving vows that was sufficiently familiar to later ages. When, on the other hand, Jeremiah declared sacrifices to be altogether superfluous, and said that God did not command Israel, when he brought them from the land of Egypt, concerning burnt offerings or sacrifices (vii. 22), he was not in contradiction with Leviticus, but interpreted the laws contained in this book as a concession to popular custom, though

not desirable on their own account. This concession, whenever it was of a harmless nature, the prophets carried so far as to permit altars outside the tabernacle or temple, though this was against the plain sense of Deuteronomy. Elijah even bewailed their destruction (1 Kings xix. 10). He and other prophets probably interpreted the law in question as directed against the construction and maintenance of several chief sanctuaries, but not against sacrificing in different places on minor occasions. This is evidently a free interpretation, or rather application, of the Law. Occasionally the conception as to when and how a law should be applied took a completely negative form. In this manner is to be explained the action of Solomon in suspending the Fast of the Day of Atonement, before the festival he was going to celebrate in honour of the consecration of the Temple (1 Kings viii. 65; see also *Moed Katon* 9), the king being under the impression that on this unique occasion the latter was of more religious importance than the former. Weiss thinks that the later custom of holding public dances in the vineyards on the 10th of Tishri might have had its origin in this solemn, but also joyful, festival. Ezekiel, again, though alluding more frequently than any other prophet to the laws in the *Pentateuch*, is exceedingly bold in his interpretation of them, as, for instance, when he says that *priests* shall not eat anything that is dead or torn (xliv. 31), which shows that he took the verses in *Exod.* xxii. 30, and *Deut.* xiv. 20, to have been meant only as a good advice to the laymen to refrain from eating these unclean things, but not as having for them the force of a real commandment.

Starting from this proposition, that there existed always some sort of interpretation running side by side with the recognised Scriptures, which the looser its connection with the letter of the Scripture the more it could be considered a thing independent in itself, and might therefore be regarded as the *Oral Law*, in contradistinction to the *Written Law*, the author passes to the age of the

Second Temple, the period to which the rest of the first volume is devoted. In these pages Weiss reviews the activity of Ezra and Nehemiah, the ordinances of the men of the Great Synagogue, the institutions of the Sopherim, the Lives of the so-called Pairs (Zugoth), the characteristics of the three sects, the Sadducees, Pharisees and Essenes, and the differences between the schools of Shammai and Hillel. To each of these subjects Weiss gives his fullest attention, and his treatment of them would form perfect monographs in themselves. To reproduce all the interesting matter would mean to translate the whole of this portion of his work into English. We shall only draw attention to one or two points.

First, this liberal interpretation was active during the whole period referred to. Otherwise no authority could have abolished the *lex talionis*, or have permitted war on Sabbath, or made the condition that no crime should be punished without a preceding warning (which was chiefly owing to the aversion of the Rabbis to the infliction of capital punishment), or have sanctioned the sacrificing of the Pesach when the 14th of Nisan fell on Sabbath. Indeed Shemayah and Abtalion, in whose name Hillel communicated this last Halachah, were called *Darshanim Gedolim*, the Great Interpreters.

Secondly, as to the so-called *laws given to Moses on Sinai* (Halachoth le-Mosheh Missinai). Much has been said about these. The distinction claimed for them by some scholars, viz., that they were never contested, is not tenable, considering that there prevailed much difference of opinion about certain of these Halachoth. Nor is the theory that they were ancient laws, dating from time immemorial, entirely satisfactory. For though the fact may be true in itself, this could not have justified the Rabbis in calling them all Sinaitic laws, especially when they were aware that not a few of these laws were contested by certain of their colleagues, a thing that would have been quite impossible if they had a genuine

claim to Mosaic authority. But if we understand Weiss rightly these laws are only to be considered as a specimen of the whole of the Oral Law, which was believed to emanate, both in its institutional and in its expository part, from the same authority. The conviction was firmly held that everything wise and good, be it ethical or ceremonial in its character, whose effect would be to strengthen the cause of religion, was at least potentially contained in the Torah, and that it only required an earnest religious mind to find it there. Hence the famous adage that "everything which any student will teach at any future time was already communicated to Moses on the Mount Sinai;" or the injunction that any acceptable truth, even if discovered by an insignificant man in Israel, should be considered as if having the authority of a great sage or prophet, or even of Moses himself. The principle was that the words of the Torah are "fruitful and multiply."

It will probably be said that the laws of unclean and clean, and such like, have proved rather too prolific, but if we read Weiss carefully, we shall be reminded that it was by the same process of propagation that the Rabbis developed from Deut. xxii. 8, a whole code of sanitary and police-laws which could even now be studied with profit; from the few scanty civil laws in Exod. xxi, a whole *corpus juris*, which might well excite the interest and the admiration of any lawyer; and from the words "And thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children," a complete school-system on the one hand, and on the other the *résumé* of a liturgy that appears to have sufficed for the spiritual needs of more than fifty generations of Israelites.

Before we pass to the Tanaite age (110-220 C.E.), the subject of Weiss' second volume, we must take account of two important events which have greatly influenced the further development of Tradition. We refer to the destruction of the Temple and the rise of Christianity. With the former event Judaism ceased to be a political

commonwealth, and if "the nation was already in the times of Ezra converted into a church," it became the more so after it had lost the last remains of its independence. But it was a church without priests, or, since such a thing, as far as history teaches us, has never existed, let us rather call it a Synagogue. From this fact diverse results flowed. A Synagogue not only can exist without priests, but also without sacrifices, for which prayer and charity were a sufficient substitute. With the progress of time also many agricultural laws, as well as others relating to sacerdotal purity, gradually became obsolete, though they lingered on for some generations, and as a venerable reminiscence of a glorious time entered largely into Jewish literature. This disappearance of so many laws and the weakening of the national element, however, required, if Judaism was to continue to exist, the strengthening of religion from another side. The first thing needed was the creation of a new religious centre which would not only replace the Temple to a certain degree, but also bring about a greater solidarity of views, such as would render impossible the ancient differences that divided the schools of Hillel and Shammai. The creator of this centre was R. Jochanan ben Zakkai, who founded the school of Jamnia, and invested it with the same authority and importance as the Synhedrin had enjoyed during Temple times. The consciousness that they were standing before a new turn in history, with a large religious inheritance from the past, actuated them not only to collect the old Halachoth and to take stock of their religious institutions, but also to give them more definite shape and greater stability. As many of the Halachoth were by no means undisputed, the best thing was to bring them under one or other heading of the Scriptures. This desire gave the impulse to the famous hermeneutic schools of R. Akiba and R. Ishmael.

The next contributing cause for giving a more determinate expression to the Law was the rise of Christianity. This is not the place to give a full account of the views

which the Rabbis entertained of Christianity. Suffice it to say they could not see in the destruction of the Law its fulfilment. They also thought that under certain conditions it is not only the letter that killeth, but also the spirit, or rather, that the spirit may sometimes be clothed in a letter, which, in its turn, will slay more victims than the letter against which the loudest denunciations have been levelled. Spirit without letter, let theologians say what they will, is a mere phantasm. However, the new sect made claims to the gift of prophecy, which, as they thought, placed them above the Law. It would seem that this was a time of special excitement. The student of the Talmud finds that such strange phenomena as predicting the future, reviving the dead, casting out demons, crossing rivers dry-footed, curing the sick by a touch or prayer, were the order of the day, and performed by scores of Rabbis. Voices from heaven were often heard, and strange visions were frequently beheld. The Jewish legislature had no means of preventing these supernatural workings; but when the Rabbis saw their dangerous consequences, they insisted that miracles should have no influence on the interpretation and development of the Law. Hence the saying with regard to Lev. xxvii. 34, that no prophet is authorised to add a new law. And when R. Eliezer b. Hyrkanos (about 120 C.E.) thought to prove the justice of his case by the intervention of miracles, the majority answered that the fact of this or that variation, effected at his bidding, in the established order of nature, proved nothing for the soundness of his argument. Nay, they even ignored the Bath-Kol, the celestial voice, which declared itself in favour of R. Eliezer, maintaining that the Torah once having been given to mankind, it is only the opinion of the majority that should decide on its interpretation and application. Into such discredit miracles fell at that period, whilst the opinion of the interpreting body, or the Synhedrin, became more powerful than ever. These were merely dogmatical consequences. But new laws were

enacted and old ones revived, with the object of resisting Christian influences over the Jews. The expansion of the Oral Law, and giving it a firm basis in the Scriptures, were considered the best means to preserve Judaism intact. "Moses desired," an old legend narrates, "that the Mishnah also (that is Tradition) should be written down;" but foreseeing the time when the nations of the world would translate the Torah into Greek, and would assert their title to rank as the Children of God, the Lord refused to permit tradition to be recorded otherwise than by word of mouth. The claim of the Gentiles might then be refuted by asking them whether they were also in possession of "the Mystery." The Rabbis therefore concentrated their attention upon "the Mystery," and this contributed largely towards making the expository methods of R. Akiba and R. Ishmael, to which we have above referred, the main object of their study in the schools.

It would, however, be a mistake to think that the Synhedrin now spent their powers in "enforcing retrograde measures and creating a strange exegesis." We especially advise the student to read carefully that admirable chapter (VII., of Part II.) in which Weiss classifies all the Ordinances, "Fences," Decrees, and Institutions, dating both from this and from earlier ages, under ten headings, and also shows their underlying principles. The main object was to preserve the Jewish religion by strengthening the principle of Jewish nationality, and to preserve the nationality by the aid of religion. But sometimes the Rabbis also considered it necessary to preserve religion against itself, so to speak, or, as they expressed it, "When there is a time to work for the Lord, they make void thy Law." This authorised the Beth-Din to act in certain cases against the letter of the Torah. "The welfare of the World" (*Tikun Haolam*) was another great consideration. By "world" they understood both the religious and the secular world. From a regard to the former resulted such "Fences" and Ordinances as were directed against "the

transgressors," as well as the general injunction to "keep aloof from what is morally unseemly, and from whatever bears any likeness thereto." In the interests of the latter—the welfare of the secular world—they enacted such laws as either tended to elevate the position of women, or to promote the peace and welfare of members of their own community, or to improve the relations between Jews and their Gentile neighbours. They also held the great principle that nothing is so injurious to the cause of religion as increasing the number of sinners by needless severity. Hence the introduction of many laws "for the benefit of penitents," and the maxim not to issue any decree which may prove too heavy a burden to the majority of the community. The relaxation of certain Sopheric laws was also permitted when they involved a serious loss of property, or the sacrifice of a man's dignity. Some old decrees were even permitted to fall into oblivion when public opinion was too strong against them, the Rabbis holding that it was often better for Israelites to be unconscious sinners than wilful transgressors. The *Minhag*, or the religious custom, also played an important part, it being assumed that it must have been first introduced by some eminent authority; but, if there was reason to believe that the *Minhag* owed its origin to some fancy of the populace, and that it had a pernicious effect on the multitude, no compunction was felt in abolishing it.

Very important it is to note that the Oral Law had not at this period assumed a character of such rigidity that all its ordinances, etc., had to be looked upon as irremovable for all times. With those who think otherwise, it is a favourite way to quote the administratory measure laid down in *Mishnah Eduyoth*, I. 5, where we read that no *Beth Din* has the right of annulling the dicta of another *Beth Din*, unless it is stronger in numbers (having a larger majority) and greater in wisdom than its fellow tribunal. Confess with becoming modesty that the world is always going downhill, decreasing both in numbers and in wisdom, and the result

follows that any decision by the earlier Rabbis is fixed law for all eternity. Weiss refutes such an idea not only as inconsistent with the nature of Tradition, but also as contradictory to the facts. He proves by numerous instances that the Rabbis did abolish ordinances and decrees introduced by preceding authorities, and that the whole conception is based on a misunderstanding. For the rule in question, as Weiss clearly points out, originally only meant that a *Beth Din* has no right to undo the decrees of another contemporary *Beth Din*, unless it was justified in doing so by the weight of its greater authority. This was necessary if a central authority should exist at all. Weiss is indeed of opinion that the whole passage is a later interpolation from the age of R. Simon b. Gamaliel II., when certain Rabbis tried to emancipate themselves from the authority of the *Nasi*. But it was not meant that the decision of a *Beth Din* should have perpetual binding power for all posterity. This was left to the discretion of the legislature of each generation, who had to examine whether the original cause for maintaining such decision still existed.

The rest of this volume is for the greater part taken up with complete monographs of the Patriarchs (Nesiiim) and the heads of the schools of that age, whilst the concluding chapters give us the history of the literature, the Midrash, Mechilta, Sifra, Sifre, Mishnah, etc., which contain both the Halachic and the Haggadic sayings emanating from these authorities.

With regard to these Patriarchs, we should like only to remark that Weiss defends them against the charge made by Schorr and others, who accuse them of having assumed too much authority on account of their noble descent, and who describe their opponents as the true friends of the people. Weiss is no lover of such captivating phrases. The qualifications required for the leadership of the people were a right instinct for the necessities of their time, a fair amount of secular knowledge, and, what is of chief importance, an unbounded love and devotion to those over

whose interests they were called to watch. These distinctions, as Weiss proves, the descendants of Hillel possessed in the highest degree. It is true that occasionally, as for instance in the famous controversy of R. Gamaliel with R. Joshua b. Chananyah, or that of R. Simon b. Gamaliel II. with R. Nathan and R. Meir, they made their authority too heavily felt; but this was again another necessity of those troubled times, when only real unity could save Israel. However, Weiss is no partisan, and the love he lavishes on his favourite heroes does not exhaust his resources of sympathy and appreciation for members of the other schools. Weiss is no apologist either, and does not make the slightest attempt towards explaining away even the defects of R. Akiba in his somewhat arbitrary method of interpretation, which our author thinks much inferior to the expository rules of R. Ishmael; but this does not prevent him from admiring his excellencies. Altogether it would seem that Weiss thinks R. Akiba more happy in his quality as a great saint than in that of a great exegete. What is most admirable is the instinct with which Weiss understands how to emphasise the right thing in its right place. As an indication of the literary honesty and marvellous industry of our author, I would draw attention to the fact that the sketch of R. Akiba and his school alone is based on more than two thousand quotations (we have counted them) scattered over the whole area of the Rabbinic literature; but he points in a special note to a sentence attributed to R. Akiba, which presents the whole man and his generation in a single stroke. We refer to that passage in *Semachoth VIII.*, in which R. Akiba speaks of the four types of sufferers. He compares them to a king chastising his children; the one son maintains stubborn silence, the second simply rebels, the third supplicates for mercy, and the fourth (the best of sons) says: "Father, proceed with thy chastisement, as David said, Wash me thoroughly from mine iniquity and cleanse me from my sin" (Ps. li. 4). This absolute submission to the will of God, which per-

ceives in suffering only an expression of his fatherly love and mercy, was the ideal of R. Akiba.

The great literary production of this period was the Mishnah, which, through the high authority of its compiler, R. Judah the Patriarch, his saintliness and popularity, soon superseded all the collections of a similar kind, and became the official text-book of the Oral Law. But a text requires interpretation, whilst other collections also demanded some attention. This brings us to the two *Talmudim*, namely the Talmud of Jerusalem and the Talmud of Babylon, the origin and history of which form the subject of Weiss's third volume.

Here again the first chapters are more of a preliminary character, giving the student some insight into the labyrinth of the Talmud. The two chapters entitled "The instruments employed in erecting the great Edifice," and the "Workmanship displayed by the Builders," give evidence of almost unrivalled familiarity with the Rabbinical literature, and of critical powers of the rarest kind. Now these instruments were by no means new, for, as Weiss shows, the Amoraim employed in interpreting the Mishnah the same explanatory rules that are known to us from the Boraitha of R. Ishmael as "the Thirteen Rules by which the Torah is explained," though they appear in the Talmud under other names, and are in reality only a species of Midrash. Besides this there comes another element into play. It is the exaggerated awe of all earlier authorities that endeavoured to reconcile the most contradictory statements by means of a subtle dialecticism for which the schools in Babylon were especially famous. There were certainly many opponents of this system, and from the monograph which Weiss gives on the various heads of the western and eastern schools we see that not all followed this method, and some among them even condemned it in the strongest words. However, it cannot be denied that there is a strong scholastic feature in the Talmud, which is very far from what we would look for in

a trustworthy exegesis. Thus we must not always expect to find in the Talmud the true meaning of the earlier tradition, and it is possible that a more scientific method may in certain cases lead to results the very opposite of those at which the later Rabbis have arrived. This fact was already recognised, though only in part, by R. Jom Tob Heller and others. Only they insist that in this matter a line must be drawn between theory and practice. But Weiss gives irrefutable proofs that even this line was often overstepped by the greatest authorities, though they remained always within the limits of Tradition. Indeed, as Weiss points out, not every saying to be found in the Talmud is to be looked upon as representing Tradition ; for there is much in it which only gives the individual opinion or is merely an interpolation of later hands ; nor does the Talmud contain the *whole* of Tradition, this latter proceeding and advancing with the time, and corresponding to its conditions and notions. Reading Weiss, the conviction is borne in upon us that there was a Talmud before, and another after *The Talmud*.

Much space in this volume is given to the Haggadah and the so-called "Teachers of the Haggadah." Weiss makes no attempt at apology for that which seems to us strange, or even repugnant in this part of the Rabbinic literature. The greatest fault to be found with those who wrote down such passages as appear objectionable to us is, perhaps, that they did not observe the wise rule of Johnson, who said to Boswell on a certain occasion, "Let us get serious, for there comes a fool." And the fools unfortunately did come in the shape of certain Jewish commentators and Christian controversialists, who took as serious things which were only the expression of a momentary impulse, or represented the opinion of some isolated individual, or were meant only as a piece of humorous by-play, calculated to enliven the interest of a languid audience. But on the other hand, as Weiss proves, the Haggadah contains also many elements of real edification and eternal truths, as

well as abundant material for building up the edifice of dogmatic Judaism. Talmudical quotations of such a nature are scattered by thousands over Weiss's work, particularly in those chapters in which he describes the lives of the greatest Rabbinical heroes. But the author lays the student under special obligations by putting together in the concluding pages of this volume some of these sentences, and classifying them under various headings. We give here a few extracts. For the references to authorities we must direct the reader to the original:—

“The unity of God is the keystone of dogmatic Judaism. The Rabbis give Israel the credit of having proclaimed to the world the unity of God. They also say that Israel took an oath never to change him for another God. This only God is eternal, incorporeal, and immutable. And though the prophets saw him in different aspects, he warned them that they must not infer from the visions vouchsafed to them that there are different Gods. ‘I am the first,’ he tells them, which implies that he had no father, and the words, ‘There is no God besides me,’ mean that he has no son. Now, this God, the God of Israel, is holy in every thinkable way of holiness. He is merciful and gracious, as it is said, ‘And I will be gracious to whom I will be gracious,’ even though he who is the recipient of God’s grace has no merit of his own. ‘And I will show mercy to whom I will show mercy,’ that is, even to those who do not deserve it. His attributes are righteousness, loving-kindness, and truth. God speaks words of eternal truth, even as he himself is the eternal life. All that the Merciful One does is only for good, and even in the time of his anger he remembers his graciousness, and often suppresses his attribute of judgment before his attribute of mercy. But with the righteous God is more severe than with the rest of the world, and when his hand falls in chastening on his saints his name becomes awful, revered, and exalted. This God of Israel, again, extends his

providence over all mankind, and especially over Israel. By his eye everything is foreseen, yet freedom of choice is given, and the world is adjudged by grace, yet all this is according to the amount of work. Hence, know what is above thee, a seeing eye and a hearing ear, and all thy deeds written in a book.

"They [the Rabbis] believed that God created the world out of nothing, without any toil and without weariness. This world was created by the combination of his two attributes, mercy and justice. He rejoices in his creation, and if the Maker praises it, who dares to blame it? And if he exults in it, who shall find a blemish in it? Nay, it is a glorious and a beautiful world. It is created for man, and its other denizens were all only meant to serve him. Though all mankind are formed after the type of Adam, none is like to his fellow-man (each one having an individuality of his own). Thus he is able to say, 'For my sake, also, was the world created'; and with this thought his responsibilities increase. But the greatest love shown to man is that he was created in the image of God. Man is a being possessed of free will, and, though everything is given on pledge, whosoever wishes to borrow may come and borrow. Everything is in the gift of Heaven except the fear of God. In man's heart abide both the evil inclination and the good inclination; and the words of Scripture, 'Thou shalt not bow down before a strange god,' point to the strange god who is within the body of man, who entices him to sin in this world and gives evidence against him in the next. But the Holy One—blessed be he!—said, 'I have created the evil inclination, but I have also created its antidote, the Torah.' And when man is occupied with the Torah and in works of charity, he becomes the master of the evil inclination; otherwise, he is its slave. When man reflects the image of God, he is the lord of creation, and is feared by all creatures; but this image is defaced by sin, and then he has no power over the universe, and is in fear of all things.

"Another principle of Judaism is the belief in reward and punishment. 'I am the Lord, your God' means, it is I who am prepared to recompense you for your good actions, and to bring retribution upon you for your evil deeds. God does not allow to pass unrewarded even the merit of a kind and considerate word. By the same measure which man metes out, it shall be meted out to him. Because thou drownedst others, they have drowned thee, and at the last they that drowned thee shall themselves be drowned. Though it is not in our power to explain either the prosperity of the wicked or the affliction of the righteous, nevertheless know before whom thou toilest, and who thy employer is, who will pay thee the reward of thy labour. Here at thy door is a poor man standing, and at his right hand standeth God. If thou grantest his request, be certain of thy reward; but if thou refusest, think of him who is by the side of the poor, and will avenge it on thee. 'God seeketh the persecuted' to defend him, even though it be the wicked, who is persecuted by the righteous. The soul of man is immortal, the souls of the righteous being treasured up under the throne of God. Know that everything is according to the reckoning, and let not thy imagination give thee hope that the grave will be a place of refuge for thee, for perforce thou wast formed, and perforce thou wast born, and thou livest perforce, and perforce thou wilt die, and perforce thou wilt in the future have to give account and reckoning before the Supreme King of kings, the Holy One, blessed be he.

"The advent of the Messiah is another article of the belief of the Rabbis. But if a man tell thee that he knows when the redemption of Israel will take place, believe him not, for this is one of the unrevealed secrets of the Almighty. The mission of Elijah is to bring peace into the world, while the Messiah, in whose days Israel will regain his national independence, will lead the whole world in repentance to God. On this, it is believed, will follow the resurrection of the dead.

“Another main principle in the belief of the Rabbis is the election of Israel, which imposes on them special duties, and gives them a peculiar mission. Beloved are Israel, for they are called the children of God, and his firstborn. ‘They shall endure for ever’ through the merit of their fathers. There is an especial covenant established between God and the tribes of Israel. God is their father, and he said to them, My children, even as I have no contact with the profanity of the world, so also withdraw yourselves from it. And as I am holy, be ye also holy. Nay, sanctify thyself by refraining even from that which is not forbidden thee. There is no holiness without chastity.

“The main duty of Israel is to sanctify the name of God, for the Torah was only given that his great name might be glorified. Better is it that a single letter of the law be cast out than that the name of Heaven be profaned. And this also is the mission of Israel in this world: to sanctify the name of God, as it is written, ‘This people have I formed for myself, that they may show forth my praise.’ Or, ‘And thou shalt love the Lord thy God,’ which means, Thou shalt make God beloved by all creatures, even as Abraham did. Israel is the light of the world; as it is said, ‘And nations will walk by thy light.’ But he who profanes the name of Heaven in secret will suffer the penalty thereof in public; and this whether the Heavenly Name be profaned in ignorance or in wilfulness.

“Another duty towards God is to love him and to fear him. God’s only representative on earth is the God-fearing man. Woe unto those who are occupied in the study of the Torah, but who have no fear of God. But a still higher duty it is to perform the commandments of God from love. For greater is he who submits to the will of God from love than he who does so from fear.

“Now, how shall man love God? This is answered in the words of Scripture, ‘And these words shall be upon thy heart.’ For by them thou wilt recognise him whose

word called the world into existence, and follow his divine attributes.

"God is righteous, be ye also righteous, O Israel. By righteousness the Rabbis understand love of truth, hatred of lying and backbiting. The seal of the Holy One, blessed be he, is Truth, of which the actions of man should also bear the impress. Hence, let thy yea be yea, and thy nay, nay. He who is honest in money transactions, unto him this is reckoned as if he had fulfilled the whole of the Torah. Greater is he who earns his livelihood by the labour of his hands than even the God-fearing man; whilst the righteous judge is, as it were, the companion of God in the government of the world. For upon three things the world stands: upon truth, upon judgment, upon peace; as it is said, 'Judge ye the truth and the judgment of peace in your gates.' But he who breaks his word, his sin is as great as if he worshipped idols; and God, who punished the people of the time of the Flood, will also punish him who does not stand by his word. Such a one belongs to one of the four classes who are not admitted into the presence of the Shechinah; these are the scoffers, the hypocrites (who bring the wrath of God into the world), the liars, and the slanderers. The sin of the slanderer is like that of one who would deny the root (the root of all religion, *i.e.*, the existence of God). The greatest of liars, however, is he who perjures himself, which also involves the sin of profanation of the name of God. The hypocrite, who insinuates himself into people's good opinions, who wears his Tephilin and is enwrapped in his Talith, and secretly commits sins, equally transgresses the command, 'Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain.'

"God is gracious and merciful; therefore man also should be gracious and merciful. Hence, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,' which is a main principle in the Torah. What is unpleasant to thee, do not do unto thy neighbour. This is the whole Torah, to which the rest is

only to be considered as a commentary. And this love is also extended to the stranger, for as it is said with regard to Israel, 'And thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,' so is it also said, 'And thou shalt love him (the stranger) like thyself.' And thus said God to Israel, 'My beloved children, Am I in want of anything that I should request it of you? But what I ask of you is that you should love, honour, and respect one another.' Therefore, love mankind, and bring them near to the Torah. Let the honour of thy friend be as dear to thee as thine own. Condemn not thy fellow-man until thou art come into his place, and judge all men in the scale of merit. Say not, 'I will love scholars, but hate their disciples;' or even, 'I will love the disciples, but hate the ignorant,' but love all, for he who hates his neighbour is as bad as a murderer. Indeed, during the age of the second Temple, men studied the Torah and the commandments, and performed works of charity, but they hated each other, a sin that outweighs all other sins, and for which the holy Temple was destroyed. Be careful not to withdraw thy mercy from any man, for he who does so rebels against the kingdom of God on earth. Walk in the ways of God, who is merciful even to the wicked, and as he is gracious alike to those who know him, and to those who know him not, so be thou. Indeed, charity is one of the three pillars on which the world is based. It is more precious than all other virtues. The man who gives charity in secret is greater even than Moses our teacher. An act of charity and love it is to pray for our fellow-man, and to admonish him. 'Thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy neighbour, and not suffer sin upon him,' means it is thy duty to admonish him a hundred times if need be, even if he be thy superior; for Jerusalem was only destroyed for the sin of not admonishing one another. The man whose protest would be of any weight, and who does not exercise his authority (when any wrong is about to be committed), is held responsible for the whole world.

"Peacefulness and humility are also the fruit of love. Be of the disciples of Aaron, loving peace, and pursuing peace. Let every man be cautious in the fear of God; let him ever give the soft answer that turneth away wrath; let him promote peace, not only among his own relatives and acquaintances, but also amongst the Gentiles. For (the labour of) all the prophets was to plant peace in the world. Be exceeding lowly of spirit, since the hope of man is but the worm. Be humble as Hillel, for he who is humble causes the Divine presence to dwell with man. But the proud man makes God say, 'I and he cannot dwell in the same place.' He who runs after glory, glory flees from him, and he who flees from glory, glory shall pursue him. Be of those who are despised rather than of those who despise; of the persecuted rather than of the persecutors; be of those who bear their reproach in silence and answer not.

"Another distinctive mark of Judaism is faith in God, and perfect confidence in him. Which is the right course for a man to choose for himself? Let him have a strong faith in God, as it is said, 'Mine eye shall be upon the faithful (meaning those possessing faith in God) of the land.' And so also Habakkuk based the whole Torah on the principle of faith, as it is said, 'And the just shall live by his faith.' He who but fulfils a single commandment in absolute faith in God deserves that the Holy Spirit should rest on him. Blessed is the man who fears God in private, and trusts in him with all his heart, for such fear and trust arms him against every misfortune. He who puts his trust in the Holy One, blessed be he, God becomes his shield and protection in this world and in the next. He who has bread in his basket for to-day, and says, 'What shall I have to eat to-morrow?' is a man of little faith. One consequence of real faith is always to believe in the justice of God's judgments. It is the duty of man to thank God when he is visited with misfortune as he does in the time of prosperity. Therefore, blessed is the man

who, when visited by suffering, questions not God's justice. But what shall he do? Let him examine his conduct and repent.

"For repentance is the greatest prerogative of man. Better is one hour of repentance and good deeds in this world than the whole life of the world to come. The aim of all wisdom is repentance and good deeds. The place where the truly penitent shall stand is higher than that of the righteous. Repentance finds its special expression in prayer; and when it is said in Scripture, 'Serve God with all thy heart,' by this is meant, serve him by prayer, which is even greater than worship by means of sacrifices. Never is a prayer entirely unanswered by God. Therefore, even though the sword be on a man's neck, let him not cease to supplicate God's mercy. But regard not thy prayer as a fixed mechanical task, but as an appeal for mercy and grace before the All-Present; as it is said, 'For he is gracious and full of mercy, slow to anger, abounding in loving-kindness, and repenteth him of the evil.'"

The last two volumes of Weiss's work deal with the history of Tradition during the Middle Ages, that is, from the conclusion of the Talmud to the compilation of the *Shulchan Aruch*. We have already indicated that with Weiss Tradition did not terminate with the conclusion of the Talmud. It only means that a certain undefinable kind of literature, mostly held in dialogue form and containing many elements of Tradition, was at last brought to an end. The authorities who did this editorial work were the so-called *Rabbanan Saburai* and the *Geonim*, whose lives and literary activity are fully described by Weiss. But, while thus engaged in preserving their inheritance from the past, they were also enriching Tradition by new contributions, both the *Saburai* and the *Geonim* having not only added to and diminished from the Talmud, but having also introduced avowedly new ordinances and decrees, and created new institutions.

Now, it cannot be denied that a few of these ordinances

and decrees had a reforming tendency (see Chapters ii. and xx. of Vol. IV.); in general, however, they took a more conservative turn than was the case in the previous ages. This must be ascribed to the event of the great schism within the Rabbinical camp itself. We refer to the rise of Karaism, which took place during the first half of the eighth century. There is probably no work in which the *Halachic* side of this sect is better described than in this volume of Weiss, and we deeply regret that we are unable to enter into its details. But we cannot refrain from pointing to one of the main principles of the Karaites. This was "Search well the Scriptures." Now this does not look very dissimilar to the principle held by the Rabbis. For what else is the Talmud, but a thorough searching through the Bible for whatever was suggested by time and circumstances. The light which the Karaites applied to the searching of the Scriptures was the same which illumined the paths of the Rabbis' investigations. They employed most of the expository rules of the Tanaite schools. The fact is that they were only determined to find something different from what the Rabbis found in the Scriptures. They wanted to have gloomy Sabbaths and Festivals, and discovered authority for it in the Bible; they wanted to retain most of the dietary laws which had their root only in Tradition, but insisted on petty differences which they thought might be inferred from the Scriptures, and they created a new "order of inheritance," and varied the forbidden degrees in marriage, in all which the only merit lay that they were in contradiction to the interpretations of the Rabbis. They also refused to accept the Liturgy of Rabbinical Judaism, but never succeeded in producing more than a patchwork from verses of the Bible, which, thus recast, they called a prayer-book. There were undoubtedly among their leaders many serious and sincere men, but they give us the impression of prigs, as for instance, Moses Darai, when he reproaches the Rabbinical Jews for having an "easy religion," or Israel Hammaarabi,

when he recommended his book on the laws of *Shechitah* as having the special advantage that his decisions were always on the more stringent side. Those who made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land were by the Karaites canonised as *mourners*. The Rabbanite R. Jehuda Hallevi also visited the ruins of Jerusalem, but he did something more than "mourn and sigh and cry," he became a God-intoxicated singer, and wrote the "*Zionide*." The novel terminology which they use in their exegetical and theological works, was only invented to spite the Rabbanites, and marks its authors as pedants. On the other hand, it is not to be denied that their opponents did not employ the best means for reconciling them. The middle ages knew no other remedy against schism than excommunication, and the Geonim were the children of their time. Nor were the arguments which the latter brought forward in defence of Tradition always calculated to convince the Karaites of their error. And when R. Saadyah, in his apology for the institution of the Second Day of the Festival, went to the length of assigning to it a Sinaitic origin, he could only succeed in making the Karaites more suspicious against the claims of Tradition. In a later generation one of his own party, R. Hai Gaon, had to declare his predecessor's words a "controversial exaggeration." The zeal which some of the Geonim showed in their defence of such works as the *Hechaloth*, the *Shiur Komah* was a not less unfortunate thing, for it involved the Rabbanites in unnecessary responsibilities for a new class of literature of doubtful origin, which in succeeding centuries was disowned by the best minds of Judaism.

The Geonaic period, to which we also owe the rise of the *Massorah* and the introduction of points in the text of the Bible—of which Weiss treats fully in the twenty-third and twenty-fourth chapters of Vol. IV.—comes to an end with the death of R. Samuel ben Chofni and R. Hai. The famous schools of Sura and Pumbeditha, over which these two Geonim presided, fell into decay, and Babylon ceased

to be the centre of Judaism. To be more exact, we should say that Judaism had no real centre any longer. Instead of dwelling in one place for centuries, we now have to be perpetually on our journey, accompanying our author through all the inhabited parts of the world—France, Italy, Spain, Germany, with an occasional trip to Africa and Russia. There we shall meet with the new schools, each of which, though interpreting the same Torah, occupied with the study of the same Talmud, and even conforming more or less to the same mode of life, has an individuality and character of its own, reflecting the thought and habits of the country which it represents. Thus “geographical Judaism” becomes a factor in history which no scholar can afford to neglect. It is true that Judaism never remained entirely unbiassed by foreign ideas, and our author points in many a place to Persian, Greek, and Roman influences on Tradition; still, these influences seem to have undergone such a thorough “Judaisation” that it is only the practised eye of the scholar that is able to see through the transformation. But it requires no great skill to discriminate between the work produced by a Spanish and that of a French Rabbi. Though both would write in Hebrew, they betray themselves very soon by the style, diction, and train of thought peculiar to each country. The Spaniard is always logical, clear, and systematising, whilst the French Rabbi has very little sense of order, is always writing occasional notes, has a great tendency to be obscure, but is mostly profound and critical. Hence the fact that whilst Spain produced the greatest codifiers of the law, we owe to France and Germany the best commentaries on the Talmud. What these codes and commentaries meant for Judaism the student will find in Weiss’s book, and still more fully in his admirable essays on Rashi, Maimonides, and Rabbenu Tam (published in his periodical, *Beth Talmud*, and also separately). It is enough for us here only to notice the fact of the breadth of Tradition, which could include within its folds

men of such different types as Maimonides, Solomon b. Gabirol, and Abn Ezra on one side, and Rabbenu Gershom, Rashi and Rabbenu Tam on the other side.

The last three centuries which occupy our author's attention in the fifth volume are not remarkable for their progress in the Halachah. The world lives on the past. The rationalists write treatises on Maimonides' philosophical works, whilst the Halachists add commentary to commentary. It is, indeed, the reign of authority, "modified by accidents." Such an accident was the struggle between the Maimonists and anti-Maimonists, or the rise of the Kabbala, or the frequent controversies with Christians, all of which tended to direct the minds of people into new channels of thought. But though this period is less original in its work, it is not on that account less sympathetic. One cannot read those beautiful descriptions which Weiss gives of R. Meir of Rothenburg, and his school, or of R. Asher and his descendants, without feeling that one is in an atmosphere of saints, who are the more attractive the less they were conscious of their own saintliness. The only mistake, perhaps, was that the successors of these "Chassidim of Germany" looked on many of the religious customs (Minhagim) that were merely the voluntary expression of particularly devout souls as worthy of imitation by the whole community, and made them obligatory upon all.

This brings us to the question of the Shulchan Aruch, with which Weiss's work concludes. We have already transgressed the limits of a review, without flattering ourselves that we have done anything like justice to the greatest work on Jewish Tradition which modern Jewish genius has produced. But we should not like the reader to carry away with him the false impression that our author shares in the general cry, "Save us from the Codifiers." Weiss, himself a Rabbi, and the disciple of the greatest Rabbis of the first half of this century, is quite aware of the impossibility of having a law without a kind

of manual to it, which brings the fluid matter into some fixed form, classifying it under its proper headings, and this is what we call codifying the law. And thus he never passes any attempt made in this direction without paying due tribute to its author—be it R. Moses b. Maimon, or R. Joseph Caro. But however great the literary value of a code may be, it does not invest it with the attribute of infallibility, nor does it exempt the student or the Rabbi who makes use of it from the duty of examining each paragraph on its own merits, and subjecting it to the same rules of interpretation that were always applied to Tradition. Indeed, Weiss shows that Maimonides deviated in some cases from his own code, when it was required by circumstances. (See *Beth Talmud*, I., 357.)

Nor do we know any modern author who is more in favour of strong authority than Weiss. His treatment of the struggle between the Patriarch R. Gamaliel and his adversaries, which we have touched on above, proves this sufficiently. What Weiss really objects to, is a *weak* authority—we mean that phonograph-like authority which is always busy in reproducing the voice of others without an opinion of its own, without originality, without initiative and discretion. The real authorities are those who, drawing their inspiration from the past, also understand how to reconcile us with the present, and to prepare us for the future.

S. SCHECHTER

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE WRITINGS OF PROFESSOR A. KUENEN.

IN the July number of this REVIEW one of Professor Kuenen's most intimate English friends—translator of the “Hexateuch” and of the Hibbert Lectures—will give an outline of his life and an adequate estimate of his work. Meanwhile, in the present number will be found a complete bibliography of his various writings, compiled by the care and kindness of Prof. van Manen. Valuable as the bibliography and the subsequent article will be in themselves for all Biblical students, the Editors of this REVIEW cannot help also regarding them in the light of a tribute to Kuenen's memory. They cannot but remember with wistful pleasure and gratitude how, in the pages of the *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, the great scholar welcomed the early numbers of their REVIEW with words of sympathy and encouragement, and subsequently more than once referred to its progress with kindly appreciation.¹ In 1889 one of them was privileged to pay a visit to Leiden, and to see and talk to the greatest living authority on the Old Testament in his own simple home. In that visit, and from some subsequent letters, written mostly in answer to difficulties arising in the course of a beginner's work, he learnt something of that beautiful modesty and gentleness which had, perhaps, won for Kuenen as much admiring homage as his unrivalled learning and his unwearied patience, thoroughness, and moderation. Kuenen's life-work was devoted to the elucidation of the Old Testament, the Bible of the Jews. His views and results were not “orthodox,” as the saying is, but he had no motive in all his labours beyond and except the discovery of truth. He had no bias against any race, no prejudice against any religious community. It thus comes to pass that none, as we hope, mourn his loss more keenly, honour his memory more sincerely, or, at however far a distance, desire to follow his example in the scientific investigation of religious phenomena more faithfully, than the two Jews who edit this REVIEW.

EDITORS.

¹ In the last words from Kuenen's pen, the *Letterkundig Overzicht*, printed in the March number of the *Tijdschrift*, and breaking off suddenly in the middle of a sentence, he notices the last two numbers of Vol. iii., and the first of Vol. iv.

I.

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1873. pp. 289—339. De stamboom van den Masoretischen tekst des Ouden Testaments. [The genealogy of the Massoretic Text of the O. T.]

Les origines du texte masorétique de l'Ancient Testament. Traduit du hollandais par A. Carrière. Paris, E. Leroux, 1875.

1877. pp. 207—248. Over de mannen der groote Synagoge. [The men of the Great Synagogue.]

1883. pp. 301—330. Hugo de Groot als uitlegger van het Oude Verbond. [Grotius as an expositor of the O. T.]

1888. pp. 157—189. De Melecheth des hemels in H. vii. en xlv. van Jeremia. [The Queen of Heaven in Jer. vii. and xlv.]

1890. pp. 273—322. De chronologie van het Perzische tijdvak der Joodsche geschiedenis. [The Chronology of the Persian Period of Jewish History.]

F.—*Dr. Eisenlohr, Het Israëlietische volk onder de regering der Koningen.* Leiden, P. Engels. 1861.

Bl. I. pp. i.-iv. Voorrede. [Preface i.-iv. to Part I.]

G.—*Algemeene Konst-en Letterbode.*

1853, 5th Dec. Over het "Advies der Theologische faculteit te Utrecht, betreffende de medewerking aan eene nieuwe Bijbelvertaling." [On the "Report of the Theological Faculty of Utrecht, on the proposed collaboration in a new translation of the Bible."]

1854. N. 18. Aankondiging van E. Reuss, Geschiedenis der Christelijke godgeleerdheid gedurende het Apostolisch tijdvak. [Announcement of E. Reuss's History of Christian Theology during the Apostolic age.]

1861. N. 6. Het Sinaïetische Bijbelhandschrift. [The Codex Sinaiticus.]

N. 41. Nekrologie. T. W. J. Juyaboll. [Obituary notice T. W. J. J.]

H.—*Nieuw en Oud (De Bijbelvriend).*

1860. pp. 27—50. Schetsen uit de geschiedenis van Israël. I. David en de Gibeonieten. [Sketches from the History of Israel. I. David and the Gibeonites.]

pp. 247—268. *Id.* II. De scheuring van Salomo's rijk. [II. The partition of Solomon's Kingdom.]

1861. pp. 35—53. *Id.* III. De oorsprong der Messiaansche verwachting. [III. The origin of the Messianic expectation.]

pp. 269—290. *Id.* IV. De zeventig jaren der Babylonische ballingschap. [IV. The seventy years of the Babylonian captivity.]

1862. pp. 41—64. *Id.* V. Hoe Saul koning werd over Israël. [V. How Saul became King over Israel.]

1863. pp. 41—64. *Id.* VI. De strijd tusschen Samuel en Saul. [VI. The conflict between Samuel and Saul.]

1864. V. pp. 107—144. *Id.* VII. De profeet Elia. [VII. The prophet Elijah.]

1864. VI. pp. 55—73. *Id.* VIII. David aan het hof van Saul. [VIII. David at Saul's Court.]

1865. pp. 161—192. De Israëlitische profeten (Eene voorlesing). [The Israelite Prophets; A Lecture.]

1866. I. pp. 195—221. Schetsen uit de geschiedenis van Israël. IX. De hervorming van Josia. [Sketches from the History of Israel. IX. The Reform of Josiah.]

II. pp. 257—273. *Id.* X. De dood van Josia. [X. The death of Josiah.]

1867. pp. 377—408. De Messiaansche verwachting. Eene voorlesing. [The Messianic expectation: a Lecture.]

1868. pp. 1—19. Schetsen uit de geschiedenis van Israël. XI. Josua en de Gibeonieten. [Sketches, etc. XI. Joshua and the Gibeonites.]

1869. pp. 89—108. *Id.* XII. Eene omwenteling in het koninkrijk Juda. [XII. A revolution in the kingdom of Judah.]

pp. 455—472. *Id.* XIII. Twee Profeten. [XIII. Two Prophets.]

1870. pp. 505—525. *Id.* XIV. De volkstelling van David. [XIV. David's Census.]

1871. pp. 391—416. *Id.* XV. De profeet Elia. [XV. The prophet Eliasa.]

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1872. pp. 42—48. De schoolquaestie in Engeland. [The school question in England.]
 pp. 99—115. Schetsen uit de geschiedenis van Israël. XVI. Een broederkrijg afgewend (Jos. xxii.). [Sketches, etc. XVI. A civil war averted : Joshua xxii.]

J.—Bibliothek van moderne Theologie (en Letterkunde).

1866. VII. pp. 433—466. Verwachten de tijdgenooten van Jezus een Messias? [Did the contemporaries of Jesus expect a Messiah?]
 1873. I. pp. 229—246. Schetsen uit de geschiedenis van Israël. XVII. Saul's uiteinde. [Sketches, etc. XVII. Saul's death.]
 [°° A new edition of the collected seventeen sketches will be published before long by H. C. A. Thieme at Nymegen.]
 1881. I. pp. 493—511. Over de waarde en den inhoud van godsdienstige voorstellingen (De Bussy). [Value and contents of religious ideas.]
 1885. pp. 571—601. Ezechiël.
 Ezeziel. (*The Modern Review*, October, 1884.)

K.—Volksbibliotheek, Amsterdam, J. C. Loman.

1876. Het duizendjarig rijk. [The Millennium.]
 1880. Immanuel Kant.

L.—Evangelische Volksalmanak. Arnhem, G. W. van der Wiel.

1859. pp. 75—85. Wat wil de Evangelische Maatschappij en wat wil zij niet? [What does Evangelical Society want, and what does it not?]
 1860. pp. 166—172. Een vooroordeel tegen den overgang tot een ander kerkgenootschap. [A *prima facie* reason against passing from one religion to another.]

M.—Leerredenen tot bevordering van Evangelische kennis en Christelijk leven. Arnhem, G. W. van der Wiel.

1856. Het gerigt door Jezus, den Menschenzoon gehouden, Joh. v. 27. [The judgment held by Jesus, the son of man.]
 1859. Het lijden van Jezus, Hebr. ii. 10. [The suffering of Jesus.]
 1860. Het wereldoverwinnend geloof, 1 Joh. v. 44. [The faith which overcomes the world.]

1862. Niet door geweld, maar door God's geest, Zach. iv. 6^e. [Not by violence, but by God's spirit.]
 1864. De vrucht van de liefde tot Jezus, Joh. xiv. 21—23. [The fruit of the love of Jesus.]

N.—*Taal des geloofs. Godsdienstige toespraken onder redactie van W. de Meijer.* Haarlem, y. de Haan.

1867. Het geheim der barmhartigheid, Matth. xii. 20. [The secret of charity.]
 1872. Door Christus tot den Vader, Joh. xiv. 6^e. [Through Christ to the Father.]
 1873. Elia's Hemelvaart en Eliza's Bede, 2 Kon. ii. 9, 10. [Elijah's ascent to heaven and Elisha's request.]
 1875. Het geloof in God's liefde, 1 Joh. iv. 19. [Faith in God's love.]
 De geestelijke Christus, 2 Kor. v. 16^e. [The Spiritual Christ.]
 Zij weten niet wat zij doen, Luc. xxiii. 33, 34^e. [They know not what they do.]

O.—*Stuiverspreken.* Harlingen.

Het oordeel der menschen, 1 Cor. iv. 3, 4. [The judgment of men.]

P.—*Evangeliespiegel.*

1858. De ware levenswijsheid eene vrucht der godsdienst; naar 1 Kon. xxii. 1—28. [True wisdom a fruit of religion.]
 1863. Eene onbeantwoorde vraag; naar Marc. xi. 27^b—33. [An unanswered question.]

Q.—*Handelingen van de Algemeene Synode der Nederlandsche Hervormde Kerk's Gravenhage.*

1856. pp. 116—131. Rapport over de herziening van een Reglement voor kerkelijk opzicht en tucht. [Report on the revision of a code of Church supervision and discipline.]
 1862. pp. 19—24. Concept-missive aan den Minister over de aangelegenheid der classikale kas. [Draft of a letter to the government on the finances of the classis.]
 pp. 177—184. Onderzoek naar de wettigheid van het stemuitbrengen der Waalsche commissie en van het kerkbestuur van Limburg. [Investigation into the validity of the vote]

- of the Walloon Committee, and of the Ecclesiastical Assembly of Limburg.]
1862. pp. 218—249, 405—409. *Rapporten over een Reglement op de verkiezing van kerkeraadsliden.* [Reports on a code to regulate the election of Church councillors.]
- pp. 359—367. *Over de verhouding der Indische kerken tot de Nederlandsche Hervormde Kerk.* [On the relation of the Church of the Dutch Indies to the Reformed Church of the Netherlands.]
- pp. 395—402. *Synodale brieven aan het Provinciaal kerkbestuur van Noordholland en aan de kerkeraadsliden te Spaarnwoude.* [Letters from the Synod to the provincial assembly of North Holland, and to the members of the Church council at Spaarnwoude.]
- pp. 409—412. *Over wijzigingen in de Reglementen betreffende de veranderde betrekking van Kerk en Staat.* [On modifications in the code relative to the altered relations between Church and State.]
1865. pp. 75—79. *Verslag over brieven uit Hongarije, betreffende den nood der kerken aldaar en de instandhouding eener Theologische Faculteit te Pesth.* [Report on letters from Hungary, relative to the straits of the churches there, and the maintenance of the Theological Faculty at Pesth.]
- pp. 80—81. *Twee collectebrieven.* [Two letters in appeal for funds.]
- pp. 98—112. *Over de uitvoering van Art. 23 Algemeen Reglement.* [On the enforcement of Article 23 of the general code.]
- pp. 184—187. *Brief aan de Superintendentie der Hervormden in Hongarije langs den Donau.* [Letter to the Superintendents of the Reformed believers, in the valley of the Danube in Hungary.]
1869. pp. 95—101. *Over Art. 38 Reglement op het godsdienst-onderwijs.* [On Article 38 in the code regulating religious teaching.]
- pp. 109—101. *Over Art. 23 Algemeen Reglement.* [On Article 23 of the general code.]
- pp. 152—154, 258. *Twee brieven aan den Minister, over Art. 28 Reglement op de vacaturen.* [Two letters to the Government on Article 28 of the code regulating vacancies.]
- pp. 160—165. *Over voorstellen tot veranderingen in Reglementen.* [On proposed alterations in the codes.]
- pp. 170—176. *Over het adres van een advocaat-diaken te*

- 's Hage. [On the memorial of a deacon (in the legal profession) at the Hague.]
1873. pp. 125—129. Over Art. 57 Reglement op de vacaturen. [On article 57 in the code regulating vacancies.]
- pp. 129—133. Over de bekwaamheid der Waalsche kandidaten in de Fransche taal. [On the proficiency in French of the Walloon candidates.]
- pp. 157—176. Over een herzien Reglement op het examen ter toelating tot de Evangeliebediening. [On a revised code regulating the examination for admission to the ministry.]
1877. pp. 66—69. Over het houden in het openbaar der meest belangrijke zittingen der Synode. [On the proposal to open the most important meetings of the Synod to the public.]
- pp. 262—299. Over de belijdenisvragen. [On the questions to be put to candidates for admission to Church membership.]
- pp. 449—452. Brief aan den Minister over de kosten van het kerkelijk hooger onderwijs. [Letter to the Government on the expenses of the ecclesiastical branch of University education.]

R.—Kerkelijk Weekblad.

1854. N. 9. Aankondiging van H. F. T. Fokkens, Bijbel voor het Christelijk gezin. [Announcement of Fokkens' Bible for Christian households.]
- N. 28. Beoordeeling van Eliakim, Les visions d' Esaie et la nouvelle terre. [Review of Eliakim, etc.]
- N. 48. Aankondiging van M. Keyzer, De leerstellingen van de Mohammedaansche godsdienst. [Announcement of Keyzer's Doctrines of the Mohammedan religion.]

S.—Kerkelijke Courant.

1869. N. 4. Nog een woord over Schleiermacher. [A further word about S.]

T.—Nieuw Kerkelijk Weekblad.

1872. N. 2. De moderne richting en de Protestantenbond. [The modern school and the Protestant Union.]

U.—*De Hervorming.*

- 1876—1885. Een reeks artikelen over kerkelijke toestanden in Engeland, gewoonlijk één per maand. [A series of articles on ecclesiastical affairs in England, usually one a month.]
1888. N. 39 en 40. Zedelijke Religie (Salter, Moral Religion.) Kuenen on ethical culture. (*The Christian Register*, November 1st, 1888.)

V.—*Bijblad van De Hervorming.*

1881. N. 3. Welke is de onderlinge verhouding van Theologie en Ethiek? [What is the mutual relation between Theology and Ethics?]
1885. N. 6. pp. 90—95. Wereldgodsdiensten. [Universal religions.]
1888. N. 8. pp. 113—119. Bijbelstudie als bestanddeel der vorming van den hedendaagschen godsdienstprediker. [The study of the Bible as an element in the education of a modern preacher.]
1890. N. 4. pp. 49—56. Moet met de Bussy worden ingestemd, als hij schrijft (*De Gids*, 1889, IV. 132): “De orthodoxe ethiek mogen wij niet prijsgeven?” [Must we agree with de Bussy when he writes “The orthodox ethics must not be abandoned”?]

W.—*The Theological Review.* A Quarterly Journal.

1876. July. pp. 329—365. Yahveh and the “other gods.”

X.—*The Modern Review.*

1880. pp. 461—488, 685—713. Critical method.
1884. Oct. Ezekiel.

Y.—*Revue de l'histoire des religions.*

1886. pp. 334—358. L'oeuvre d'Esdras.
1889. pp. 1—31. La réforme des études bibliques selon M. Maurice Vernes.

Z.—*De Gids.*

1865. II. pp. 387—396. Beoordeeling van Y. P. N. Land, Hebreuwsche Grammatica. Eerste stuk. [Review of Land, etc.]

1869. III. pp. 1—30, 185—216. De kerkelijke beweging in Engeland. [The ecclesiastical movement in England.]
 1871. II. pp. 153—166. Beoordeeling van A. H. Blom, De brief van Jacobus. [Review of Blom, "The Epistle of James."]

AA.—*De Tijdspiegel.*

1875. III. pp. 1—23. De natuur en de zedelijke wereldorde. [Nature and the ethical order of the world.]
 1877. III. pp. 327—343. Nabetrachting (G. Ebers, Warda.) [Reflections suggested by Ebers, Warda.]
 1879. I. pp. 133—138. Van den schrijver van "Warda" en "Homo Sum" (G. Ebers, Reis van Gosen naar den berg Sinai) [A work by the author of, etc. A journey from Gosen to Mt. Sinai.]
 pp. 261—274. Een belangrijk boek, een bedenkelijke titel. [An interesting book, a questionable title.] (J. W. Draper, History of the conflict between Religion and Science.)
 1880. II. pp. 271—280. Een moeilijk genre en zijne eischen (G. Ebers, Klea en Irene.) [The difficulties and requirements of the historical novel.]
 1882. III. pp. 79—94. Een keizer en zijn lieveling (G. Ebers, De Keizer. George Taylor, Antinoüs) [An emperor and his favourite.]

BB.—*De Nederlandsche Spectator.*

1871. W. A. van Hengel (12 Nov. 1779; 6 Feb., 1871.)
 1889. N 11. Aankondiging van C. P. Tiele. Babylonisch Assyrische Geschiede. [Announcement of C. P. Tiele, etc.]

CC.—*Handelingen van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche letterkunde te Leiden.*

- 1876—1877. Toespraak ter opening der Algemeene Vergadering, 21 Juni, 1877. [Speech at the opening of the General Assembly.]
 1882—1883. *Id.* 21 Juni 1883.

DD.—*Mannen van beteekenis in onze dagen.* Haarlem, H. D. Tjeenk Willink.

1884. Afl. 1. John William Colenso.

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EE.—*Jaarboek der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen*, 1885.
Amsterdam, Joh. Müller, 1885.

Levensbericht van Joannes Henricus Scholten. [Biography of
J. H. S.]

FF.—*Herzog, Real-Encyklopædie*, 2^o *Ausg.*

Art. J. H. Scholten.

GG.—*Levensberichten der afgestorven medeleden van de Maatschappij
der Ned. Lett. te Leiden.*

1886. pp. 1—60. Levensbericht van Joannes Henricus Scholten.
[Biography of J. H. S.]

1889. pp. 103—135. Levensbericht van Lodewijk Willem Ernst
Rauwenhoff. [Biography of L. W. E. R.]

HH.—*Actes du sixième congrès international des Orientalistes.* Leide,
E. J. Brill, 1884.

1884. pp. 39—54. Discours du Président.

II.—*Een woord van aanbeveling bij: C. C. Everett, De Voornaamste
oude godsdiensten.* Arnhem, Tweede druk, 1892.

JJ.—*The Christian Register.*

Nov. 1, 1888. On Ethical Culture (Salter, Moral Religion).

June 25, 1891. Judaism and Christianity (C. H. Toy, Judaism and
Christianity).

W. C. VAN MANEN.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Dr. Harkavy on Saadyah Gaon.

Leben und Werke des Saadjah Gaon (Said al-Fajjumi, 892-942), Rectors der Talmudischen Akademie in Sora, Heft I. (St. Petersburg, 1891, in Hebrew).

IN honour of the approaching millenary of the birth of the famous Saadyah Gaon (for it is believed that he was born in the year 892), M. J. Derenbourg, member of the Institute of France (with the assistance of younger scholars) and Dr. Harkavy have undertaken to publish the accessible works of Saadyah which have not yet been critically edited. The first installation of this work lies now before us, and we shall give a brief description of it. Dr. Harkavy's book forms a fifth part of his learned *Studien und Mittheilungen aus der kais. öffentlichen Bibliothek zu St. Petersburg* (most of his documents being found in this library), of which the first appeared in 1879. The present part is dedicated to M. J. Derenbourg on the eightieth anniversary of his birthday in the month of Ab of last year. Thus Dr. Harkavy's important contribution to the Saadyah literature comes a little *post festum* as regards M. Derenbourg, and a little too early for Saadyah's millenary; nevertheless, we welcome it with applause, and we congratulate our learned friend on his important discoveries which we find in this first part of the work.

A grammatical work by Saadyah written in Hebrew is mentioned by Abraham ben Ezra under the title of אגרון, pronounced by late writers as Iggaron; but the true pointing in early MSS. is *Agron*, with Pathah or Segol. The important discovery of the fragments of the *Agron*, as well as of the *Sepher hay-Galuy* (of which we shall speak later on), is due to the late Karaitic scholar, M. Firkowicz, and was made known before 1867. These remains are now in the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg in the second collection of the Firkowicz MSS., and from them Dr. Harkavy has made the present scholarly edition. Unfortunately only two large fragments of the Arabic and Hebrew prefaces are to be found there, but Dr. Harkavy has been lucky in discovering other fragments in quotations by early writers, as will be mentioned presently. The Arabic preface is accompanied by a Hebrew translation by Dr. Harkavy, and both pre-

faces are provided with ample notes, critical as well as linguistic. The texts are prefaced by the learned editor with the following chapters:—1. An extensive bibliography of articles and notes on this book from the earliest date to the present time. We may say, without exaggeration, that scarcely an item is here missing, for even mention is made of the remarks of modern scholars who have doubted the genuineness of our document. It was only natural that Firkowitz's discoveries should have been received with caution after the proof of the evident falsifications in the epitaphs of Tschufut Kale, and in colophons of Biblical MSS. Perhaps Dr. Harkavy is a little too severe upon Dr. Steinschneider, who with the exacting accuracy of a bibliographer was naturally more inclined to doubt, and more difficult to be persuaded, than other modern critics.

2. This chapter is followed by a record in which a description of the *Agron* is given, the date of composition, the contents, the titles, the quotations found in it, and the mention of it by early writers. Saadyah says that he composed the treatise at the age of twenty (912 C.E.).

The various chapters of the *Agron*, "the collector," had each its own title; one of these was perhaps "The Book of the Foundation of the Song," an Arabic title mentioned in the extract from R. Mebasser (see last line but three of this page), because the object of Saadyah was to instruct his brethren in pure Hebrew, and not in that of the early liturgists, whom he mentions (שיר, "song," must not be taken here in the sense of metrical compositions, for Dunash states expressly that Saadyah did not write metrical lines). Dr. Harkavy takes the last-mentioned title as the Arabic title of the *Agron*; further discoveries may settle this question. Saadyah mentions in the *Agron* five liturgists who lived some time before him. These are:—(1) The famous Yosé ben Yosé, the author of the *Abodah* beginning with the words, אֲזַכִּיר גְּבוּרוֹת אֱלֹהִים נֶאֱדָר; (2) his pupil Yanai; (3) the well known Eleazar Kalir; (4) Joshua; and (5) Phinehas. To them Dr. Harkavy devotes a first appendix, in which we find that Kalir came originally, according to Dr. Harkavy, from Palestine, just as his master Yanai, whose liturgies were popular and already accepted in the Babylonian schools at the time of Anan, the founder of the Karaitic sect (about 760 C.E.). As to the two other liturgists which follow Kalir, viz., Joshua and Phinehas, Dr. Harkavy's discussion led to no definite result. Uncertain, also, it remains who the liturgist Nahrawani is, whom R. Mebasser ha-Levi mentions in his polemical work against Saadyah, and in which he mentions the *Agron* with the title of "Book of Song." Of this treatise only fragments exist, and Dr. Harkavy has given those concerning Saadyah's grammatical work as far as they are accessible.

The second appendix treats exhaustively of the use of the word

אגרון (from which the title אגרון is derived) by Jewish writers from the Talmud to the last century. Perhaps the expression אגרונייה used in the Yemen grammars, Hebrew and Arabic (see JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, IV., p. 310) is derived from Saadyah, and may be found in the *Agron*, of which we possess only fragments.

The third appendix gives an interesting enumeration of the mnemonic words which grammarians from Saadyah to our century (twenty-nine in number) employ for indicating the radical and servile letters.

We come now to a second treatise of Saadyah, viz., the ספר הנלוי (Jeremiah xxxii. 14, "the open book"), which underwent, like the *Agron*, two revisions, the one in Hebrew, divided into verses, provided with vowel-points and accents, and of which only a few lines are extant (p. 181), and the other in Arabic, divided into seven parts, of which only the fragments exist now, ably edited with a Hebrew translation and ample critical notes. It is to be regretted that the historical part is entirely missing, and that others are only fragmentary. Let us hope that they may yet be found in Eastern *Genizas*. The introduction to the texts, like that to the *Agron*, gives first the bibliography, and then considers the title, contents, and division of the treatise. Dr. Harkavy disputes the translation of נלוי by "Open"; he makes it the book of the "exiled," saying that Saadyah wrote it when deposed from his Patriarchate at Sora (after 931), and relying on Saadyah's Arabic rendering, which has כתאב אלמאדר. The word מואדר, however, does not mean "exiled," but "one who exiles;" possibly the original MS. had the reading אלמאדר, "the visible, i.e., the open book, visible for everyone," corresponding to נלוי. So also the Targum וית שטריא פתיחא, and the Qambis take it in the same sense. The anonymous Arabic translator in the MS. Oxford, No. 181, renders נלוי (Jer. xxxii. 14) by אלמנשור, divulged. The parallelism of the following words מכון and מכנון confirms the reading of מאדר for מואדר. In an extract from R. Mebasser's discussions we find another Arabic title of the *Galuy*, viz, כתאב אלאעתבאר, which Dr. Harkavy renders by "Book of reflection or consideration" (if we understand rightly his rendering ההתבוננות), adding in the note that R. Mebasser did not like to mention the title of נלוי for מאדר as casting blame upon the adversaries of Saadyah, who caused his exile. This seems, however, to us far fetched, and is unnecessary if our suggestion about the word מואדר is accepted. Perhaps a part of the *Galuy* which treated of instruction from similitudes and proverbs was headed אלמאעתבאר, כתאב, which means instruction by proverbs. Since we know that the *Agron* was divided into chapters, headed כתאב, the same may have been the case with the *Galuy*. It is

possible, therefore, that Ibn al-Nadim had heard of this title, and from memory turned it into כְּתָב אֲמָתָא, "Book of Proverbs," and here Dr. Harkavy has the happy conjecture that this book is meant by Nadim, and not Saadyah's *Commentary on Proverbs*, which has another title. Indeed the ten parts which Nadim mentions for the division of the Book of Proverbs agrees well with the *Galuy*, which, according to Dr. Harkavy, had in the second composition ten parts.

After the extracts from R. Mebas'er concerning the *Galuy*, follows another, which seems to Dr. Harkavy to be from Saadyah's *Commentary* on a part of the seventh division of the *Galuy*. This is followed by a passage found in a MS. at St. Petersburg relating to the composition of the Mishnah, which is the subject of the second part of the *Galuy*. Next come quotations by Dunash and Abraham ibn Ezra from the *Galuy*, others by Abraham ben David and Abraham ben Hiyya being mentioned in a previous chapter. Another mention of the *Galuy* by a contemporary, and perhaps a pupil of Saadyah, lately found in a fragment of a MS. in the Bodleian Library, will be given by Dr. Harkavy in one of the next parts of his book (according to the outside page, there are two more parts to come).

We have now to say a word about the appendices to this part, which are not less important than those to the *Agron*. They are the following:—1. On the authorities mentioned in the *Galuy*, viz. (a) Jesus ben Sirach and Eleazar ben Irai, author of a book of Wisdom (see JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, IV., p. 162); (b) The Book of the Hasmonæans in Aramaic (the Megillath Antiokhos), the book of the men of Kairowan or Africa, and some minor quotations. Of course we cannot give here any summary of Dr. Harkavy's opinions on the Apocrypha mentioned. His book ought to be carefully read in order to find out all the new matter which he lays before us. The second and third appendices are historically important, although not very refreshing in language and contents. They contain documents wherein one chief of a school attacks another. The chief *dramatis personæ* are, of course, Saadyah, the Nasi David ben Zakkai, an unknown Ben Meir, Ahron Sarjado, and others. The document concerning Ben Meir, who wanted to restore the Palestinian patriarchate for his own benefit, has only been recently discovered, as well as a few lines which Dr. Harkavy considers—most likely with justice—as belonging to Saadyah's Book on the Feast Days, or a treatise on the Calendar, which he mentions in the *Galuy*. The second contains a fragment of Sarjado's attacks upon Saadyah, and of the excommunication of the Patriarch David ben Zakkai, re-edited from the MS. which Firkowicz had, not very successfully, reproduced in photography. Dr. Harkavy was able to read many words which could not be deciphered in the photo-

graph. It is most likely, as Dr. Harkavy suggests, that the document was written by the Karaite Sahl ben Matzliah, who may have added some invective matter of his own, for we know that Saadyah was a thorn in the side of the Karaites. However, Saadyah himself mentions most of them in the *Galuy*. In this last document we find numerous names of friends and enemies of Saadyah, hitherto unknown. Other names will follow in the part of Dr. Harkavy's work which will give the biography and the bibliography of Saadyah.

We may hope that in the meantime some documents concerning Saadyah will be discovered amongst the fragments in the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg and in other libraries. One thing is certain—that the biography of Saadyah will have to be rewritten, as well as the notices of the contents of his numerous works. The part of the fifth volume of Graetz's *History of the Jews* relating to Saadyah is already superseded, and should be used with great caution.

A. NEUBAUER.

Leimdoerfer's "Kohleth."

Das heilige Schriftwerk. Kohleth im Lichte der Geschichte. Neue Forschung über Ecclesiastes nebst Text, Uebersetzung und Kommentar von David Leimdoerfer. (C. FRITSCHKE, Hamburg, 1892.)

THE saying of the Rabbis that the Law can be explained in forty-nine ways is certainly more than justified in the case of Kohleth. Dr. Leimdoerfer mentions in the preface to his book that Knobel speaks of thirty-three translations and commentaries from 1609 to 1833; Graetz gives from 1836 to 1868 not less than nineteen, and Reuss from 1871 to 1890 about the same number, altogether seventy-one Christian writers, not to speak of commentaries written in Hebrew, of introductions to the Old Testament, and many essays in various periodicals. None of these numerous commentaries have satisfied Dr. Leimdoerfer, either for the explanation of the historical facts alluded to in the book, and consequently for the date of its composition and for its author, or for the exegesis; and although Dr. Leimdoerfer states that Graetz's commentary stimulated him to his present work, he follows his own way in every respect.

Let us begin with the date of Ecclesiastes. Dr. Leimdoerfer shows that the author of Kohleth speaks (a) of a king who was, and is no more, in Jerusalem, who is wiser than all before him, and this alone excludes already the authorship of Solomon, (b) of a general misrule, (c) of a despotic and warlike régime, (d) of materialism which prevails in the kingdom, (e) of fanatics in religion and believers in

superstition, (*f*) of wise men in opposition to fools, (*g*) of literary men (בעלי אדמות) and learned men (חכמים), (*h*) of the existence of an oral law, (*i*) of want of patriotism (which is deduced from the use of אלהים for the name of God and not יהוה); (*j*), finally, of the language in which the book is written. From all this it results clearly that Koheleth cannot be referred to the Solomonic epoch. In the epoch when the book was written, a king reigned who came from prison to the crown, who was a despot, who did not reward merit, who chased holy men from the sanctuary, and who favoured men without merit. This king does not care for the tears of the oppressed, neither for wise counsel; he is not independent, although an old man, but he is a fool, and a lad (נער, which means, according to Dr. Leimdoerfer, he is dependent like a slave), he is surrounded by princely fools, who see the ruin of the State, but care only for pleasure and wealth, without thinking that there is a judgment; the king carries on wars more for victory, money, and booty than for politics. He has a son, who will be some day his successor. This, says Dr. Leimdoerfer, is not the picture of Herod the Great, as Graetz proposes, neither one of the Persian satraps, as others believe (for they were not kings); and amongst post-exilic kings (for pre-exilic kings are out of the question for obvious reasons), the historical facts alluded to can only be applied to Alexander Jannæus (105 to 79 B.C.), who was released from prison after the death of Aristobulus I. by Queen Salome. He disregarded and even persecuted the wise men of the Pharisees; he carried on many wars; he oppressed the people; and in his time the Tetragrammaton was no more pronounced, even by the high-priest. The references to these historical facts in Koheleth are fully proved with great skill and learning by our author, if we except the forced explanation of the word נער as "slave, which is not independent," and the identification of the Essenes with those who practise superstitions. Thus the skit on the king and his time, as given in Koheleth, could be admitted to relate to Alexander Jannæus. But if so, the title "Holy book," which Dr. Leimdoerfer gives, is not right, for if Koheleth is holy, it must be composed by Solomon, and no historical argument ought to prevail against his authority; on the other hand, if it is composed as late as 105 B.C., Koheleth cannot be holy.

So far we can follow our author's reasoning. But that is not the case concerning the author of Koheleth, who is, according to Dr. Leimdoerfer, none else but Simeon ben Shetah, a relative, and according to other traditions, even a brother of Queen Salome. For this assumption there is not a shade of reason, except that no other literary name is known at the time of Alexander Jannæus who could have composed such a book, which has much analogy with some sayings quoted in his name. We believe that the Pharisaic school included

other learned men besides our Simeon. As for the few sayings which are reported in his name, we cannot find that they have any striking analogy with those in Koheleth, except that both are ethical sayings. Is it not strange that a relative of the queen should draw such a picture of her husband? We cannot believe it. Besides, if Simeon ben Shetah, who was one of the *dunammirah*, were the author of Koheleth—a circumstance which must have been known by some of his intimates—it would not have been forgotten some fifty years later, when the admission of Koheleth into the Canon was disputed. More strange it is when Dr. Leimdoerfer says that the words, "Koheleth, son of David, king in Jerusalem," refer to Simeon, who styled himself *מלך*, analogous to the use of the word as a title for Rabbis of the third and fourth centuries C.E., Simeon saying of himself that he is the literary king in Jerusalem.

In the chapter of the thoughts and language of Koheleth, Dr. Leimdoerfer follows his predecessors; they contain Hellenistic thoughts and words. Whether there is an allusion to the oral law in the expression "wise men" and "masters of the assemblies" (xii. 11), and whether *תקן* ("set in order," xii. 9) alludes to the *תקנות* (institutions) made by the Synhedrion, as our author thinks, we cannot decide, the history of the beginning of the oral law not being fixed yet on a sure basis. A subsequent chapter is devoted to the possible objections which may be made to his theories, and next our author gives a chapter on the relation of Koheleth to the Book of Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus; of course Dr. Leimdoerfer comes to the conclusion that Koheleth could not have been written before 64 B.C., and consequently the author of Ecclesiastes has borrowed from Sirach. The concluding chapter shows the *ensemble* of Koheleth to be a logical arrangement as far as Semitic genius allows it. It contains (a) Koheleth's *Monologue* (chaps. i. to iii.); (b) the picture of the unhealthy Government and State (chaps. iv. to vi. 8); (c) the polemical Wisdom (chap. viii. 6 to xii.); finally (d), the collecting and instructing Wisdom. This is followed by the Massoretic text, a German translation, with copious notes. Of what use the Massoretic is we cannot understand, unless the book is intended for use in schools and synagogues. The German translation is very hard, and often not only ambiguous, but to us unintelligible. What means, for instance, *Er weiss anzugehen gegen die Lebenden* (vi. 8, *לְהִלֵּךְ נֶגֶד הַחַיִּים*); or, in the next verse (*נִפְשֵׁי מַהֲלֵךְ*), *Als das Angehen der Willens?* The few emendations in the notes are not always happy, even when borrowed from predecessors. Why not take, e.g., *שם*, in iii. 17, in the sense of "he has fixed," instead of the sense *עִמּוֹ*, "with him"? iv. 17, *אִנּוּ*

cannot refer to these "who hear," which are not mentioned in the verse, but it certainly refers to the fools (כסילים), who do not know *even* to do evil (A. and R. V., v. 1, "for they know not that they do evil," does not represent the Massoretic text). Of course, the translation and the notes are often adapted to find allusions upon which Dr. Leimdoerfer bases his conjectures for the date and the author of Koheleth. But in spite of all criticism which may be considered as subjective, our author's book is worth reading, even if only for his introductions to the various matters which Koheleth contains according to his view, for we find much learned information in them. A more simple style in these parts would, in our opinion, have made the arguments clearer.

A. NEUBAUER.

Die haggadischen Elemente in den Homilien des Aphraates, des persischen Weisen. Von Dr. SALOMON FUNK. Kauffman, Frankfurt-on-the-Main.

To the indefatigable zeal of the late Prof. W. Wright we owe the edition of the Homilies of Aphraates, the Persian sage, written in the Syriac language. In consequence of his having changed his original name into Jacob, when he was nominated Bishop of the Monastery of Mar Mattai, his Homilies were ascribed for a considerable time to Jacob of Nisibis. Another reason why Aphraates' writings had almost fallen into oblivion is given by Ryssel (*Studien und Kritiken*, 1883, p. 338), viz., because they abound in rabbinical elements. The author of the above-mentioned little book pursues the task of picking out these haggadic portions from the Homilies and collating them with the corresponding passages in the Talmud and the Midrashim. It is, therefore, a welcome contribution to the study of the religious literature in the beginning of the fourth century; it also shows how parts of the Jewish traditions became known to Christians. Many were in this manner also incorporated in the Koran and the Moslim traditions. The author quotes the respective passages from Wright's edition, and places after each the original Talmudical passage or Midrash, both with German translations and commentary. Unfortunately the Syriac quotations show many *errata*, which, however, I need not here point out, as they may be easily detected by comparison with Wright. Introduction and appendices prove that the author has studied his subject successfully.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

NOTES AND DISCUSSION.

THE DISRAELI FAMILY.

THE ancestors of Lord Beaconsfield settled in Venice at about the beginning of the sixteenth century, and it will be interesting to publish three epitaphs of members of the Disraeli family who died in that city two centuries and a half ago.

These epitaphs are taken from the same MS. from which I have already extracted the two hundred inscriptions published in my book *לחות אבנים*.

The first of the three now given dates from the year 1631, and refers to a Leone Israeli. The second and third are the epitaphs of Esther and her husband Jacob Israeli, who died in 1632 and 1642 respectively. In order to be buried near his wife, Jacob Israeli had erected his tombstone during his life-time, and the date of his death was subsequently added. The two-fold epitaph is a memorial of his love for his wife, "the ornament of her husband," with whom he wishes to be united again in death.

עלה ארִיָה זה מסבכו
עלה מרום לפני לפני
עלה חכם קצין וראש
אומר אל אל אשא עיני
נכבד נחמד ויפה רואי
פנים עמדו על הר סיני
קול קורחו בשנת צ"א צא
ממחילתך אל גן עדני
ראשון לשבט עליה להיות
ישראל נשע בה¹

¹ I have added a free translation of this epitaph. It is impossible to preserve the plays upon words which occur in the original. I have also omitted the dates.

'The "Lion" has gone from his forest,
He has risen to God in the sky.
A sage, a chief, he has risen,
"Unto God I lift up mine eye."
Honoured, beloved, fair to look upon,
Like to Moses on Sinai.

מהר"ד יעקב ישראל יצ"ו			מרת אסתר אשת		
נפטר יום א' כ"א חשוון ה'רנ"ו			נפטרה מבת הש"צ		
נפש	הדר בעלה	קשורה בה	אשה	פאר אישה	שמו מנגד
ה"ד י"י	יעקב יצ"ו	כמו שלהבת :	ומה	והיא אסתר	יפה שוכבת :
היו	בני אחים	ונאהבים	ממ	שפחות רמות	בישראל
על כן	עלי מותה	מאד נעצבת :	אמנה	אחותו היא	ולו אוהבת :
מקום	לנופתו	בעורו חי	הודה	ותפארתה	לאין מספר
הכין	היות אצלה	הלום נקרכת :	ובעד	נדיבותה	בכנ נחשבת :
העת	אשר ינזור	אלקים בו	יום ז"ך	לחדש אב	שנת ש"נ"ה
הבא	לבן אדם	בלי מחשבת :	באה	לעולם זה	ובו נצבת :
או י"י	היו שנית	אחרים פה	נשאת	שנת ש"פא	וב' מ"בת
ארמת	בשרם עוד	הכי מורכבת :	צ"ג ע"ד	לתה נפשה	ברום לשבת :

A. BERLINER.

The Pronunciation of the Letter **AYN** (ע).

No doubt exists among Oriental philologists as to the correct pronunciation of the letter *Ayn*, so that little that is new can be said on the subject. The aim of the following remarks is, therefore, chiefly to show how it should *not* be pronounced. Although the letter is one of the principal characteristics of the Semitic languages, the habit of articulating it falsely is very widely diffused. Many Jews in foreign countries, it is true, fancy they pronounce most grammatically if they speak it through the nose, but it is not taught so in the schools, whilst in this country, in Holland, and perhaps elsewhere, the nasal articulation of the *y* occupies the rank of a doctrine.

It is, however, necessary to introduce this little research *in absurdum* by a brief statement about the nature of this consonant ; and here it is sufficient to say that it belongs to the class of the *gutturals*, and is produced by a strong compression of the throat, accompanied by expulsion of the breath.

For non-Semitic individuals the pronunciation of this guttural sound is rather difficult, as they are inclined to relax the pressure of

Cried a voice : Thy lair now leaving.
 To My Garden in heaven come nigh.
 "Israel" arose at this bidding,
 To be saved by the Lord on high.'

I. A.

the throat and utter it exactly like the common *a*. The European Jews being accustomed from their childhood only to speak non-Semitic languages, their organs of speech have consequently been developed in a manner similar to those of the peoples among whom they live. One can soon discover from the manner a Jew pronounces Hebrew his native country or even province. The right enunciation, however, can easily be learnt, and the Hebrew language itself shows the way.

For the Jews who read their prayers and the weekly portions of the law in the Hebrew original, this, especially the pronunciation of the *ʿ*, is a matter of importance, as otherwise the sense of many words could be greatly altered, which would make the reading invalid or change it into blasphemy. The Talmud, *e.g.*, censures the substitution of *ʾ* for *ʿ*, and disallows special classes of people from acting as readers "because they speak the *Alefs* like *Ayns* and the *Ayns* like *Alefs*."¹ Nevertheless the Talmud, following the rules of late Aramaic orthography, changes *ʾ* and *ʿ* in many instances, *e.g.*, לך כן = כן לך, אָבָא = אָבָא, etc., etc.

Is it in order to avoid this change of *ʿ* with *ʾ* that so many Jews have adopted the habit of pronouncing *ʿ* as a nasal sound *ng*? At any rate, it is characteristic that they keep to it with a sort of fanaticism which would be worthy of a better cause. Let us see how far this pronunciation is justifiable.

The remark I made concerning the softening of *ʿ* into *ʾ* in the orthography of the Talmud holds good for many Semitic languages of older and later date. As to the Northern dialects, in Assyrian it disappears entirely; the same is the case with some younger Aramaic dialects, and classical Hebrew also shows frequent instances of softening the *ʿ* or dropping it altogether. Arabic, which remained longest untouched by foreign influences, has not only preserved the pure pronunciation of *ʿ*, but possesses another still stronger guttural, *gh* (spoken almost like *r*), which undoubtedly existed also in Hebrew. The Greek translation of the Bible gives many instances of this, but it is sufficient to mention the two, *Pharao* and *Gomorrha*. It is indeed superfluous to say another word on this matter, which is known to every beginner of Hebrew or any other kindred language.

On the other hand, the Semitic alphabets have only one nasal

¹ Megillah 24; *cp.* Berakh. 32, and other places also concerning the change of *ʿ* and *ʾ*. The Talmud does not mention a nasal pronunciation, because it was evidently quite unknown at that time.

² Levy in his *Woerterbuch* reads אָבָא, against which see Wright, "Lectures on the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages," p. 49.

consonant, \aleph ,¹ a mixed sound, as in the French *on*, does not exist. On the contrary, nasal-sounding Greek words, foreign in Aramaic, are dissolved into distinct *n-k*, viz., ἀνάγκη (*anangkee*) = אָנָנְכִי (*anankee*). Even the name *Onkelos*, which is often quoted in support of a nasal pronunciation, is to be read *On-kelos*.

However much otherwise the pronunciation of the vowels among the Spanish Jews differs from that of the German Jews, both classes agree in pronouncing the γ as a nasal. Now it can be clearly proved that the Spanish Jews did not bring this nasal articulation from their original country, for the simple reason that the Jews living in the Pyrenaic Peninsula, North Africa and in the East, speak the γ indeed very deeply in the throat, and have altogether preserved the full Oriental pronunciation of Hebrew. The members of the Spanish congregation, who have adopted the *ng*, call their leading body—employing the term used in the Mishnah—*Mahamad* (מַעֲמָד) and not as we should expect, *Mangamad*; they say *Homer* (עֹמֶר) and not *ngomer*. In these two words they render the γ by another guttural, the \aleph , for which any amount of examples can be brought, and which also did the Phœnicians, as in *Hasdrubal* (עֹסְרָבָל). And all English Jews call the language of the Old Testament and the Prayer-Book *Hebrew*, according to Latin *Hebraice* and Greek Ἑβραϊστί, but in the original they would certainly read *ngibri*.

From the preceding remarks we can deduce the rule that words with γ , which in olden times passed over into daily use, have maintained their right pronunciation, and that, consequently, the corruption into *ng* is of considerably later date. How did it arise? That is difficult to say. Perhaps for the following reason:—In the Polish language there exist two nasal sounds, *eng* and *ong*, which, however, are not expressed orthographically, but by *e* and *u* with a *cedille*, viz., *ę* and *u*. It appears to me that the Jews in countries of Polono-Slavic population first translated this nasal sound by the inaudible Hebrew consonants, whenever the vowels *a* and *o* occurred. The letter γ was especially exposed to this treatment, because people had a faint recollection of some peculiarity in its pronunciation. Gradually γ became a nasal sound when preceded or followed by any vowel. This nasal articulation was even extended to the \aleph in other words of frequent use, such as אֶשֶׁר, pronounced *angsher*, whereby the \aleph *compositum* of the first syllable became a full (and accentuated) *Patah*. With the emigration of Polish Jews to western countries the nasal γ was propagated and also adopted by the Sephardic Jews, the

¹ Rather a *liquida*, and therefore often interchanged with other *liquida* especially *m*. Cp. Wright, *l. c.*, pp. 67 and 145 *sqq.*

social exclusiveness of the latter forming no barrier against the penetration of this anomaly.* Even the language of the best classes of a country cannot prevent slang expressions and corruptions creeping into it.

Deeply rooted as the evil is, it can be extirpated by means of the school. Teachers can easily control their own pronunciation and teach it to their pupils. Unfortunately, one cannot say that the study of Hebrew grammar, first cultivated by Jews more than one thousand years ago, receives from Jews of the present day—with rare exceptions—the attention due to it.

I have, in writing these lines, the feeling of stirring a wasps' nest, and am prepared to see the champions of the *ngayn* defend it as some holy relic. Many are anxious to make the public worship æsthetic and attractive; here is an opportunity to do away with something which is in every way hideous and unæsthetic.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

The Works of Professor Graetz.

HERR HALBERSTAMM has cast a keen and kindly eye over the Bibliography of the works of the late Professor Graetz, which appeared in the January number of the JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, and supplies the following notes and additions which will be of interest:—

(1) Kurze Erwiderung auf die nachträchlichen Bemerkungen zu Graetz' Koheleth (*Rahmer's Literarische Beilage zur isr. Wochenschrift*, 1872].

(2) Letter, in Hebrew, to R. Zeeb Wolf Chajoth, concerning the life of Abraham Ibn Ezra (in *Ha-Karmel*, 1866. The letter is dated 22 Elul, 1864).

(3) Three parts of the first volume of the "History," translated into Hebrew by Calman Schulmann.

(4) The German translation of the Psalms was also published separately.

(5) The proposed contribution to the Krotoschin edition of the Jerusalem Talmud (which was entered in the list published in the JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW), was never made, as the plan fell through. The title page, however, bears Professor Graetz's name.

I. ABRAHAMS.

A Rumour about the Ten Tribes in Pope Martin V.'s Time.

THE legend of the Ten Tribes formed the Jews' romance and national epic. Though the ideas and hopes it inspired in different centuries have been but sparingly recorded, a sufficient number of literary documents,¹ nevertheless, exists to enable us to note the vigour and persistency with which it has maintained itself down to our day. The Hebrew's imagination, degraded and borne to the ground in Europe, flew swiftly and unhesitatingly to Asia, where it refreshed itself by the establishment of ideal kingdoms and the contemplation of fancied Jewish power. The misery in sight it regarded as transient, the deliverance in prospect as inevitable. Far away, in distant India, lived the Ten Tribes, with their hero-kings and overwhelming armies, impatiently awaiting the last of the ten signs which would give them the signal for marching to the relief of their suffering brethren pining in captivity. The billows of the Sambation still heaved,² an indication that the hour of deliverance had not yet struck, for through the dry bed of this river would the tribes have to pass to commence their victorious expedition.

Signs and wonders were sent to preserve the faith in this salvation from death or decay. Sometimes the crescent above the Omar Mosque in Jerusalem was reported to have shifted, or a pillar broke, or a gate sank in the ground. Sometimes a blessed message was brought by a dove on its wings, or was found in Hebrew characters among the branches of a tree by a well. It was also reported that the rescuers beyond the mysterious stream, whenever they heard of the oppressions of their brethren in the West, were roused to a pitch of wild excitement, and seized their weapons to begin their march. Occasionally came a living confirmation of the faith that was slumbering in the popular consciousness. An ambassador of the great deliverer, a descendant of the Ten Tribes, a Reubenite or a Danite would appear, at one time in the Holy Land, at another in Egypt, till at last David Reubeni proceeded to Europe and delivered himself in the capital of Christendom of his message from the king of the Ten Tribes. They were still engaged in a fierce contest with the Asiatic Christians who were under the sway of Prester John. But the issue was already decided, and the joyful news was on the road that the Sambation had begun to dry up, and the signal had been given for the grand expedition to Europe.

Hitherto, attention has been concentrated only upon the dissemina-

¹ Neubauer, the *JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW*, I. 14, etc.

² Kaufmann, *Revue des Études Juives*, xx., 285.

tion of these marvellous tales among *the Jews*. But the fact has been altogether lost sight of that outside the Ghetto too, they met with acceptance, as the credulous character of mediæval times would indeed have led us to expect. The intercourse of Pope Clement VII. and João III., the King of Portugal, with David Reubeni would be absolutely inexplicable, unless we assumed that the belief in the reality of the Ten Tribes had been long fostered in the Church by traditions already become venerable.

The existence of Prester John and his Christian realm was credited, and faith in the Jewish kings of the Ten Tribes and their formidable power was a correlative of this belief. Prester John's letter to the Pope, which explicitly mentions a Jewish state, and speaks of its vastness, was therefore welcomed as a message of good omen disseminated in a Hebrew translation.¹

The acceptance by the Church of the belief in the existence of the Ten Tribes, however confidently it may be inferred from David Reubeni's and Solomon Molcho's careers, has been hitherto unsupported by documentary evidence. The remarkable letter, which is now published for the first time, changes the conjecture into a certainty, and the fables concerning the Ten Tribes become a historical factor.

We are indebted to the Jewish grammarian, Joseph b. Jehuda Sarko,² teacher and secretary in the first half of the fifteenth century to various Italian congregations, for having preserved this letter for us in his collection of Epistles, which, on account of its specimens of style, he entitled "Fruit of the Lips." Not a single word of explanation accompanies this letter, nor is any reference given which would enable us to determine its purpose and occasion. But its literary art proves that the writer must have been a distinguished Hebraist and stylist; perhaps Sarko himself, if, as is possible, the collection only contained his own compositions. It was the custom in Jewish communities at that time—in imitation of the courts and State chancelleries who appointed the most distinguished humanists as secretaries—to entrust their secretaryships to Jewish poets and writers. Hence, the letters of that period are valuable products of the new Hebrew literature, and official documents even are illuminated by a splendid style. A pearl of this kind is the letter which I wish to incorporate in the literature of the Ten Tribes.

A complete series of fresh discoveries will have to be made before we can place this document in the right historical light, or vividly

¹ Neubauer in *יד קובץ על* iv., 19.

² M. Lattes, *Catalogo dei codici ebraici della biblioteca Marciana*, p. 8 No. 18; Halberstam, *קהלת שלמה*, No. 231.

realise the persons it mentions, who at present pass before our view as mere phantoms. Our ignorance, however, does not impair the reality of the narrative. That a new discovery should suggest new problems is a phenomenon with which we are quite familiar in Jewish history.

The report had again penetrated into Europe of the rising of the Ten Tribes to free their brothers from the yoke of their oppressors. The year 1419 was computed to be the date when Obadiah's prophecy against Edom [Rome] was to be fulfilled. In the month of Nissan—the month of deliverance—the embassy arrived at Rome. And the prophet's prediction had been realised. Terror reigned in the Capitoline Hill, the mountain of Esau. Two Popes then ruled contemporaneously. The letter speaks, therefore, of the Pope in our territory, viz., the Pontiff at Rome, Martin V. We would have been glad to have had more details about the terror into which the report of a distant Jewish kingdom threw the Papal Court. But the fear of discovery closed the writer's mouth. What if the letter were intercepted and fell into the hands of the Christian authorities. At all events, the rumour was so strong, the excitement it aroused so intense and persistent, that two distinguished members of the Jewish community, possibly of Rome, resolved to travel to the East, where, being nearer the scene of the events, they could hope to obtain reliable information. R. Elias, a scholar of wide-reaching fame, which attracted pupils from remote lands, offered to set out on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and bring back whatever authentic information he could there obtain. He was accompanied by a younger man, Benjamin b. Elchanan, descended from a notable family, and personally already celebrated for his scholarly attainments. The intrepid envoys, it was anticipated, would receive encouragement and assistance in their mission from the Nagid of Egypt, R. Amram. Messengers and pilgrims returned from Palestine had disseminated the report that in Egypt the Jews still enjoyed a remnant of power, and that their Nagid realised in a measure the patriarch's blessing: "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah." To R. Amram, then, the community sent a letter commending the pilgrims to his kind notice. Whatever the letter omitted would be explained by R. Elias, whose lips the letter would unseal. The dangers to which the Jews, pining in the Kingdom of Edom, were exposed would account to the Nagid, who lived under the shadow of Islam, for the brevity of the written communication, and the necessity of verbal declarations on all essential points.

Like a flash of lightning in the night, that leaves a thicker darkness behind, is this epistle. By a tantalising chance it has not even come down in a perfect state. Its rhymes, which follow the word *D'p*

suddenly break off three lines before the apparent end. This clearly proves that something is missing before the last page in Halberstam's MS., No. 231. The last portion, from ובעיניכם onward, beginning on a fresh page, belongs to another document. The conclusion to ours is wanting.

But the embassies from the Ten Tribes were not yet to come to an end. Throughout the fifteenth century Italian Jews sent home from the Holy Land letters teeming with references to the numerous signs that indicated the march of the Ten Tribes. These were sedulously copied and widely disseminated among the communities of Italy.¹ And thus David Reubeni's appearance forms the close of a series of antecedent events, without which it would be as erratic and inexplicable as a solitary rock jutting out from the wide and level plain. The letters which announced the existence of a kingdom of the Ten Tribes and their imminent enterprise were like seeds scattered over Italy. And when David Reubeni came, he found the faith in his mission fully ripe. But the Christian world, too, had made itself acquainted with these tales, and had begun to reckon seriously with a phenomenon, the truth of which was inferred from the confidence and positiveness with which it was recounted, and which, from repeated reports, had at last come to be believed. This would make Abraham Jagel's statement² intelligible that Clement VIII. not only entered into personal communication with David Reubeni, but equipped an expedition for the discovery of the Ten Tribes.

Cod. Halberstam, 231, f. 167a.

עיר וקדש אך בצלם יתהלך איש נשיא אלים המאור הגדול לממשלת
נגיד ומצוה מאור ישראל ותוחלת העומד לנו לנח בהלו נרד לכבוד ולתפארת
לכית יעקב שמך אלים אלינו כי פארך אשר הונף ואשר הורם כבוד מרנא
ודבנה עמוד גולת אריאל נר ישראל הזה עמרם לעלמין חיי וכל אשר
תשאלי נפשך לסובה ולברכה אשר בו חסיה נפשך לך יקים . לקול המולה
נזולה באזנינו שמענו כי פקד יי את עמו למען שמו ועשרת שבטים שבטי
יי מארץ מכורתם ננע אלים בלבבותם מתניהם לשגם ונרדחי ישראל לכנם
ותברו מעברה ושות שתו [חשערה] ברב המונם ושאוונם ויעשו בשנאיהם
סצונם והשמועה הגיעה בחצר מלך הגוים האפיפיור העומד במחוזו זה
ושמעו עמים ירגו והתמהו תמהו נבהלו נחפזו והדברים עתיקים . והקול
נשמע הולך וחזק מכמו חדש ניסן שנת למען יכרת איש מהר עשו סקטל
אחר האלף החמישי לנמוע שמים וליסוד ארץ אראלים ומצוקים יי ויהי איש
אחר מן הרמתיים מיחדי סגלתנו ואור ישראל לכל גליותינו ועמו עז ותושיה

¹ iv., l. 24, etc. קובץ על יד

² *Ibid*, 41, l. 1.

ובאים מארץ מרחק תורה יבקשו מפיהו ושנו כמִהָרְ אֵלֶיהָ כִּי יֵחַם לִבָּבוּ רוח נדיבה סמכתהו למען בית ה' אֵלֵינוּ כִּי נִכְסוּף נִכְסָף אֶת עֲפָרָה לַחֲנוּן ועל חרבותיה לקונן לחזות בנעם ירושלם עיר הקדש וציון מכלל יפי ששם עלו כהני וזקני ולבקר בהיכל יי' והיו עיני ולבי שם נאנחים ונאנקים • ולהקביל פני פנת יקרת צפירת תפארת גדלת מעלתך כי רבה היא וכירח עולם יכון כסא כבודך יהיה נכון ער בלתי שמים ושחקים • ועמו הבחור הלזה כלו מחמדים ולתורה ולתעודה ידו הדח מטובי הארץ וגדוליה ומשרדי קהלתנו ומאציליה ושמו בנימין בִּכְרֹךְ אֶלְחָנָן וּשְׁנִיָּהם נִדְרוּ וְנִאֲמָנָה אֶל אֵל רוֹחַם לִשְׁפּוֹךְ לִפְנֵי שִׁיחַם וּרְנֵבֵי הָאָרֶץ הִיתָה כֵּן עַדן לָהֶם מִתּוֹקִים • וכי ידענו ונתברר לנו התנדבות לבם וממונם לפאר את בית אֵלֵינוּ וּמִקּוֹם רִגְלִיךְ לִכְבֵּד כִּי בִּאֲמוֹנָה הֵם עוֹשִׂים וְלַעֲמוּד עַל בִּירוֹר הַשְׁמֹעָה הַזֹּאת תִּשְׁקָה נִמְרִצֵת מִתְּאוּמִּים וּמִשְׁחֻקִּים וּשְׁלֹחֵי מִצְוָה אֵינֶם נוֹזְקִים • לַעֲמֵת מִנְכֶּרֶת עֲצַמַת חֲכָמַת וְדַעַת עֲנוּתָנוֹתְךָ הַמוֹפְלָא נִשְׁפּוֹךְ שִׁיחָנוּ אָף רוֹחָנוּ בִּקְרַבְנוּ לִשְׁחַר פָּנֵי גְדֻלַּת מַעֲלָת כִּמּוֹךְ יַעֲלֶה וַיֵּבֶא כְּבוֹד טוֹרֵנוּ הָרַ אֵלֶיהָ עַל רִצּוֹן בֵּית קִדְשְׁךָ וּתְפָאֲרָתְךָ וַיְמִין עֲצָתְךָ הַנִּכְוֹנָה תִּסְעֲדֵנוּ וְנַהֲרִי נַחֲלִי נַהֲרִי כַּחֲכָמָת אֱלֹהִין אֲשֶׁר בְּךָ דְּלָה יִדְלֶה וּשְׁאוּבֵי יִשְׁאָב מִמַּעֲיֵי רוּחַ עֲצָה הַיְעוּצָה הַנִּמְצָאִים בְּךָ בְּמִים עֲמוּקִים • לַחֲקוֹר וּלְדְרוֹשׁ דְּרִישָׁה וְחֻקִּירָה הֵיטֵב עַל הַשְׁמֹעָה הַרְמוּזָה בְּכָל אוֹפֵן אִי זֶה יִכְשֶׁר וּבְכָל מָה שֶׁאֲפִשֶׁר וְלִישֶׁר אֲרַחֲתִיו וְלַהֲכִין צַעֲרֵיו וּפַעֲמָיו בַּחֲבֵרָה טוֹבָה וּבִטְחוֹחַ לִפִּי כְּבוֹדוֹ וּבִאֹר פַּחַד וּמוֹרָאךְ לְהֹאִיר לוֹ בְּלִפְרִי אֵשׁ וּבִרְקִים • בְּלַכְתּוֹ מִמְדִּינָה לְמְדִינָה וּמַעִיר לְעִיר אֲשֶׁר יֵהִיו פָּנָיו מוֹעֲדוֹת עַד שׁוּבוֹ לִמְחֹז חֲפָצוֹ מִקּוֹמְנוֹ זֶה וְאֵל אֲרָצוֹ בִּשְׂמִיחָה וּבִטְוֵב לִבָּב בִּשְׁמֹעָה טוֹבָה תַּחֲלִימֵנוּ וְתַחֲיִינוּ וּשְׁפֹתֵינוּ שִׁבַּח וְתַהֲלֶה תִּבְעֶנָה וְעֲצָמוֹתֵינוּ הַיִּבְשׁוֹת כִּדְשָׁא תִּפְרַחְנָה נַעֲרֵינוּ וְזֻקְנֵינוּ בַּחוּרִים וְגַם בַּתּוֹלוֹת עוֹלָלִים וַיּוֹנְקִים • וְכִי יִרְאֵנוּ וְנַפְלֶה אִמְתַּ מַּלְכוּת אֲדוֹם עֲלֵינוּ עַל רוֹא דָנָא בַּחֲרָנוּ הַקְצוֹר בַּסְּפּוֹר הַנִּשְׁמַע בְּאַרְצֵנוּ וְנִלְנִי טַפַּח וְכִסִּינוּ טַפָּחִים כִּי בִטְחָנוּ וְנִשְׁעַנְנוּ בְּאֵילָן הַגְּדוֹל הֵן הוּא רוּחַ אֲפִינוּ כִּכֵּב נִשְׁפָּנוּ מֵרֹ אֵלֶיהָ זֶה הַנֵּץ הוּא יִהְיֶה לִכְבוֹד מַעֲלָתְךָ לִפְנֵי דֶרֶךְ כָּל וָדָרֵךְ חֶלֶק וְאַחֲרֵי יִזְכֶּה לַחֲזוֹת בְּקִלְסָתְךָ פָּנֵי פָנֵינוּ אוֹר יִשְׂרָאֵל הוּא תַּהֲלֶתְךָ וִידַע וַיִּשְׁבִּיל אֶת הַקּוֹל הַנִּשְׁמַע בְּאַרְצָנוּ עַל בּוֹרֵיו בֵּא יֵבֶא בְּרִנָּה וַיְהִי דְּבָרוֹ לָנוּ וְאַמְרָהוּ תוֹל כְּטָל אוֹרוֹת לַהֲחִיּוֹת רוּחַ שְׁפִלִים הַיְּהוּדִים הָאֲמִלְלִים אֲשֶׁר רַבּוּ כִּמוֹ רַבּוּ מִפְּנֵי חֲמַת הַמִּצִּיקִים • לִבָּבֶם יִתְחַמֵּץ וּבְרִכִּים כִּרְעוֹת יֵאֲמָץ עַד יִשְׁקִיף וִירָא אֱלֹהֵי מַמְעַל הַשְׁקָפָה לְטוֹבָה יָחוּם עַל עֵינֵי עַמּוֹ וְלֹא יוֹסִיפוּ לְרַאבָּה וַיְהִי סָכוּ בְּשֵׁלֶם וּלְמִשְׁנֵאֵינוּ יִשְׁלַם זְנוּדָעָה יָד יי' לִכְלֹ בֶּשֶׁר וַיִּאֲחֻזְמוּ רַעַד וְשַׁעַר מִשְׁעַר לִשְׁעַר בְּרַחוּבוֹת וּבִשְׁוִקִים • וְעֵינֵינוּ וְעֵינֵיכֶם עִם כָּל יִשְׂרָאֵל חֲבֵרִים אַחִינוּ וְאַחֲיֶכֶם בְּבֹא לְצִיּוֹן נוֹאֵל תִּרְאִינָה וְעֵינֵי רַשָּׁעִים תִּכְלִינָה יִמְהַר יַחֲיִישָׁה יִחַדֵּשׁ יִמִּינוּ כִּקְדָם בְּצִיּוֹן קִרִית מוֹעֲדָנוּ יִרְאֵנוּ נִפְלְאוֹת וְעֵינֵינוּ רוֹאוֹת בְּשׁוּב יי' שְׁבוֹת עַמּוֹ לִקְרָא לְשִׁבּוּיִם דְּרוֹר וְאֵם אֲסוּרִים בְּזִיקִים • וּבְעֵינֵיכֶם לֹא יִקְטַן וְהַחֲלִצוּ מֵאֲתָכֶם אֲנָשִׁים חוֹשִׁים וְעֵינֵינוּ וְעֵינֵיכֶם לְעֲדָנָא כְּדָנָא אֶל תַּחוּם עַל מִמוֹנָנוּ וְעַל מִמוֹנֶכֶם פִּי הַמְּדַבְּרִים עֵינֵינוּ תִּלְוִיֹת לֹאֵל

עליו יחום על דל ואביון ותחו עינו ועינכם בציון אנחנו אלה פה חתוך,
סנה :

DAVID KAUFMANN.

THE MANDAIC VERSION OF PSALM CXIV.

FOLLOWING in the footsteps of W. Brandt (*The Mandaic Religion*, p. 134), Lagarde has shown that a passage from the *Sidra Rabba*, the holy book of the Mandians, is borrowed from the 114th Psalm (*Mittheilungen*, Vol. IV., p. 44). He even ventures so far as to allege "that what the Mandians have borrowed is a more original, and more complete, though more ornate form of the Psalm." In reality, the verses, in which the Mandaic version is richer than the 114th Psalm, are in no way so constituted as to incline one to regard them as forming an original part of the Psalm. Moreover, the two most important of these Mandaic verses probably come from another Psalm, an idea which has escaped Lagarde. They are contained in lines 6 and 9, according to Lagarde's arrangement and translation. Line 6, *ואילאתא ברבאר משאחכא עולאואיהן*, "and the hinds of the forest destroyed their young," line 9, *וארזיא בלילבאן*, "and the cedars of Lebanon are broken." Both these lines are undoubtedly taken from the 29th Psalm. In line 9 one can see at a glance the resemblance to the Targum of Psalm xxix. 9, *קלא די"י מתבר ית ארזי לבנן*, and l. 6 is merely a paraphrase to the words in Psalm xxix. 5, *יחולל אילות*. For the "destroying their young" in the Mandaic is certainly nothing else than a reference to untimely births brought about by a shock, which meaning some apply to *יחולל* (see the commentary of Ibn Ezra i. 1). *משאחכא* is either a Mandaic idiom, with which *עֲלָתָהּ* of Genesis xxxviii. 9 may be compared, or an incorrect rendering, as Lagarde believes, of *הַגִּבֹּל*, which denotes, "to bring forth in pain" and "to destroy." In the latter case we must assume that the Mandaic translator read *יִהְיֶה* in place of *יחולל*. At any rate it is clear that this translator enriched the glowing description of the effect of the appearance of God upon nature, which he derived from the 114th Psalm by two incidents which he took from the 29th Psalm that depicts a similar scene. The "voice of God," which in the latter Psalm is the cause of this wondrous effect, is simply omitted by the writer altogether.

W. BACHER.

SEVENTY-TWO MODES OF EXPOSITION.

"EACH verse of the Bible has seventy-two explanations, one for each of the peoples of the earth." Thus says the latest book of Lagarde, (*Mittheilungen*, Vol. IV., p. 350). By this he means to indicate forcibly that "Biblical history can be viewed and elucidated from all different sides." I do not know whether he intends to make a direct reference to the "seventy modes of interpretation" of Jewish literature. This does not seem to be the case, otherwise he would not have spoken of "seventy-two explanations." However, it may in passing be mentioned that the *שבעים פנים לתורה*, "the seventy modes of exposition of the Torah," which is the classical expression for the many senses that may be attributed to the words of Holy Writ, actually correspond to the "seventy nations"; for tracing back this sentiment of the seventy explanations, we find it connected with the old Agadic idea that at the revelation on Sinai every word that issued from the mouth of God was divided into the seventy languages—a thoughtful condensation of the idea that the revelation from of old was destined for all the peoples of the earth. See my remarks upon this subject in my work, "The Introduction of Ibn Ezra to his Commentary on the Pentateuch" (1876), p. 76; also in *Stade's Zeitschrift für die Alttest. Wissenschaft*, Vol. XI., p. 67; *Revue des Etudes Juives*, Vol. XXII., p. 35.

In JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, IV. 164, line 10 from below, *אלעקל ואל עמקל ואלמעקל* is an allusion to the explanations, given in Maimuni's *More Nebuchim* I. 68. Munk translates the three words by "l'intellect, l'intelligent, et l'intelligible."

Budapest, November, 1891.

W. BACHER.

A LETTER FROM THE COMMUNITY OF PESARO TO
DON JOSEPH NASSI.

WHEN Michele Ghislieri, Cardinal of Alessandria, and hence styled by Gedaliah ibn Jachia, Alessandrino, ascended St. Peter's Throne, after Pius IV.'s death, and assumed the title Pius V., the devotees of the church burst forth in the joyful acclaim "God has restored to us Paul IV."¹ The unhappy Jewish citizens of the Papal States might have repeated the same words, but as a cry of terror. Hardly had they recovered, during the short and mild rule of Pius IV., from the terrible sufferings they had endured under the rule of the gloomy Theatine monk, Paul Caraffa, than their miseries recommenced with the election of Pius V.

¹ Ranke's *Popes*, I. 230.

Impatient, fanatical, passionate, formerly a Dominican monk and Inquisitor, he abused the power, which his position as head of the church gave him, to outdo Paul IV.'s severity to the Jews. To clemency he was a stranger; humanity he despised as a weakness. The punishments he decreed proved him to be absolutely devoid of the sentiment of pity. A scourge even to his own adherents in Italy, he behaved like a fiend to the Jews. The tortures inflicted on them, from the outset of his reign, did not content him. His soul, inflamed with hate, could not rest till he had issued a Bull, dated 26th of February, 1569, ordering all the Jews in the Papal States, except those at Rome and Ancona, to leave within three months. An extension of the term was not to be looked for, much less a withdrawal of the edict. His obstinacy was inflexible; his paroxysms of anger, a terror to his circle. No one would have dared to move him by representations or entreaties, especially in a policy which appeared to him invested with the sanctity of religion. All that remained to the poor victims of his animosity was to abandon their possessions, leave their wealth behind, and escape with their bare lives to the Italian states which, despite of Papal Bulls, still opened their doors to unfortunate exiles. Then it was that the community of Pesaro showed a noble example of self-sacrifice and devotion to their persecuted co-religionists. As water flows to lower levels so the exiled Israelites poured into the open city. Pesaro took the initiative in organizing the work of helping the refugees. It could not maintain them permanently. Ships were, therefore, chartered for transporting them to the great commercial centres of the Levant and the Holy Land. The exiles embarked for these ports at Venice. Mazliach b. Elias Finzi of Recanate¹ is the name of the noble spirit who aroused the sympathies of the Italian communities with the work of assisting the fugitives to a permanent home. About 600² of them were gathered in Pesaro and Sinigaglia alone, awaiting the generous help of their brethren in faith.

The longing for the Holy Land was stimulated at that period by the proclamation which Don Joseph, Duke of Naxos, had issued, inviting the unhappy victims of papal fanaticism to settle in his newly-established colony, Neo-Tiberias. Many communities, hard hit by Pius V.'s Bull, yearned, like the small congregation of Cori,³ to leave Europe and end their lives in the refuge offered to them by their contemporary Messiah. But these unfortunates were not

¹ *Revue des Études Juives*, XX., 72. See also Gracetz, *History*, IX. (third edition), 372, note 2, whose opinion as concerning the letters in *Revue des Études Juives*, XX. 70-72, I now accept.

² *Revue*, XX. 70.

³ *JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW*, II. 291. *seq.*

to attain their object so easily. The Pesaro community was indefatigable in its efforts to expedite the rescue work; the other Jewish congregations of Italy contributed liberally to the expenses of embarkation. But all that they could accomplish was to place the emigrants on the ships that sailed from Venice. Here their power ceased. The pirates, known as the knights of Malta, ruled the sea. The Maltese, as Joseph ha-Cohen, and the continuer of his history,¹ inform us, in discharge of a self-imposed task, continued, on the high seas, the Pope's terrible deeds, made Jewish fugitives prisoners on the ships, and sold them into slavery. The letter from his teacher in Pesaro which Mordecai b. Gamliel of Foligno² has preserved for us in MS. a Hebrew Letter-Writer, called שפת הים, now in my possession, throws a new light on the brief accounts of the Jewish chroniclers.

And thus all the loving labours of the Pesaro community proved futile. A ship with 102 fugitives on board, which had been sent off from Venice, fell into the hands of the Maltese monks. How could the unfortunate exiles be helped when even the sea did not free them from the Church's clutches? The Job's messages, which reached Pesaro, produced consternation and despair. To whom could they appeal to restore their twice-ruined co-religionists to liberty?

In their dire need, they thought of Don Joseph, who had always been renowned in Italy, but who, since the establishment of New Tiberias, was looked upon as a Divinely-appointed Messenger. This Marrano's political influence was acknowledged by kings and emperors. The German Emperor, Ferdinand, no less than Sigismund Augustus of Poland, honoured him with his correspondence. The Porte, it was known, had a few years previously made a vain attempt to check the Maltese who had dared, in sight of the Turkish harbours, to board ships in pursuit of their piratical calling. Their presumption, now grown intolerable, aggravated by their unbroken successes, might tempt the Sultan to make a fresh attempt to check them, if only Don Joseph advised to that effect. History is silent as to the answer which the Duke of Naxos sent to the petition of the Pesaro community. This, however, we do know, that the Maltese piracies on the vessels that carried Jewish refugees did not cease. Sixtus V. it was who put an end to this nefarious trade, in a Bull issued on the 22nd of October, 1586, in which he forbade the Corsair Monks to make prisoners of Jewish emigrants to or from the Levant and sell them into slavery.

¹ *Emek Habacha*, translated by M. Wiener, 107 and 114.

² Mortara, מזכרת חכמי איטאליא, p. 24.

מה שכתבו קהלות קדושות פסיארו ותביבותיה למעלת
אדונינו הדוכוס דין יוסף נשיא יא"עו והחכם מורי
נריו יסר לשון הכתב :

האומה הישראלית מיום הוסדה לגיל פעמים רבות היו צרוני(ותיה) צרות
אחת אל אחת ומצוקותיה מוצקות ודבקות אשה אל אחותה ולעולם
באלקים עולם שברה ומצורה בצור ישראל ויחוננה ויבוננה לפליטה גדולה
וגם עתה בעונותינו עת צרה לישראל צרה כמבכירה בנוי על משבר וכח
אין בהם להשיע אברה תקותם מצד ההמון נכרתה וגם כלתה תוחלתם
מצד הנבורה אין להם נחם כי אם נחמה ומנחם עמו ישראל אשר בו חסה
(ו)[ל]עד נפשם ועוד נוסף על הוספה [הסופה 1] וסערה הכוללת רוח גדולה
וחזק מפרק לבבות ומשבר וזועות זרע אברהם מבוכה פרטית אשר לפרטה
דלה לבנו ועם כל כחותינו לא נוכל לחזק בדק סדק מכה לא ר(ב)[כ]ה
הזאת כי רבה היא השכועה הרעה הנוערה אלינו כי נשבו ביד מלטיסי כמו
קב נפשו מאחינו בני ברית יצ"ו יורדי הים באוניות ללכת לדור דירת קבע
בארץ העצי כצבי וכאיל רצים אצים הולכים בורחים פלטי נמלטים מהצור
רבות ורעות יאירעו להם ולנו בגלל הטאתינו בגלילות האלה ויקרם המקרה
הסר הזה כאשר ינוס שמה איש מפי הארי ופגע בנחש נור לבא אל הבית
וסך את ידו על מאורת צפעוני והוכה ונטה לסות ונשמע נימס לבבנו
ונצק אל ה' אלקי אבותינו וברחמי ובר' חסדיו העיר עלינו רוח מטרם
להרים הפלים האמללים האלה מתוך הבהלה הזאת העיר עלינו רוח ממרום
להרים הגדולה הזאת זאת חקרונה בקירות לבבנו גם דרשונה במוצא
שפתינו נשאו ונתנו באופני סדריה וכתירותיה בפני כל קהלותינו ועלה
בידנו כלל שאין חוץ כי חוץ ממחיצתך קצינו אדם אין בארץ להריץ גלגל
ישועה לעניי השבויים האלה וגם כי יראנו מנעת לפני רום כעלת תפארתך
כי ידע נורא שמך ונשגב מעורך ומה אנו וכה חיינו נבזים חדלי אישים
לשום בין ככבי' קנו לבא להתהדר לפני כלך בלבוש עק ולדבר בלא לב
על לב אדוננו אשר אין חקר לתבונתו בכל זאת לא שבנו אחור מכוונתנו
המכוונת לש"ש כי ענותך (ענותך) ענתה בנו לטוב וצדקתך הצדיקה מאוזני
בחירתנו ולמי מבני עמנו היום הזה הגדולה הגבורה ודתפארת החת
שמים כי אם לך רווננו ולמי תקות האסורים ומיוסרים האלה לא לנו כי
כולנו בלתי יכולים על העלותם מדלי דלותם לאיש כמך מלכנו ע[י]ניהם
תלויות ולבם מיהל כי שמך נשיאים [נשיאנו 1] נשא בכל הארצות
מהיותך דורך במותי הצלחת לפני כלך כלכים התונר הגדול ירה אשר
ביו להספק בלי ספק להספיק צרכם ולהוציא ממסגר נפשם ורכושם
ואנחנו לא נדע מה נעשה כי אם להביא האגרת הזאת לפני יקר תפארת
גדולתך למנח זכרון מזכרת צדקה ומרפא לנבויכם וחשו[ב] (כ)ים האלה
'אתה תחזה ועשי' כצדקתך והיושר והטוב ומטיב לכל ייטיב אחריתך מאד
ויאריך שנותיך (בנ)יעמים עד אחרית הימ[י]ם אשר ישובו לבצרון התקות
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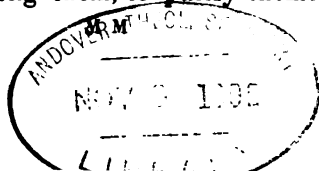
The Jewish Quarterly Review.

JULY, 1892.

SHECHEM AND BETHEL.

THE localities which have attained importance as places of public worship in the history of Israel are, for the most part, already distinguished in the oldest sacred records, and were dedicated by the founders of the nation to divine service. This is especially the case with Shechem, Bethel, Hebron, Beersheba, and Jerusalem (Moriah), to all of which some measure of renown attaches in the Book of Genesis. Abraham sojourns in all these places, raises in them altars to the Lord, and is taught in theophanies that God finds pleasure in them. In the history of Isaac, Beersheba alone is distinguished by a divine appearance and by the building of an altar; while, on the other hand, in the case of Jacob, all the holy places mentioned in connection with Abraham (with the sole exception of Moriah) recur, and are consecrated afresh by means of altars, sacrifices, and memorial-stones. Bethel, however, is especially favoured by Jacob, inasmuch as it is solemnly chosen by him during his journey to Haran as a spot dedicated to God, and on his return to Canaan it is commended by express divine injunction to his religious care and loving solicitude. Accordingly, before he reaches Bethel he summons his household and all that were with him to put away the strange gods that were among them, to purify themselves, and to

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change their garments.¹ Such preparations were not made in the case of Shechem, although there also an altar was erected, which bore a distinctive name,² in other words, which retained its celebrity through later ages.

In the middle books of the Pentateuch no opportunity occurs to refer to the holy places of Palestine; only in Numbers xiii. 22 Hebron is mentioned, and its antiquity emphasised. In Deuteronomy frequent mention is made of the "place which the Lord shall choose," without the name being given; in that place alone, "when Israel shall have come to his rest," should the various offerings be brought, and the second tithe be consumed. In addition to the above, the mountains Gerizim and Ebal are also frequently referred to. In Deut. xi. 29 and 30, appears the general ordinance that the blessing shall be given upon Gerizim, and the curse upon Ebal, to which the statement is added regarding the position of these two mountains, viz., that they are "on the other side (west) of Jordan, over against Gilgal, beside the plains of Moreh." It is further prescribed in xxvii. 4-7, to set up on Mount Ebal stones plastered over with plaster, to build there an altar of stones, against which no iron tool was to be lifted up, and to offer thereon burnt offerings and peace offerings. Finally, the tribes are mentioned who were to stand upon Gerizim and Ebal in order to pronounce the blessing and the curse.

In the Book of Joshua the names of all the holy places are introduced, since abundant opportunity is presented in the account of the conquest and division of the land, and in the enumeration of the priestly and Levitical cities. Special prominence is given to Gilgal, where the stones that had been taken out of Jordan were set up, and where the Passover was observed, and in the neighbourhood of which Joshua was visited by the divine messenger, who instructed him that the place was holy; as well as to Shiloh, where the ark of the

¹ Gen. xxxv. 2.

² Ibid. xxxiii. 20.

covenant was set up, and where the division of the land among seven of the tribes took place, and the Levitical cities were selected. From this place it was that the two and a-half tribes were dismissed to their trans-Jordanic home, and here also all Israel assembled in order to go up to war against them on account of their supposed breach of faith. The greatest distinction accrues to Shechem and its environs. Directly after the conquest of Ai the altar is built upon Mount Ebal, upon which were offered burnt and peace offerings. Upon the stones there set up Joshua writes the copy of the Law of Moses, and to the Israelites—half of whom took up their position upon Mount Gerizim, and half upon Mount Ebal—the blessings and the curses are delivered by the priests.¹ Shechem also becomes one of the Cities of Refuge. There, before his death, Joshua assembled all the tribes of Israel, made a covenant with them, “set them a statute and an ordinance,” “wrote these words in the book of the law of God, and took a great stone and set it up there under an oak, that was by the sanctuary of Yahveh.” The bones of Joseph are buried in Shechem, in a field which Jacob had already acquired.²

Bethel is manifestly placed in the background in the book of Joshua; not a single sacred function is there transacted; no assembly takes place there; mention of this place is only made for the purpose of geographically defining the position of Ai and of the ambush laid against that city,³ as also in order to show the participation of the inhabitants of Bethel in the pursuit of the Israelites fleeing from Ai,⁴ and to determine the limits of the territories of the children of Joseph and Benjamin.⁵ The king of Bethel is also mentioned among the thirty-one kings vanquished by the Israelites.⁶ To the Levitical cities Bethel does not belong.

In the chief (*i.e.*, central) portion of the book of Judges,

¹ Josh. viii. 30, *seq.*

² Ibid. xxiv. 26, *seq.*

³ Ibid. vii. 2; viii. 9, 12; xii. 9.

⁴ Ibid. viii. 17.

⁵ Ibid. xvi. 1; xviii. 13.

⁶ Ibid. xii. 16.

of the recognised localities for public worship, only Gilgal and Mizpah, in Gilead, are alluded to as holy places,¹ while of Shechem it is stated that a temple of Baal-Berith existed there.² The appearance of an angel at Ophrah, and the erection of an altar, which continued to exist for a long while, are likewise reported.³ In Zorah, in the tribe of Dan, an angel appears, in whose honour an offering is brought.⁴ In the introduction to the book of Judges, on the other hand, Bethel is especially mentioned as a place dedicated to God besides Mizpah and Shiloh, and seems almost to serve as a religious centre for the Israelites. Here all Israel assembles to ask counsel of God, which tribe should lead the attack against the Benjamites on account of the wickedness wrought at Gibeah. After the defeats repeatedly suffered by them at the hands of the Benjamites, they again hold a solemn assembly in Bethel, and offer there burnt and peace-offerings. There, too, the Ark of the Covenant is located at that time. After the complete overthrow of Benjamin the tribes return again to Bethel. Finally, the geographical situation of Shiloh is fixed with reference to Bethel.⁵

In the first book of Samuel Shiloh alone is at first spoken of as a holy place; but after the capture of the Ark by the Philistines the importance of Shiloh, which, indeed, was probably destroyed, vanishes completely—for the words כֹּהֵן יִחִידָהּ בְּשִׁלֹּה (1 Sam. xiv. 3) are, according to the Vulgate, the Syriac, as well as Abarbanel, de Wette, Ewald, etc., to be taken as in apposition to the word לֵלִי immediately preceding, and are not to be referred, with the LXX., the Targum, Luther, and Maybaum, to הָאֵלֹהִים at the beginning of the verse. The Shilonic priesthood is again met with at Nob, and Ahimelech (in chapters xxi and xxii.) is identical with Ahiah. Besides Nob, Gilgal, Mizpah, Bethel, and Ramah are mentioned;⁶ in all these

¹ Judges ii. 11; xi. 11, 29, 34.

² Ibid. ix. 4.

³ Ibid. vi. 12, 24.

⁴ Ibid. xiii. 3, *seq.*

⁵ Ibid. xx. 18, 26, 27; xxi. 2, 19.

⁶ 1 Sam. vii. 16, 17; x. 3; xi. 15.

places altars are found, upon which sacrifices are brought.¹ Shechem is nowhere spoken of.

In the second book of Samuel, besides Jerusalem, only Hebron is alluded to as a holy city, and from xv. 7 and 8 the inference may be drawn that Hebron was a holy city, especially chosen, at least by the tribe of Judah, as a place for the fulfilment of vows. On the summit of the Mount of Olives there also existed a sacrificial site.²

In the first book of Kings Gibeon is at first called "the great Bamah," upon which Solomon offered a thousand burnt offerings, and where, in a vision, he was honoured by a divine manifestation. Shiloh is mentioned as the dwelling place of the prophet Ahijah; Shechem is the place of assembly for all Israel after the death of Solomon, and, at least in the early period, the residence of the king of the Ten Tribes.³ Nothing is said of any sacrificial site being there. On the other hand, Bethel becomes, immediately after the division of the empire, the chief sanctuary for the Northern Kingdom. Here a high place is set up, and king Jeroboam offers sacrifices upon the altars, the future profanation of which by Josiah is then predicted.⁴ Altars upon high places are also found in other cities, Dan in the extreme north being especially mentioned as a frequently-visited place of pilgrimage.⁵ In Samaria a temple and an altar to Baal are erected,⁶ and on Mount Carmel there is an altar dedicated to Yahveh, which was demolished under the rule of Ahab, and was restored by Elijah.⁷

¹ The LXX. translate the words in 1 Sam. vii. 16, את כל המקומות, המקומות; *in paucis τοῖς ἁγιασμένοις τοῖς τόποις*, reading therefore מקדשים instead of מקומות. Bethel is also enumerated in 1 Sam. xxx. 27, among the cities to whose inhabitants David sent of the spoil; here, however, instead of Bethel we ought to read Bethzur, with the LXX., which reading appears also to be justified by the expression לְזִקְנֵי יְהוּדָה, used in the preceding verse (see also Thenius, *Die Bücher Samuels*, p. 136).

² 2 Sam. xv. 32.

³ 1 Kings iii. 4, 5; xi. 29; xii. 1, 25.

⁴ Ibid. xii. 32; xiii. 1, *seq.*

⁵ Ibid. xii. 29, 30.

⁶ Ibid. xvi. 32.

⁷ Ibid. xviii. 30.

In the second book of Kings repeated mention is made of the sons of the prophets at Jericho and Bethel.¹ Carmel, Samaria, Jericho and Gilgal are the most notable places of sojourn of Elisha.² Jehu destroys the temple of Baal in Samaria, and eradicates Baal-worship, but allows the golden calves to remain at Bethel and Dan.³ The Israelitish priest whom the king of Assyria sent to Samaria at the request of the colonists takes up his abode in Bethel.⁴ Josiah destroys the altar and the Bamah, and slays the priests who performed the service in that place.⁵

In Hosea Bethel is often mentioned, being at times cacophemistically called Beth-aven.⁶ Gilgal also frequently appears as a place of sacrifice.⁷ The calf image of Samaria is several times mentioned,⁸ but it appears as though by Samaria, in these passages, not simply the capital, but rather the land of Israel is meant, as indeed in other Biblical books occasionally the cities of Samaria are spoken of.⁹ Whether Shechem is referred to in Hosea, depends upon the interpretation of the peculiar passage to be discussed below *ירדן ירצו שקקח* (vi. 9 *seq.*).

In dealing with the sanctuaries of Israel, Amos speaks with emphasis of Bethel, which he calls *מקדש מלך*, and characterises as an oft-visited place of pilgrimage, and even as the actual religious centre of the northern kingdom.¹⁰ Next to this, prominence is given to Gilgal and Beersheba as well as to the Sin (or the idol) of Samaria.¹¹

In Jeremiah only the passage xli. 5, *מנשים משכם*

¹ 2 Kings ii. 3, 5.

² Ibid. ii. 18, 25; iv. 38.

³ Ibid. x. 26-29.

⁴ Ibid. xvii. 28.

⁵ Ibid. xxv. 15-19.

⁶ Hosea iv. 15; x. 5, 8; xii. 5.

⁷ Ibid. iv. 15; xii. 12.

⁸ Ibid. viii. 5, 6.

⁹ 2 Kings xvii. 27; Hosea x. 5; Amos iv. 1; vi. 1, etc.

¹⁰ Amos iii. 14; iv. 4; v. 5, 6.

¹¹ Ibid. iv. 4; v. 5; viii. 14. On Beersheba, in Amos, comp. Halévy, *Recherches Bibliques*, 3rd fascicule, who maintains the well-founded view that it is not Beersheba in the south of the kingdom of Judah that can here be meant, but a place of pilgrimage situated in the Northern Kingdom, forming a sort of annex to the great sanctuary in Bethel, and perhaps identical with *בִּיאֵרוֹת*, the present Biré.

משל ומשמרין, and the threat that it should fare with Jerusalem as it did with Shiloh, אשר שכנתי שמי שם בראשונה, are noteworthy;¹ no other holy places are named. Mention is made in the Psalms also of the sanctuary at Shiloh, which was rejected by God on account of the sins of Israel:² otherwise there is no allusion, as in the other books of the Bible, to any holy places except Jerusalem.

From the passages above quoted it clearly follows that Bethel was in pre-exilic times, or at least after the division of the kingdom, the most important sanctuary of the central and northern tribes of Israel, and that it maintained its high rank even after the dissolution of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, until Josiah desecrated the altars there, and executed a direful judgment upon the officiating priesthood of that place.

It must appear remarkable that the book of Joshua makes no reference whatever to Bethel as a sanctified spot, and—such is the impression an unbiassed reader cannot fail to receive—*purposely* maintains silence regarding its importance for the religious development of Israel. The contrast between Joshua on the one hand and the other historical books of the Bible as well as Hosea and Amos on the other, stands out all the more distinctly as in Joshua, side by side with the neglect of Bethel, the prominence of Shechem is remarkably conspicuous. The preference for Shechem and the aversion to Bethel, go so far that, directly after the conquest of Ai, which is adjacent to Bethel, the altar is built upon Ebal, the blessing and the curse commanded in Deuteronomy are then pronounced, and the copy of the law of Moses is engraved upon the stones there set up. The passage in Joshua (viii. 30 to end) gives much trouble to the expositors, as it cannot be harmonised with historical facts and with the position of Israel. Some therefore

¹ Jer. vii. 12, 14; xxvi. 6, 9.

² Psalm lxxviii. 60.

incline towards the opinion that the passage has found its way by error into its present place, and should have been inserted at a later point, since after the conquest of Ai, the camp was still in Gilgal.¹ The LXX. do in fact place this passage after the second verse of chapter ix., whereby, however, not much is gained, for the camp still continues in Gilgal, though the possibility remains that, after the conquest of Ai, other acts of war occurred before Joshua set about the building of the altar upon Ebal; that, in particular, that portion of the land in which Shechem lay had already fallen into the power of the Israelites; but that the army after each action withdrew to the fortified camp at Gilgal.²

Now one might perhaps assume that the silence concerning Bethel in the Book of Joshua is caused by the fact that this place, during the early period of the seizure of the country by the Israelites, was of no importance for purposes of public worship, and that it only later came into prominence; and that, therefore, the author of the Book of Joshua could have had no inducement to assign any importance to Bethel. This, however, is contradicted by the weightiest circumstances, chiefly the tolerably early narrative in chapters xx. and xxi. of the Book of Judges; further, by the plain and artless statement in 1 Sam. x. 3, evidently written without any preconceived motive, and especially by the distinguished position assigned to Bethel in Genesis, indicating the great age and the pre-eminent significance of the worship there conducted. Moreover, no doubt can obtain respecting the post-Deuteronomic composition of the Book of Joshua; and the assumption that the author, who lived after the destruction by Josiah of the sanctuary at Bethel, was

¹ Josh. ix. 6; xi. 6, 7, 15, 43.

² Josh. x. 15, 43. Some codices of the LXX. follow the order of the Hebrew text, from which it may with certainty be inferred that the variation in the other codices is due to a later correction, the grounds for which are obvious.

ignorant of the important part which this place played in the development of the ancient Israelitish worship, is absolutely untenable. If, therefore, no mention is made in Joshua of Bethel as a holy place, the author must have had excellent reasons of his own—reasons so excellent that he was induced by them to place himself in opposition to historic facts, and also to the historic consciousness of his contemporaries.

These reasons it ought not to be difficult to discover. When the Book of Joshua was written, Bethel's prime was long passed, for through the dissolution of the Kingdom of the Ten Tribes, it had ceased to be the central point of the Northern Israelitish worship, and the most dangerous rival of Jerusalem; but it was nevertheless, as we perceive from 2 Kings xxiii. 4, 15—19, until late in the reign of Josiah, despite the preponderance of Jerusalem, a much-visited place of pilgrimage, and the greatest hindrance to the unity of worship; and the terrible punishment inflicted by Josiah on the priests of Bethel, as well as the desecration of the altars at Bethel under circumstances that aroused so great a sensation, was still fresh in the memory of the people. However, the author of the Book of Joshua, whose wish is to date back the unity of public worship to the time of the seizure of Palestine by Israel, has as his object to destroy the halo which was spread over Bethel, and to oppose the notion that this place had at any time, however distant, held a specially favoured position. More effectually than by any polemic against Bethel, or by any narrative that might degrade its sanctity (which would, moreover, having regard to what is written in Genesis, have been ill-applied), this aim was reached by completely ignoring the place and passing it over in absolute silence. If the supporters of the decentralisation of public worship, of whom there must have been many at the time of the composition of the Book of Joshua—for otherwise the twenty-second chapter of this book, which is in direct conflict with every historical fact, would be entirely super-

fluous and incomprehensible—appealed to the patriarchal age against the exclusive favouring of Jerusalem, and placed particular emphasis upon the example of Bethel, which had been so greatly distinguished by Abraham and Jacob; then from the Book of Joshua it could be proved against them that, at all events in the earliest period of the Israelitish nationality, not a word was said by way of sanctioning the holiness of this place; that at that time already the exclusive limitation of sacrificial worship to the spot where the Ark of the Covenant was situated was presupposed as a matter of course; that on the mere suspicion of the Transjordanic tribes having erected an altar for sacrifice, in addition to the only legitimate one at Shiloh, all Israel had assembled as one man to punish such infidelity, which might have had the same sad consequences for the nation at large as the sin of Israel in adoring Baal-Peor, or as the trespass of Achan.¹

True, the book of Joshua cannot ignore the fact that *before* the setting up of the Ark of the Covenant, and the rearing of the Tabernacle at Shiloh, sacrifices were offered at other places; for it contradicts the conception of piety prevalent at the time of the composition of this book to suppose that the Israelites abstained from bringing sacrifices of any kind during their long-extended war of conquest. But that was not necessary according to the express statement in Deuteronomy,² and this view was also sustained in later ages.³ But though a temporary sanctity is conceded to other places of public worship, and they thus appear in the character of forerunners of Shiloh and Jerusalem, they must, nevertheless, have been such places as seemed innocuous to the Deuteronomist and to

¹ Josh. xxii. 11, *seq.*

² Deut. xii. 9.

³ The Talmud also explains, *Meg.* 10a and *Sebachim* 119b, that the expression מְנוּחָה (Deut. xii. 9) refers to Shiloh and נְחֻלָּה to Jerusalem, and lays down the following general proposition (*Seb.* 112b and elsewhere):—
עד שלא הוקם המשכן היו הבמות מותרות, ומשהוקם המשכן נאסרו
הבמות, באו לנלגל הותרו הבמות, באו לשילה נאסרו הבמות, באו

his successor, the Deuteronomistic author of the book of Joshua, that is to say, they must have been places which, at the time of the composition of these books, no longer entered into any kind of rivalry with Jerusalem, but had then already entirely lost their significance, and were of value only as an historical reminiscence. This is true of Shechem especially. Since the days of Jeroboam I., Shechem, which, after the death of Solomon, had been the principal place for the tribes dwelling in the northern and middle portion of Palestine, had completely lost its former leading position in Israel. Already, before the building of Samaria, it had sunk into insignificance, for Tirzah had become the capital of the kingdom, and the residence of the king; in the last years of his reign, Jeroboam had removed his place of abode to Tirzah, and all the kings who succeeded him also dwelt there until Omri built the new capital, Samaria, upon a site strongly fortified by nature. Thus Shechem soon lost its place of honour, and it receives in the writings which deal with the period after Jeroboam I., scarcely any further mention.

The two passages which do not seem in agreement with this conclusion (Hosea vi. 9, and Jer. xli. 5), are nothing to the purpose. In the first passage, to which reference has already been made above, it is very questionable whether by שֶׁכֶּמֶח is to be understood "to Shechem" (for which everywhere else שֶׁכֶּמֶח is used), or whether, as the LXX. assume, a man named שֶׁכֶּמֶח is meant, or whether, according to the Targum, and most of the Jewish commentators, it is to be understood not as a proper name, but to be translated by "with one consent" = שֶׁכֶּם אֶחָד (Zeph. iii. 9).

לנוב ונבעון הותרו הבמות, באו לירושלים נאסרו הבמות ולא היה להן חלה. The Talmud was hardly likely to have made a difference between Shiloh on the one hand and Nob and Gilead on the other, if Joshua xxii. had not compelled it to do so, for the offerings of Gideon and of Manoah, which were not brought to Shiloh, gave the Talmud a great deal of trouble, and forced it to the makeshift explanation of הוֹרֵאת שְׁעָה.

And Jer. xli. 5, where it is related that eighty men from Shechem, Shiloh, and Samaria, showing signs of mourning, and bearing offerings, came to Mizpah in order to bring their presents to the house of the Lord, proves absolutely nothing as regards the importance of Shechem, or proves rather (assuming the passage not to be corrupt) that the inhabitants of Shechem, even after the destruction of the Temple at Jerusalem, did not offer their gifts to the Deity in their own city, but undertook the journey to Judah in order to give expression to their pious sentiments; that, therefore, Shechem itself had ceased to be a Holy Place to them, and had lost all its value as a seat of public worship.¹

Bethel, on the other hand, although its temple had been destroyed by Josiah, still continued to enjoy the fame of its sanctity, and under the rule of Jehoiakim, when the other high places and sites of public worship again revived, became once more a much-frequented place of pilgrimage. The nation could and would not accustom itself to the idea that the place, solemnly consecrated by the patriarchs, and marked by prophets and men of God as a spot chosen by God, should be unsuited for worship and for the bringing of sacrifices. In the minds of the people all the signs of divine grace which had been there manifested still clung to Bethel; and like Jacob when he awoke from his dream, so

¹ Graetz (*loc. cit.*) correctly assumes that the cities named were then in ruins. Samaria, which was conquered by the Assyrians after a siege of three years, was certainly destroyed, as it was not in accordance with the policy of the Assyrians to allow a city of such eminent strategic importance to continue standing after the deportation of its inhabitants, and it is not likely that at the time of the composition it had already been restored by the colonists there settled. Shiloh, also, if the reading in our place be the correct one (and we do not adopt the reading of the LXX., Salem), had in Jeremiah's days entirely lost its sanctity, and served as a warning example of the divine judgment (Jer. xxvi.). And Shechem, which had become of extremely slight importance *during* the existence of the kingdom of Israel, sank probably into still greater insignificance *after* its fall.

Israel said of Bethel, "How awful is this place! this is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven."

On this account it was that the author of Joshua considered himself bound to entirely pass over Bethel, for he, the enthusiastic upholder of the unity of public worship, dared not concede as much even as the appearance of legality to a city which offered the greatest impediment to the centralisation of worship, since such concession could only serve to increase its halo and to give a certain justification to its fame as a sanctuary. Therefore also, directly after the conquest of Ai and Bethel, the altar had to be erected upon Mount Ebal, and the ordinance of Deuteronomy (xi. 29 *seq.* and xxvii. 4, *seq.*) had to be carried out, although the conquest of this portion of Canaan was not yet in any way under discussion and the environs of Shechem could not have yet come into the possession of Israel. The author boldly dismisses this consideration, as well as the actual impossibility of instituting important solemnities connected with public worship in a portion of the land not yet conquered, for he is influenced by the thought that the surmise might easily occur to the reader that the first sojourn of Israel in the vicinity of Bethel, sanctified as it had been from the times of the patriarchs, must have been used for the performance of holy functions on that memorable spot. Such a surmise the author of the book of Joshua wished to prevent at any cost; and he wished to show that Joshua, a man distinguished for his fear of God, who acted strictly in accordance with the directions of his teacher Moses, passed with indifference over Bethel; that he, immediately after the conquest of Ai, took the road to Shechem, in order to build an altar upon Mount Ebal and to pronounce there the blessing and the curse over Israel.

Shechem (such is the result of an impartial investigation) has been made prominent in Deuteronomy, and still more so in Joshua, at the cost of Bethel, and owes such distinction as is accorded to it in these books solely to the insignificance into which it at that time had sunk, and in

consequence of which it could not but appear innocuous for the restoration and maintenance of the unity of worship; while Bethel, in spite of all the measures applied against it, maintained its position until the dissolution of the kingdom of Judah, and was deemed worthy of reverence by a large portion of the nation.

The preference accorded to Shechem with this intent, for the sake of a pious and highly important object, was bitterly avenged in succeeding ages; for this town, which after the fall of the house of Jeroboam, almost disappears from the remembrance of Israel, which to the Deuteronomist is not even of sufficient consequence to serve as a means of indicating the geographical situation of the mountains Gerizim and Ebal, and which therefore, in this respect, had to give way even to Gilgal and the plains of Moreh,¹ became later the capital and the religious centre of the Samaritans, who were the bitterest foes of the Jews, and whose temple on Gerizim contested the right of the sanctuary upon Moriah to be the holy spot chosen by God for his dwelling place. In vain did the Jews point to the books of Kings and the later prophets in order to demonstrate the sanctity and the selection of Jerusalem, and to distinguish Zion as the incomparable city of God, before which all the other temporary holy places became of no account. The Samaritans refused to recognise these biblical books, which were, in their view, coloured by an obvious tendency, nay actually falsified; and they referred on behalf of their Shechem to Genesis, to Deuteronomy, and especially to the book of Joshua, which, owing to the celebrity and prominence in it of Shechem, had a special value for them, and formed, as it were the foundation upon which they reared their religious edifice. The Jews were forced to admit the prominence of Shechem in Joshua, as this book was considered by them too as holy, and as penetrated with the true prophetic spirit; they asserted only that by the build-

¹ Deut. xi. 30.

ing of the temple of Solomon, all previous sanctuaries became illegal, and that thus also Shechem lost its distinction; for Deuteronomy limits the bringing of sacrifices to the place "which God shall choose," and by this place no other city than Jerusalem is meant. But this very thing the Samaritans contested most emphatically, and asserted the opposite view, that Shechem was the city referred to in Deuteronomy as chosen by God, and that Jerusalem had usurped a right to which Shechem had the sole claim.

At any rate, by his extravagant exaltation of Shechem, the author of the book of Joshua, who had nothing so much at heart as the promotion of unity of worship, and who for this reason ruthlessly abridged the rights of Bethel, still standing in high regard with the people, and refused to recognise the sanctity of this place even in the past, offered to the opponents of Jerusalem in post-exilic times a convenient handle whereby to make of the old Ephraimite city a rival of the city of David, to oppose the Mount of Gerizim to the Mount of Moriah, and thus in a sense to again prejudice the unity of public worship in the future.

The aversion to Bethel must have been very great and lasting among the pious of Israel, for, even after the Exile, the remembrance of the ancient bull-worship at Bethel was avoided, and care was taken, when the name of this place had to be mentioned, to shun all reference to its former religious importance. Therefore we do not find Bethel mentioned in the lists (dating from after the Exile) of the forty-eight Levitical cities, in Joshua¹ and Chronicles,² while Shechem, being a city of refuge, was at the same time a Levitical city.

That Joshua xxi. is not the work of the original author of the book, but belongs to a later time, is evident from its strictly-maintained distinction between priests and Levites, which we nowhere meet with in any of the other chapters of Joshua. The author of Joshua, following

¹ Josh. xxi.

² 1 Chron. vi.

the example of the Deuteronomist, often makes use of the expression, כַּהֲנָנִים חִלִּים, for priests, or calls them simply כַּהֲנָנִים. The appellation לִיִּם alone never appears except in chapter xxi. Clearly the author knows no Levites in contradistinction to priests; for him there are only Levite priests. Each priest must belong to the tribe of Levi; but every Levite is also, *eo ipso*, a priest. Levites as priests' assistants, as ministers to the כַּהֲנָנִים, to whom only a lower degree of holiness attaches, are totally unknown to him. As in Deuteronomy, so in Joshua; the priests bear the Ark of the Covenant, not the Levites, to whom, in Numbers, this office of honour is expressly transferred. The כַּהֲנָנִים also, in several places, have the title, "Bearers of the Ark of the Covenant." The high priest is mentioned once;¹ but the passage is undoubtedly a later interpolation.²

In no work demonstrably pre-Exilic (except in interpolated or corrupted passages³) are there Levites as distinguished from priests. This distinction we encounter for the first time in Ezekiel.⁴ Still later occurs the triple division of the Levites according to the heads of their houses—Gershon, Kohath, and Merari, of which even the books of Ezra and Nehemiah know nothing as yet, and which we only meet with in Numbers, Chronicles, and chapter xxi. of Joshua.⁵ In the enumeration of the

¹ Josh. xx. 6.

² Graf, *Die geschichtlichen Bücher des alten Testaments*, p. 68.

³ 1 Sam. vi. 15; 1 Kings viii. 4; also compare each time the previous verse.

⁴ Ezek. xlv. 10.

⁵ It is true that in Ezra viii. 19, a Levite is mentioned who was "of the sons of Merari," but in the preceding verse, at the mention of another Levite, his descent from "the sons of Mahli, the son of Levi," is emphasised, that is to say, Mahli and Merari are both used as Levitical family names, and Merari is not here employed as the name of the third division of Levites, as otherwise the description "of the sons of Mahli" would be incomprehensible, since, according to Numbers, Mahli himself belongs to the Merarites, and cannot, therefore, be conceived as introduced in contradistinction to the sons of Merari.

Levitical cities in Joshua xxi., this trichotomy of the tribe of Levi is strictly observed, and to each section of the Levites, in proportion to its higher or lower rank, dwelling-places are assigned at a smaller or greater distance from Jerusalem. All the Aaronites were located in the kingdom of Judah, in the territories of the tribes of Judah, Simeon, and Benjamin; the other Kohathites received ten cities—first among which was the City of Refuge, Shechem—in the districts of the tribes of Ephraim, Dan, and West Manasseh. Bethel, however, will be looked for in vain among the Levitical cities; and the fact that this holy place, once so celebrated, is passed over in silence, can only be explained by the aversion, surviving even after the Exile, against the ancient rival of Jerusalem.

One might, perhaps, urge against my contention that other cities, which had previously formed a certain centre for public worship, are also not included among the Levitical cities, especially Shiloh, which is brought several times into prominence in Joshua, and to which a peculiar distinction attaches as the seat of the Ark of the Covenant; similarly Nob, which was the foremost sanctuary in Israel during the time of Samuel and Saul, whither also on that account the most valuable trophies were brought.¹ However, there was another excellent reason for passing over Shiloh and Nob. Both places being priests' cities, inhabited by Aaronites, could not have been referred to as Levitical cities in the narrower sense of the word; for the legality of the sacrificial and priestly service of those places is nowhere disputed, and the priests officiating at these sanctuaries are the ancestors of Abiathar, the founder of the family of the priests at Anathoth. But the priests, according to the scheme enunciated in Chronicles, were to be settled in the later southern kingdom, at not too great a distance from Jerusalem; and into this system, of course, Shiloh and Nob do not enter. In this respect the

¹ 1 Sam. xxi. 10.

Chronicler made things remarkably easy for himself; for him Shiloh and Nob simply do not exist. He begins his history of public worship with David's removal of the Ark from Kirjath-jearim to Jerusalem.¹ How the Ark reached Kirjath-jearim, where it was previously kept, he does not relate. Bounded by no restrictions, he is able to present a tableau of the Levitical cities entirely according to his own fancy, and has, therefore, not the least compunction in settling all the Aaronites in the southern portion of Canaan. The author of Joshua xxi. has thus simply borrowed the list of Levitical cities from Chronicles, and inserted it in Joshua; although, by the omission of Shiloh, he puts himself in opposition to the body of the book, which tells of the setting-up of the Ark at Shiloh, and recognises the altar built there as the only legitimate one.² If another proof be needed that Josh. xxi. is post-exilic, it is furnished irrefutably by the omission of Shiloh. This chapter can only have originated in a period in which the historical recollections of the past had already so faded away in the minds of the people that a seat of worship once so celebrated as Shiloh, the importance of which in the past even Jeremiah fully acknowledges,³ might be refused the rank conceded even to quite obscure cities in Israel.

But what inducement moved the interpolator or redactor of the Book of Joshua to introduce the list of the Levitical cities, when such a step must have caused him great difficulties in respect to Nob, and more especially to Shiloh? The answer to this question is not far to seek. The inducement to this addition was Num. xxxv., in which the distinct ordinance is given to grant the Levites forty-eight cities, inclusive of the Cities of Refuge, from all parts of Israel; it must, therefore, have appeared strange to post-exilic Judaism that Joshua, who complied so precisely with the Deuteronomic command to put the blessing and

¹ 1 Chron. xiii. 15.

² Josh. xviii. 1; xxii. 19.

³ Jer. vii. 12.

the curse on the mountains Gerizim and Ebal, and who had assigned their territory to the nine and a half tribes of Israel by lot, as it was prescribed, should have completely forgotten the Levites, and should have passed over the commands concerning them unnoticed. That would never do; the Chronicler, with his pronounced Levitical sympathies, or else some contemporary who shared his sentiments, had to make this good, and that was done in the simplest fashion by the insertion of the list from Chronicles, which fully corresponded with post-exilic views—a list whose origin was then referred back to Joshua. But what inconsistencies arose from such a procedure can best be seen from the allotments assigned to the priests. The Aaronites, namely, received thirteen cities within the territory of the southern tribes. What the priestly clan, which at the time of Joshua consisted of but a few persons, viz., Eleazar and Ithamar, and their sons and grandsons, were to do with thirteen cities is a question which the narrator leaves unanswered, as also how it was in accordance with justice that the other Kohathites, whose number at the census in the wilderness of Sinai amounted already to 8,600, were to be content with ten cities; that the Gershonites with their 7,500 were to receive exactly as many cities as the little band of Aaronites, and, finally, that the Merarites, who are reported as numbering 6,200, obtained only twelve cities.¹

It is obvious that the author of this list transfers the conditions of his time to the remote past, or to speak more accurately, that he remodels the past according to his Levitico-priestly ideal, which was never realised in fact, and thereby commits, in dealing with the Aaronites, the most frightful anachronism one can imagine. But, however much he may differ from the author or authors of the

¹ In Num. xxvi. 62, the sum-total of the Levites from a month old and upwards is given as a thousand more, viz., 23,000, instead of the sum-total of 22,000, mentioned in Num. iii. 39.

other constituent parts of the Book of Joshua, he nevertheless shares with them that aversion against Bethel, which since the days of Josiah was deeply rooted in all the pious circles of Israel, although in his time all thought of a rivalry between Bethel and Jerusalem was excluded, and it entered nobody's mind to revive the fallen glory and sanctity of Bethel on the ground of what was related in Genesis and in other pre-exilic books.

H. VOGELSTEIN.

THE DIRGE OF COHELETH.

IN an essay entitled *The Dirge of Coheleth in Ecclesiastes XII. Discussed and Literally Interpreted*, written in 1873, I proposed a literal rendering or explanation of certain verses which are usually taken "anatomically," the expressions in them being supposed to allude to the several members of the human body in its decrepitude. Shortly after its publication (1874) the essay was discussed by Delitzsch¹ in his *Kohelet*; and I have to thank Dr. Cheyne for calling attention to it in his *Job and Solomon*, although (in an attempt to describe it briefly) he has very completely misrepresented it, his statement of my "dirge-theory" being contained in the foot-note, *Namely, that vv. 3-5 are cited from an authorised book of dirges (comp. 2 Chron. xxxv. 25). There seems, however, no assignable reason for separating these verses from the context. And how can the supposed mourners have sung the latter part of ver. 5? How indeed? Before reading this note I had never imagined that any one could think of the mourners going about the streets singing, "The mourners go about the streets." The writer has mistaken for an enunciation of the dirge-theory a clause of the casual remark appended to my prefatory sketch of it, "The whole passage may allude, etc., or may have been cited from an authorised book of Dirges," &c.*

The dirge-theory is simply that what precedes "Because man goeth to his long home, and the mourners go about in the streets" does when literally interpreted constitute a short poem suited to the occasion; and if other interpreters maintain that the passage as they interpret it is no less poetical and suited to the occasion, all

¹ It was also reviewed by Kuenen. See THE JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, vol. iv., p. 478.

that is distinctive of my theory is that the passage should be *literally* interpreted. If when its details have been fully looked into, the theory should be found to be an impracticable one, it would then have to be abandoned; but I do not know of any good reason for its abandonment as a theory and without examination in detail. The verses to be discussed (Eccl. xii. 1-7), run as follows in the Authorised Version :

"1. Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth :

"WHILE the evil days come not, nor the years draw nigh, when thou shalt say, I have no pleasure in them.

"2. WHILE the sun, or the light, or the moon, or the stars, be not darkened, nor the clouds return after the rain ;

"3. *In the day when* the keepers of the HOUSE shall tremble, and the strong men shall bow themselves, and the grinders cease because they are few [*margin*. the grinders fail because they grind little], and those that look out of the windows be darkened ;

"4. And the doors shall be shut in the STREETS, when the sound of the grinding is low, and he shall rise up at the voice of the bird, and all the daughters of music shall be brought low ;

"5. *Also when* they shall be afraid of that which is high, and fears shall be in the way, and the almond tree shall flourish, and the grasshopper shall be a burden, and desire shall fail : *because man goeth to his long HOME, and the mourners go about the STREETS :*

"6. OR EVER the silver cord be loosed, or the golden bowl be broken, or the pitcher be broken at the fountain, or the wheel be broken at the cistern.

"7. Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was ; and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it."

Dr. Cheyne writes in *Job and Solomon*, "We have now arrived at the conclusion of the meditations of our much-tried thinker. It is strongly poetic in colouring; but when we compare it with the grandly simple overture of the book (i. 4-8), can we help confessing to a certain degree of disappointment? It is the allegory which spoils it for modern readers, and so completely spoils it that attempts have been made to expel the allegorical element altogether.' But what has led to these attempts to expel it is, perhaps not so much a distaste for the allegory in itself as the

repeated and egregious failures of these interpreters to work out their theory consistently and in agreement with one another. An anatomist who is true to a form of the Rabbinic exposition is considered by one of a different persuasion to have "a critical nose degenerating into a hog's snout." Delitzsch introduces his own form of the allegory, on which something will be said in the latter part of this article, with the remark that previous anatomies have been failures, "Die bisherigen Deutungsversuche sind freilich ganz oder meistens verunglückt." Herzfeld goes further and writes, "Zum Schlusse dieser poetischen Beschreibung des Alters und des Todes bemerke ich noch, dass, wenn wir an ihr keine durchgeführte Allegorie, sondern ein von der unbildlichen Redeweise mehrfach durchgebrochenes Aggregat unvollständiger Vergleichen haben, dieses Verfahren nicht vorzugsweise unserem Verfasser, sondern fast allen biblischen Schriftstellern mehr oder weniger eigen ist." On this I shall have something more to say presently. In the *Dirge* I remarked upon it that the fault was not with the Preacher but with his interpreters, who had mistaken a פֶּשֶׁט for a דְּרָשׁ, a piece of Midrash for a primary rendering.

The mass of readers are disposed to adopt the anatomical view of the passage because they imagine that it has the decisive support of Jewish tradition. Then it is observed that some expressions in it, as that *the grinders cease*, are easily and attractively accounted for by the theory; and this is forthwith accepted as sufficiently probable, the less tractable details being left as puzzles for the critics. But the anatomical rendering belongs to the *Haggadah* literature (in the popular sense of the term), and in this we do not look for the simple or primary sense of Scripture; and, conversely, when the *Haggadah* gives us an allegorical interpretation, it does not thereby lay down that the passage so interpreted has no פֶּשֶׁט, or literal sense. "There was a little city, and few men within it; and there came a great king against it and besieged it, and built

great bulwarks against it. Now there was found in it a poor wise man, and he by his wisdom delivered the city; yet no man remembered that same poor man." The little city, to speak in modern phrase, was John Bunyan's city of *Mansoul*: the poor wise man was the good יָצָר or ἐπιθυμία or principle: the *great* king was the evil יָצָר, which is congenital, and is therefore thirteen years *senior* to the good principle in man, the birth of which dates from the day when he becomes a son of the Torah. When it has been proved that the author of this pretty little parable was of opinion that Eccl. ix. 13-15 has no נֶשֶׁם, and that the writer of the book did not mean these verses to be taken in their obvious sense, then, and not till then, I shall be ready to grant that the ingenious originator of the anatomical explanation of Eccl. xii. 1-7 may have denied the possibility of a literal interpretation of the passage. Meanwhile (without in the first instance criticising the renderings of anatomists) I will give over again, with one or two improvements, some of my reasons for thinking that the passage taken literally is not devoid of meaning.

The first thing to be noticed is its structure. It has for preface, *Remember now thy Creator in the days of thy youth*; after which come three sections beginning with the same phrase, לֵאמֹר עַד אֲשֶׁר לֹא, *while as yet not*. In the *Dirge* (p. 2) I wrote ERE ERE ERE. The A.V. has "While," "While," "Or ever," at the beginnings of the three sections, and the R.V., "Or ever," in each case. In the first section of the three there is a simply expressed premonition of the "evil days," when youth, with its health, strength, and joyousness, will have departed. The third section begins with figures of dissolution, "Or ever . . . the golden bowl . . . or the pitcher be broken," etc., and ends literally, "Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was: and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it." The longer intermediate section begins with familiar Biblical images. "While the sun, or the light, or the moon, or the stars, be not darkened, nor the clouds return after the rain,"

and ends literally, "Because man goeth to his long home, and the mourners go about the streets." The question to be answered is, Where in this second section is the point of transition from figurative to literal expression? and everything depends upon the answer which we give to that question.

The obvious point of transition, if Biblical usage is to be allowed to decide, is at the words *In the day when* (ver. 3). The figure of the darkening of the heavens is at once followed by its explanation. Compare Isaiah xxx. 26, where the same formula of transition from the figurative to the literal is used, "Moreover the light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun, and the light of the sun shall be sevenfold, as the light of seven days, *in the day that* the Lord bindeth up the breach of his people, and healeth the stroke of their wound." A simple "when" takes the place of "in the day that" in Ezek. xxxii. 7-10, "And when I shall put thee out, I will cover the heaven, and make the stars thereof dark; I will cover the sun with a cloud, and the moon shall not give her light. All the bright lights of heaven will I make dark over thee, and set darkness upon thy land, saith the Lord God. I will also vex the hearts of many people, *when* I shall bring thy destruction among the nations, into the countries which thou hast not known. Yea, I will make many peoples amazed at thee, and their kings shall be horribly afraid for thee, when I shall brandish my sword before them; and they shall tremble at every moment, every man for his own life, in the day of thy fall." Here it is to be remarked that the person addressed, Pharaoh (ver. 2), is not warned simply of his own coming destruction, but of the impression which this will make upon "many peoples." It might be said that their feelings would not be of any interest to him then; nevertheless, the prophet, in apostrophising him, makes a point of foretelling how others will be affected by his fall. Returning now to Eccl. xii. 2-5, we may say that in accordance with the parallels just cited, all that comes between the formula

of transition *In the day when* (ver. 3), and the concluding words of the section *because man goeth*, etc., should be capable of interpretation as a literal description of what happens on the occasion when "the mourners go about the streets." The word *Also* (וְגַם) divides what we have now to interpret in detail into subsections, consisting of verses 3 and 4, and verse 5 respectively.

Verse 3. Passing over the introductory *ביום ש', In the day when*, we have remaining a description of the inmates of a house or palace, whose lord is lying dead in it on that day,

נָזְעוּ שֹׁמְרֵי חֲבִית
וְחֹתְעֵי בֵּיתוֹ אֶלְשֵׁי חֲחִיל
וּבְמִלֵּי חַטָּחֲנוֹת כִּי מָצְאוּ
וְהָשְׁכֵי הָרְאוֹת בְּאַרְצוֹת :

The keepers of the house are men-servants, the men of חֲחִיל those of higher rank; the grinders (fem.) are maid-servants, who prepare food; the gazers at the lattices are the ladies of the house. Men and women of the lower and the higher degree respectively are mentioned in this order in Psalm cxxiii. 2, "As the eyes of *servants* look unto the hand of their *masters*, and as the eyes of a *maiden* unto the hand of her *mistress*," etc.; and Isaiah xxiv. 2, "As with the *servant*, so with his *master*; as with the *maid*, so with her *mistress*."

The grinding-maids "cease" from work because "they grind little" (A.V. marg.), or have little work to do, at a time when there are no festivities. This rendering implies that מָצְאוּ is transitive, and means מָצְאוּ אֶת הַמַּדְחִינָה, which is in accordance with the facts—(1) that the *piel* of מָצַע (which is found here only in the Bible) is much used and *is transitive* in the later Hebrew; and (2) that Ecclesiastes, as all critics allow, approximates in its diction to the later Hebrew. It is to be noticed that the grinding-maids merely *cease* from work because none remains to be done,

the word בַּמָּלִי not meaning that they are past work or have suffered injury.

On my rendering of the next clause Delitzsch has the remark, "Die Fensterguckerinnen sollen die *ladies* sein, die sich gern am Fenster amüsiren, und die nun verdunkelt sind. Gibt es etwas Komischeres als solche (ob äusserlich oder innerlich, bleibt unbestimmt) finster gewordene Dämchen?" I will therefore repeat some of the illustrations which I gave in support of the view that the clause refers to the ladies of the house: Jud. v. 28, 29, "The mother of Sisera looked out at a window. . . . Her wise ladies answered her," etc.; 2 Sam. vi. 16, "Michal, Saul's daughter, looked through a window," etc.; Jer. ix. 20, 21, "Yet hear the word of the Lord, O ye *women*, and let your ear receive the word of his mouth, and teach your daughters wailing, and every one her neighbour lamentation. For death is come up *into our windows*, and is entered into our palaces." "This passage (I remarked) has not always been rationally explained. . . . If the windows were places of pleasant concourse, there would be no lack of significance in the coming in of death at the windows. The idea would be like that of its appearance in the theatre or the ball-room; and we have no need of such far-fetched explanations as," etc. When we notice that *ladies* are addressed in the passage cited (ver. 20), and that it had been said in verse 17, "Consider ye, and call for the mourning women, that they may come, and send for cunning women, that they may come," we see in the words of Jeremiah a striking parallel to the dirge-passage in Eccl. xii., with its death in a palace, and its professional mourners, and the gloom that has fallen upon the ladies at the lattices. I do not think it very important to decide in what sense they "sit in darkness" (Mic. vii. 8); but if the windows were closed (*Dirge*, p. 73) for the occasion, that would have been no more unnatural than it is now to draw down blinds and shut shutters at the time of a funeral. I am told that it is a more or less prevalent Jewish custom even to cover up

mirrors as a sign of mourning. On the other hand, compare Eccl. v. 17, "All his days also he eateth in darkness, and he hath much sorrow and wrath with his sickness."

Verse 4. This verse (with לקול for לקול) runs thus:—

וְסָגְרוּ דְלָתַיִם בְּשֹׁקֶה
בְּשֹׁפֶל קוֹל חֲשֻׁמָּה
וַיָּקוּם לִקְוֹל חֲצִפּוֹר
וַיִּשְׁחֹךְ כָּל-קְבוּרֹת תַּשְׁוִיר :

The grinders cease (ver. 3), the sound of the mill falls, and concurrently with this "the doors are shut to the street." The symbolism of the closed door is obvious: it means the exclusion of visitors, whom the דלתים (dual), the great double street-door, is not open to receive on the days of mourning; as it is said in Isaiah xxiv. 10, 11, "Every house is shut up, that no man may come in . . . all joy is darkened, the mirth of the land is gone." The open door is expressive of hospitality, as in Job xxxi. 32, "The stranger did not lodge in the street: but I opened my doors to the traveller [*marg. way*]." When visitors are not received, there is little food to be prepared, and little grinding therefore to be done. The "voice of the mill" accordingly falls, as in Jer. xxv. 10, 11, "Moreover I will take from them the voice of mirth, and the voice of gladness, the voice of the bridegroom, and the voice of the bride, the voice of the millstones, and the light of the candle. And this whole land shall be a desolation."

The Midrash on Ecclesiastes xii. and in the Introduction to *Echah*, even while it allegorises, testifies to the truth of this as the primary rendering of the hemistich 4 a. The doors shut to the street are (it says) the doors of *Nehushta the daughter*¹ of *Elnathan* [2 Kings xxiv. 8], which were wont to be wide open. Compare the precept in *Aboth* I. 5 (p. 185 in the *Authorised Daily Prayer Book*), "Let thy house be open

¹ The reading *daughter* (בת for בית or בר) of *Elnathan* is suggested by Loria on the Introduction to *Echah*, § 23.

wide; let the poor be the members of thy household." Thus the closed door in the dirge-passages is taken by the Midrash in its primary sense, as signifying the exclusion of persons who used to enter by it.

In the Midrash, in explanation of the falling of the sound of the mill, it is said, "they *ceased from*, or did not occupy themselves in, words of Torah." Israel are like "the grinders" (ver. 3); these work at all hours, and so Israel cease not from the Torah day or night, for it is said *והגית בו יומם ולילה*. Of "the grinders" it is also said that they are *the great Mishnaioth as of R. Akiba*, etc., and on *בי מעט*, "that is the *talmud* contained in them." They *diminished* or *worked little* at this, so that the "seers were darkened," not one of them being able to remember his *talmud*. In this we have a homiletical application of the dirge-passages with its literal sense presupposed: the mill of the Eastern household and the grinding women with their incessant toil are brought vividly before us, and by a simple and customary transition the Darshan passes from material bread, or corn, to the "true bread" of the Torah. It will, perhaps, be granted that he had no thought of attributing all this to the Preacher himself, and when the *ירש* or application is taken away, the residuum consists of literal exegesis of expressions in the dirge-passages.

The bird. Taken by itself the first clause of the hemistich *4 ב, ויקום לקול חצפור*, seems to mean, "And he shall arise at the voice of the bird." But the following clause, "And all the daughters of song shall be brought low," suggests that "the bird" is the subject of *יקום*, and that this creature rises into voice or audibility when the sound of music is brought low. Illustrative examples of *קום* followed by *ל* and *ל* were given in the *Dirge*. Delitzsch having objected that the meaning "*erhebt sich zu Geschrei*" would require the pointing *יקום לקול*, I was led to consider the effect of this slight change, and found that it very much improved the rhythm of the verse, which it made to

consist of four equal seven-syllable lines. Verse 5, as we shall see, has a no less pronounced metrical character; and verse 3, if we take the poetic licence of not counting Sh'vas and the conjunction ו, consists very nearly of equal eight-syllable lines, the third of which is a little longer than the other three, but may be lightened by reading שְׁמַעֲמִי shortly as one word. In the *Preface* I paraphrased the clause "but the bird of evil omen raises his dirge." This, taken in the stricter sense, implies that the bird's voice tells of impending calamity; and it is remarkable that the Midrash also, in a way peculiar to itself, arrives at that meaning of the voice. The clause (it says) refers to Nebuchadnezzar. For eighteen years *bath kol* was heard by him in his palace, sounding like a bird (מִצְפָּצֶפֶת), commanding him to go up and destroy the house of God: and all the daughters of song were brought low, for he went up, and made song to cease from the house of feasting, as it is said, *With song they shall not drink wine* (Isaiah xxiv. 9). Here, again, we have the sense of the dirge-theory: the *house* (ver. 3) was בֵּית הַמִּשְׁתֶּה, but now its songs are hushed. Some of these expressions are from *Midr. Eccl.* and some from *Midr. Echah.*

The idea that the voice of a bird may be ominous is akin to what is said in Eccl. x. 20, "Curse not the king, no not in thy thought; and curse not the rich in thy bed-chamber: for *a bird of the air shall carry the voice, and that which hath wings shall tell the matter.*" But the phrase "of evil omen" may be taken rhetorically and with some latitude, the essential fact being that screeching bird-sounds in the Bible are concomitants of mourning and desolation, as in Job xxx. 29, 31, "I am . . . a companion to owls. My harp also is turned to mourning, and my organ into the voice of them that weep"; Zeph. ii. 14, "The cormorant and the bittern [R.V., the pelican and the porcupine] shall lodge in the upper lintels of it; their voice shall sing in the windows; desolation shall be in the thresholds." Some critics (I suggested) had been led

astray by the prophet's יִשׁוּרֵר, *sing*, which he only uses because it does *not* properly apply to birds and beasts. The windows being again singled out as the natural centres of gaiety, it is as if it were said that in the time of desolation their only music should be the doleful cries of screeching birds.

The dirge-passage is strikingly illustrated by the New Testament, where we read in Rev. xviii. :—

"2. Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen, and is become the habitation of devils, and the hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird. 8. Therefore shall her plagues come in one day, *death, and mourning, and famine.* 9-10. *And the kings of the earth shall lament for her, saying, Alas, alas, etc.;* 11-13. *And the merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn over her; for no man buyeth their merchandise any more: the merchandise of cinnamon, and spice, and incense (R.V.), etc.;* 22. *And the voice of harpers, and musicians, and of pipers, and trumpeters, shall be heard no more at all in thee and the voice of a millstone shall be heard no more at all in thee;* 23. *And the light of a candle shall shine no more at all in thee; and the voice of the bridegroom and of the bride shall be heard no more at all in thee."*

Here we have a mourning for the dead, with all the features of the first subsection of the dirge-passage: the birds in place of the daughters of song, the end of busy life with its feasting and the "voice of the millstone," the extinction of light and joy. And in the cessation of the merchandise of cinnamon, and spice, etc., we have something not unlike what we shall find in the remaining subsection, which we have now to consider.

Verse 5. Detaching the introductory בָּם, *also*, and writing עֲשֵׂהָ for the anomalous עֲשֵׂהָ, we have the five equal lines, of two words and six syllables,

מִגְבֹּהַּ יִירָא

וְחִתְּתָם בְּדֶרֶךְ

וַיִּנָּחֵץ הַשֵּׁמֶר
וַיִּסְתַּבֵּל הַתְּהַב
וְהָרַר הָאֲבִיּוֹנָה :

And the verse ends with the Preacher's reason for thus writing, "because the man goeth to his long home, and the mourners go about the streets."

The scene has changed from the house to the garden, the almond, the locust and the caperberry being outdoor objects. The meaning of the first two lines is (I should say) obviously, they have a fear of something as from above or from the ground at their feet, as it is said, "Terrors shall make him afraid *on every side*" (Job xviii. 11).

The remaining three lines are of somewhat doubtful meaning; and we shall resort again to the principle of parallelism in attempting to explain them.

Beginning with what is plain, we read that the *caperberry* shall *fail*, namely, to produce its appetising effect. The preceding verb "be a burden," or drag heavily, whatever it means precisely, has at any rate a bad sense, like the following "fail," and we infer that the parallel וַיִּנָּחֵץ has likewise a bad sense. Accordingly we take it to be from נָחַץ , to *despise* or *spurn*, and read (with a slight change of pointing) וַיִּנְחֹץ (for וַיִּנָּחֵץ). This happily mends the rhythm of the verse, and gives us, as above mentioned, five equal lines. We are now driven to make the almond, not (with the anatomists) a symbol of decay, but if possible something very desirable, which for the time has lost its charm: that is to say, we are driven to take it in its natural sense, for the early blossoming almond is the harbinger of spring. One of several illustrations which I gave in the *Dirge* (p. 33) is,

Dem Hoffungsraum von schöner Zeit,
Der auf des Elends Stirn erglöh't
Die Mandelblüthe ist geweiht,
Die an dem kahlen Zweige blüht.

In the time of mourning described in Eccl. xii., the

almond, the choicest flower of spring, loses its charm, and is not sought, but spurned.

In Wisdom ii. 7, we read, "Let us fill ourselves with costly wine and ointments: and let no *flower of the spring* pass by us." This book has been called Anti-Ecclesiastes, and has been thought—not without reason—to allude to and attempt to correct the teaching, or the apparent meaning of the teaching, of Ecclesiastes. Take as examples of parallels in the two books:—

Ecclesiastes.

i. 18. In much wisdom is much grief: and he that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow.

iv. 2. I praised the dead which are already dead.

iii. 19. The sons of men are a chance, and the beasts are a chance . . . as the one dieth, so dieth the other: yea, they have all one breath.

Wisdom.

viii. 16. . . . her conversation hath no bitterness; and to live with her hath no sorrow, but mirth and joy.

i. 12. Seek not death in the error of your life.

ii. 1, 2. For they said, reasoning with themselves, but not aright We are born at all adventure, etc. For the breath in our nostrils, etc.

The writer of Wisdom continues, "Which (breath) being extinguished, our body shall be turned into ashes, and our spirit shall vanish as the soft air [Eccl. xii. 7]. And no man shall have our works in remembrance [Eccl. ii. 16]. . . . Come on, therefore, let us enjoy the good things that are present: and let us speedily use the creatures like as in youth [Eccl. xi. 9]. Let us fill ourselves with costly wine and ointments: and let no *flower of the spring* pass by us." This is so like an express allusion to the flower of spring, the almond, in the "Dirge," that it may be claimed as favouring our interpretation of *דשאן דשקד*, the *spring blossom* is *spurned*; whereas in Wisdom the heedless rejoicers, as in their youth, say: "Let us not spurn it; let its enjoyment not escape us."

"The grasshopper shall be a burden." Our argument from the parallelism requires that the *grasshopper* should,

like the almond blossom and the caperberry, be something desirable, which has lost its attractiveness. An obvious solution of this problem is that, if the Hebrew כנר can possibly be taken in that sense, it is the *τέρτιξ* which is referred to, whose voice was much admired by the ancients. One of my illustrations was from Bar Hebræus, *On the Rose* :—

“Lo! Nisan hath come, and breathed consolation to the afflicted,
 And with flow’rets hath clothed hill and field in glory.
 At the nuptials of the rose it hath invited and gathered the flowers
 as guests,
 And prepared the way that the bridegroom may go forth from the
 chamber.
 Like brides, lo! the flowers of the field are adorned,
 And have gotten deliverance from the strong bands of winter.
 Lo! the tongue of the *τέρτιξ* is loosed and she ever sings,
 And on the *βήμα* of the narcissus and the myrtle pipes to the
 rose.”

Here the chirp of the *τέρτιξ* assumes prominence as a symbol of a time which brings consolation to the sad. Contrariwise, in *Cohemoth* the mourners refuse to be comforted by the voice of the *τέρτιξ*. The possible objections which occur to me are—(1) that this delight in the song of *τέρτιξ* is Greek rather than Hebrew, and (2) that the Hebrew כנר means *ἀκρίς*, *locust*, and not *τέρτιξ*. The answer to objection (2) is that the Greek poets, when the metre demands it, use *ἀκρίς* instead of *τέρτιξ* (*Dirge*, p. 37); and so the Preacher, in default of a special Hebrew word for that insect, may have used a word meaning *locust* in the required sense, when even the Greeks, who have the special word *τέρτιξ*, do not scruple to use *ἀκρίς* instead of it when it serves their purpose. Bar Hebræus, writing in Syriac, transliterates *τέρτιξ*, and of course the author of *Ecclesiastes* might have done the same; but (to say nothing of a few exceptional and more or less disputed instances) it was not customary so to transliterate in the Biblical writings. The objection (1) is, briefly, that (whatever word be used) an allusion to the song of the *τέρτιξ* in the dirge-

passage would be of the nature of a Græcism; but this cannot be allowed to be decisive until a great controversy has been ended, and it has been agreed that there are absolutely no traces of Western thought in Coheleth.

The caperberry shall fail (R.V.). Compare Rev. xviii. 13, 14, "And cinnamon, and odours, and ointments, and frankincense, and wine, and oil, and fine flour And the fruits that thy soul lusted after are departed from thee, and thou shalt find them no more at all." The pungent caperberry fails to please and stimulate the palate. This rendering, which properly belongs to the literal and semi-literal interpreters, has been appropriated by some of the anatomists, who, in various places, reject the Haggadic renderings. Delitzsch, while adopting what is really my view of the clause as his own, credits me with a comparison of the old man to a caperberry, "welche, überreif geworden, ihre Schale bricht und ihre Körner verstreut (Rosenm. Winer in R. W. Ew. Taylor u. A.), wie auch," etc. Did he mistake "palls" for *falls*? Nothing could be more appropriate to the occasion when "the mourners go about the streets" than the immediately preceding caperberry-clause, as I interpret it. "Turn ye unto me," writes the prophet, "with fasting, and with weeping, and with mourning." Fasting and mourning go naturally together, and this is poetically expressed by: "the caperberry fails, because the mourners go about in the streets." It is added that the almond blossom, the glory of spring, and the song of the τέρτιξ also fail to please, so that there is a general failure of the pleasures of sense, the pleasures of sight, sound and taste. The whole passage was paraphrased in the preface to the *Dirge* :

"In that day the doorkeepers and the masters alike tremble: the maids cease from their work, and the mistresses from their amusements. Open house is not kept as heretofore, and the mill is no longer heard preparing food for the reveller: but the bird of evil omen raises his dirge, and the merry voice of the singing girl is silent. From

the house the scene now changes to the garden, or to the country at large. Here also terror encompasses the people. Lowering upon them from above and lurking at their feet, it deadens every sense: so that the almond-flower displeases, and the *τέρτιξ* sounds dull, and the caperberry palls: because the man passes to his eternal home, and the mourners go about in the street."

On this paraphrase I have only to remark again that the bird is not necessarily of evil omen in the strict sense; but may be merely a creature whose note, in accordance with Biblical analogy, is a fit accompaniment to the stroke of death.

The cessation of grinding, and the shutting of the street door, go naturally together, as explained above; but to the anatomists this hemistich is a source of great embarrassment. The Revised Version cuts it in two by an arbitrary punctuation different from that of the Hebrew, and thus (in effect) connects "the doors shall be shut to the street" with verse 3, leaving for the first hemistich of the next verse, "When the sound of the grinding is low," and destroying the rhythm of both verses.

In reply to Dr. Cheyne's observation (if I understand it) that there seems to be no assignable reason for separating "these verses," or the parts of them which make the "dirge," from their context (p. 533), I can say that I find it quite easy to assign a motive, which I shall venture to consider valid until reason has been shown to the contrary. In the passage as printed above (p. 534), the words in italics belong merely to the framework, and the intermediate clauses (as even the allegorists allow) are "strongly poetic in colouring." Whether we interpret them literally or anatomically, they are so unlike anything else in the book that they *may*, it is fair to think, have been not composed but quoted by the writer, who, in the course of his reflections, brings before us so many thoughts not altogether his own; and as a modern preacher might say in his own words, *In that day*, and then go on to quote words of

Scripture, as "The keepers of the house shall tremble," etc., so the author of Coheleth might have written, "In the day when [as it is said] *The keepers of the house shall tremble*, etc., and when [as it is said in another place] *They shall be afraid of that which is high*," etc. The poetic effect of the passage is heightened, I think, by its approximately metrical character. But, to lay no great stress upon this, the substance of the description is made to stand out in such a way from its context by frame-words, and its diction is so poetical, however we understand, or half understand it, that the passage may very well consist of snatches of song, quoted, whether from a "book" or not, by Coheleth. But all this is equally true or false, whether the passage be a "dirge" or an anatomy. In a word, the Dirge-book theory is no part of the Dirge theory.

C. TAYLOR.

(To be continued.)

THE RITUAL OF THE SEDER AND THE AGADA OF THE ENGLISH JEWS BEFORE THE EX- PULSION.

JACOB B. JEHUDA of London, the author of that valuable contribution to the literary side of Anglo-Jewish history, the Talmudical compendium *Etz Chaim*, so providentially rescued and preserved for us, never dreamt, when he noted down, in the year 1287, the Ritual and Agada of the Seder Nights according to English usage, that he was fixing a permanent picture of what was doomed to destruction, and was recording not a mere portion of the liturgy, but a page of Jewish history. Faithfully copying his great prototype, Maimonides, the English Chazan also embodied in his work the texts of the Recitations on the Seder Nights in the form customary among his countrymen, and appended the correlated rites according to Minhag England.

The Hagada has hitherto been considered *the piece, par excellence*, common to all the liturgies, and bearing the least and fewest marks of national differentiation. The examination of our MS. shows, however, that this part of the Service reflects as clearly and unmistakably the characteristic independence of the English liturgy, already noted in a previous article, as the rest of the prayers. Notwithstanding its small bulk, several variations distinguish and mark it off from the French ritual. Thus, for example, the repetition, in the vernacular, of the first two pieces, before and after the second cup—which, we learn from Rashi's *Pardess* was the French usage—was not customary in England.¹ Had it been so, how valuable would the English

¹ Solomon b. Jehuda, the saint of Dreux (see Gross, *Revue des Études Juives*, XIII, 46, No. 3), followed this custom of translating the Hagada

renderings from the pre-expulsion period have been to us. Or, perhaps, they too would have been in French. The single non-Hebraic term which R. Jacob gives in his Ritual of the Seder, *cerfeuil*, the name of the vegetable handed round after the first cup, is French, and is met with in authorities of French origin or descriptive of the French ritual, e.g., in the *Machzor Vitry* (ed. Hurwitz, p. 294: (ויקח מן הצרפוויל).

In the third part of his *Hilchot Pesach*, R. Jacob gives detailed instructions for the preparation of *charoseth*. But we look in vain in his work for a translation of the term, though such is given in Zidkiah b. Abraham's שבלי הלכט (ed. S. Buber, p. 184).

The directions for the preparation of the mixture are as follows:—חרוסת אינה מדברי סופרים וזכר למיט וככה מעשהו יקח:—תמרים או גרונרות או צמוקין ודורסן ונותן בהם חומץ ומתבלין בתבלין כמ' מיט בתבלין ונמצא במדרש לעשותו מכל פירות של שיר השירים תמרה תאנה רמון אגוז תפוח ויוסף שקדים ששקד השם על הקץ וחמץ [I. וחומץ] קצת זכר לתפוח שעוררנו תחתיו ועב זכר למיט ובירושל' איכ' מז' צריך לעשותו דק וזכר לדם ונר' לז' מלונדרש שלפיכך עשהו עב בתחלה ובשעת טבול נותנין בו משקין והוי כמר וכמר We need but compare this with Zidkiah b. Abraham's recipe, to notice the difference of national usage, even in this trifling detail. In England, all the fruits named in the Song of Songs—dates, figs, pomegranates, nuts and apples—were crushed with almonds and moistened with vinegar. In Italy, spices, vegetables, blossoms, and even a sprinkling of lime formed some of the ingredients of the paste. R. Moses of London, quoted in this connection, appears here as an unquestioned authority for the Seder ritual. For the first time, an English Rabbi, a master in Halacha and an authority in traditions, confronts us as a living personality and not

into the vernacular, so Samuel of Falaise reports, as quoted by R. Isaac, *Or Sarua*, II., 119a, וקדוש מדר"ש היה רגיל לומר בלעז עד כולנו מסובין.

¹ *Or Sarua*, II., 119b.

merely a *nominis umbra*. R. Moses' decisions were recognised even when opposed to the pronouncements of such great French teachers as the famous R. Isaac b. Abraham=Isaac of Dampierre, brother of R. Simson of Sens, who, by the way, was known in England by the abbreviation ריברא, not ריבא or ריצבא. As in France, they relied for their knowledge of the Seder ceremonies on such revered teachers as R. Solomon b. Isaac of Troyes, R. Joseph Tob Elem and others, who worked out arrangements of the Seder ritual, in prose and verse; so R. Moses of London stood out as the central authority in tradition for the whole of England. Most probably he also left a compilation of the rules appertaining to this service, which Jacob b. Judah possessed in manuscript, just as he left compilations of other ritual laws, e.g.: הלכות מליחת בשר וכל הדינים כאשר סדרם רבינו מלונדרושא—ח'נ'ב'ה (Bodleian Library, codex 882).

But apart from the historical interest of R. Jacob's Agada, it deserves examination for its deviations from, and additions to, the *textus receptus*. In the following pages I have carefully copied the rubrics which precede the Agada and are interspersed in it; and also noted all the essential variants of the Agadah as contained in the fourth part of the 26th Book of the *Etz Chaim*. Thus an idea may be formed of the text of the Agada which, three years before the expulsion, was already accepted by the English Jews as a heirloom of the past:—

פ"ד זה הסדר יעשה בט"ו [א. בליל] ובליל י"ו בגולה נוטל תחלה ידו אחת לכבוד הברכה וילך להסב עם בני ביתו ויקדש הקדוש כמ' שבארתי בהלכות קדוש וישתה כל אחד מלא לוגמ' והוא רוב רביעית' ומברך ברכה מעין שלש' ד' כוסות תקינו ולכל חד נעביר מצוה לבד שיני שלא יטך אחריו שברכת המזון פומרו ואם בדיעב' השקה לבניו מכוסו יצא והוא ששתה רוב רביעית ונוטל ידיו ומברך ענ' והנמילה שלא יטמאו ידיו שהן שניות המסקין לעשותן תחלה ויקח ירקות ומנהג בצירפוייל ומברך ב"פ האדמה ויטבול במי מלא ולא בחרוסת וכיון שאין מצותו עד

¹ Ibid., ed. Hurwitz, p. 274, note A.

² Ibid., p. 278.

טבול שני לא ימלא מסנו כריסו ואם אין לא מי מלח מותר לעשות ואפילו בשבת והמיימו' כתב טבול זה בחרוסת ואין צריך כוית מהירות האלה שאין זה כי אם להיכיר ולא יברך אחריו בוד' נפשות אם לא אכל כוית והמיימוני מצריך כוית לכל אחד מירקות אלה : ואחר כך יביא קשרה עם הנ' מצות וב' תבשילין ואו' הריב'א והמיימוני שהם שני מיני בשר אחד זכר לפסח ואחד לחגיגה אבל הרם מלונדרש או' כרבינ' דבתראר הוא דאפי' גרמא ובישולי' אבל ביצה לא שאין זה כי אם לזכרון והירושלמי דקאמ' ובלבד מן שחומה קאי על מתני' דמקום שנהנו לאכול צלי אבל עתה אין אנו אוכלין אותו : חל פסח במוצאי שבת אין צרי' כי אם תבשיל אחד דאין חגיגה י"ד רוחה שבת ואם נשחט מע"ש הוה ליה נותר ויש בקשרה ג' מצות ומנהג לעשותן מעשרון אחד סימן ללחמי תורה שמביא היוצא מתפיסה² ויוסיף עליהם ואם ירצה ומנהג לסמך איזה ראשונה ואיזה שנייה ואיזה שלישית ואין לחוש ונוטל אחד מן הנ' מצות התיכונה ומחלקה לשנים חציה לאפיקומן וחציה יאחו בידו ויאמ' הא לחמא עניא דאכלו :

After the formula כהא לחמא, which corresponds completely with the ordinary reading, the direction follows:— ואחר כך מחזיר המצה לקשרה ומסלק הקשרה במקו' עקירת שולחן שבימיהם שולחנם קטנים היו וזה הסיר לבן לישראל ואין צריך לסלק התבשילין מן הקשרה שאין נר' כמקדש קדש' בהוי' אם לא ינביח התבשיל ואי' פסח זה וימזוג כוס שני ואם ישאלנו בנו או אחד מביתו ידלג ויאמ' עבדים היינו כו' ואם אין שואל יאמ' : מה נשתנה :

The form of the questions exhibits no difference whatever, except that אנחנו is used throughout instead of אנו.

In the opening of the response עבדים היינו we read:— is wanting כלנו זקנים ; ובזרע נטויה ובאותות ובמופתים ובמורא גדול³ ; alone is found. מצוה לספר :

The passage concerning the night spent in Bené Brak, which is only known from the Agada—its original source being still undiscovered—arranges the names in the following order:— משה ב'ר אליעזר בן עזריה ור' אלעזר ורבי יהושע ור' עקיבא— כל הלילה. It only reads ור' טרפון.

¹ *Pesachim*, 114b ; *Machzor Vitry*, p. 284.

² Ibn Jarchi, המנהג, *Pesach*, § 69.

³ *Machzor Vitry*, p. 272.

⁴ *Id.*, p. 271, note A.

⁵ L. Hoffmann in *Berliner's Magazin*, 13, 193, note 1.

The formula ברוך המקום is peculiar and against Reifmann's hypothesis, that this piece is of the nature of a responsorial song. It begins as follows:—ברוך המקום הוא ברו שמו ברוך הוא שנתן תורה לעמו ישר' כנגד ארבעה..... The wise son says, in contradistinction to his wicked counterpart:—אשר צוה יי' אלהינו אותנו ואף—, as, indeed the *Mechilta* and all ancient texts of the Agada read (comp. Hoffmann in *Berliner's Magazin*, 13,193). The speech put into the mouth of the רשע has the readings:—שהוציא עצמו:—שאילו היה שם, שהוציא עצמו:— In the fourth son's speech לאמר is omitted.

The piece יכול contains the reading:—לא אמרתי לך.

After ברוך שומר it is said:—בזה ב"ש שהק חשב לגלות הקץ:—כמה שאמ'.

In מלמד שלא ירד להשתקק, לעקור הכל is the reading צא ולמד נדול ועצום שנ' וירשו:—is wanting, שם אלא לגור שם כי כבר הרעב פרישות דרך, וישימו עליו שרי מסים and עבודה קשה ויוציאו יי', זו הדרך, אלו הבנים שנ', ארץ שנ' וירא אלהים את ישראל ועברתי בארץ מצרים בלילה הזה אני, משם לא ע' מלאך.

After the words ואני הוא ולא אחר, a passage follows which has hitherto been regarded as specially and exclusively interpolated in the Provençal Ritual. Here it boldly appears in the text without the suspicion of a hint that it was condemned by some authorities. Juda Halevi (*Kusari*, III., 73), who sought it in vain in the Talmud, i.e., the ancient authorities, correctly recognised it as a poetical elaboration of the conception that the Exodus was God's own direct and immediate work. That the piece did not belong to the Spanish Ritual is proved by his remark that it is only found in one ritual—as we now know—the Provençal. If the author of *Asufoth* (Gross in *Berliner's Magazin* X., 64) was correctly informed, this piece and its recitation at this portion of the service were condemned by the Rabbis of Palestine (see Luzzatto in Polak's *הליכות קדם*, page 41). Mr. Schechter has already pointed out (*JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW*, IV., p. 255) that R. Judah b. Jakar also failed to discover the source of this Agada. The English reading of

the passage is undoubtedly more correct than that given in *Machzor Vitry*, p. 293:¹—אמרו כשירד רבון העולמים במצרים ירדו—עמו תשעים אלפים רבבות של מלאכי חבלה מהם מלאכי אש מהם מלאכי ברד מהם מלאכי זיע מהם מלאכי רתת וחלחלה אחוזת למי שרואה אותם אמרו לפניו רבונו של עולם והלא מלך בשר ודם כשירד במלחמ' שריו ועבדיו מקיפין אותו כדי שלא ימצא צער בגופו ואתה הוא מלך מלכי המלכים דין הוא שאנחנו עבדיך ובני ישר' בני בריתך נרד ונעשה נקמה במצרים א' להם הניחו לי ואעשה רצון בני שאין דעתי נתקררה עד שארד אני בעצמי ואעשה נקמה במצרים: ביד חזקה זו הדבר.....:

In the following passage the reading is:—זו החרב שנ', דבר אחר. ביד חזקה ובורע נטועה שתים ובאתת, זו גלוי שכינה שנ', מהו א', מנין שלקו המצריים, שתים ובמורא גדול שתים ובמפתים שתים, אמור מעתה, ואל הים מהו או, אצבע אלהים הוא זה is wanting.

For הא' הקדוש ברוך הוא, the reading throughout is 'הק'.

In לנו ממונם the single variant is כמה מעלות.

In למקום is wanting after עלינו, אל אחת. The reading is:—לחרבה, ועשה בהם שפמ' ובאלהיהם.

The piece commencing נמליאל ר' varies:—ר' או'—שלושה ר' או' is wanting. בזמן שבית המקדש קים, אלו הן, דברים הללו.

בננו before במצרים, על שום שפסח המקום על בתי בני ישר' שנ' is wanting.

עד שיגלה, בצקת אבותינו, ויקח מצה ויאמ'.

is wanting; את כל עברתם, המצריים חיי, ויקח המרור ויאמ' לראות עצמו כאלו יצא:

is wanting. ולכרך, חייבין, ויגביה כל אחר כו' ויאמ': לפיכך.

is wanting. ומאפלה לאור גדול ומאכל לי"ט, שעשה נסים לאבותינו.

Against the tradition in Ibn Jarchi (המנהיג, *Pesach*, p. 75), the conclusion here reads:—ונאמר לפניו שיר חדש הללויה.

Before the recitation of the Hallel, which, in spite of its

¹ The objection to this deduction in *Machzor Vitry*, p. 293, is corrupt. Instead of ואותו כקל וחומר, left by Hurwitz uncorrected, we should read ואותו קל וחומר האמור והלא עבדיו מקיפין אותו כדי שלא ימצא צער הליכות קדם. comp. בגופו ואתה מלך כו' [מופרך הוא] אמו מי.....

being unabbreviated, appears without the customary introductory blessing, the remark is made:—**רְבֵא הִיּה מְבָרַךְ עֵתָּה** לקחת ההלל ואין נר לרם מלונדרש שהרי אין כאן קריא' הלהיה : דכיון שפסוק באמצע הא קיימ' לן שאם שהא כדי לגמור כלה חוזר לראש וכן כתו' בתשובת הגאונים ואומ' :

After **ואומ' בְּעַל הַבֵּית** the direction is given למעני מים. In the blessing הוה הלילה הזה, והגיענו הלילה הזה.

Here follow the rules for the blessings to be recited before the meal:—

ומברך בורא ברי הנפן ושות' ואין צריך לשפוך בשאר כוסות כאש' פי' בהלכ' ברכות ולא יברך על הנפן כי ברכת המזון פוטרו ונוטל עתה ידיו לצורך הסעודה ומברך על נטילת ידיים דבנטילה ראשונה דירקות לא סני דאגדה והלילה מסח דעתיה ונ"ל דגם כל המסובין צריכין ליטול דדוק' בימיהם היה אחד או' האגדה ופוסר כלם כדאמ' מאן א' אגדת' בי רב ששת רב ששת אבל עתה שכולנו או' האגדה משו' היסח הדעת צריכ' הכל ליטול ידיהם ולוקח הבעל הבית המצה הבצועה ואחת מהשלימות ומברך על שתיהם המוציא ואחר כך אֶקְבֹּז על אכילת מצה ובתצטע משתיהם ואוכל כוית מצה זו היא המצה של חובה כדכת' על מצות ומרורים יאכלוהו מצה והדר מרור ויקח מרור ונותן לכל אחד כוית דאכילה כתיבה ביה ויטבול בחרוסת להמית התולע ויברך אֶקְבֹּז על אכילת מרור ויאכל ואין צריך לברך בִּפְ האדמה שהלחם פוטרו ואע"ג שאינו בא ללפת הפת כיון דלא סני בלאו הכי כדברים הבאים בתוך הסעודה דמי' וכי ליכא שאר ירקי מברך בתחלה על המרור בורא פרי האדמה ועל אכילת מרור ואכיל והדר אכיל מרור בלא ברכה ואין זה חבילות אם (ה)מברך השתי ברכות על המרור דלא מיקרי חבילות אלא דומיא דברכת המזון וקדוש שכל אחד טען כוס לבדו והשתי ברכות הוה חובה אבל היכא שהברכה האחת הוה משום דאסור ליהנות מן העולם הוה בלא ברכה לא הוה חבילות ואחר כך לוקחם צהה שלישיית ויברך עמה מרור ויטבול בחרוסת וזכר למקדש כהילל ויטבול זה שעושה בחרוסת לא משום קפא' דכל דאית בה נהמא לית בה קפא אלא כיון שעושים טבול זה זכר כהלל והלל לא היה עושה טבול אחר מסתמא היה עושה בחרוסת וטעמם זה נלרם מלונדרש שנכון לקחת כוית מרור בכריכה אף כי כבר

¹ שבלי חלקם, ed. Buber, p. p.

² *Pesachim*, f. 116b.

³ שבלי חלקם, *ib.*; המנהיג, *Pesach*, § 67.

⁴ *ib.*, § 82.

⁵ *ib.*, § 79, and *Pesachim*, f. 116a.

יצא ידי חובתו דעך היה הלל אוכל באותה כריכה כזית סרור בכריכת אבל אין מברכין על הכריכה אף כי היה מברך עליו ג' ברכות דלדידן הוי ברכה לבטלה שהרי כבר יצאנו ומיהו אין חשש אם אין בו טבול או כזית דדי לנו בזכר הכריכה ורבינו מנחם מיוני¹ היה מברך המוציא ועל אכילת מצה על הפרוסה ובשלימה לא היה נוגע כלל שאינה אלא לחם משנה ויש ששושן המוציא ועל אכילת מצה והכריכה הכל באחת מן המצות והרב מפס לא היה עושה כן כי אם שתי מצות האחת ללחם משנה אבל הנכון לעשות ג' מצות בשלשתן באחת המוציא ובאחת על אכילת מצה והכריכה באחרונה והמיימוני עושה הטבול משאר ירקי בחרוסת והפרוסה שבירך על אכילת מצה בחרוסת והסרור בחרוסת והכריכה בחרוס' משו' דמספס' ל' אם הלכה כרבנ' דא' זה וזה בפני עצמו או כהלל שהיה כרכו ונר' לר"ם מלונדרש שהמיימון היה אוכל השלימה לבדה בלא חרוסת דלא ליתי חר' דרבנ' ומבטל מצה דאורייתא אבל הסרור צרי' לשקועיה משום קפא ואחר יאכל כל סעודתו ויפסיד באפיקומן דבע[י]ן טעם מצה בפיו שהיא אף בזמן הזה דאוריית' אבל בסרור דרבנ' לא אכפת לן ואם שכח ולא אכל אפקומן יצא בכזית אחרון סמעה שאכל דכל מצות שלנו עשויות כתקון אותן של מצות סמעה² אף כי יש גרולים שמצריכין להתחיל הסדר אין צריך להחמיר ולא יאחר לאכול האפקומן אחר חצות שבא במקום הפסח שאינו נאכל אחר חצות ואם נרדמו וישנו כלם בתוך הסעודה שוב לא יאכלו אפקומן כר' יוסי דא' גבי פסח נרדמו לא יאכלו אבל אם לא ישנו כלם יאכלו אפקומן ואחר כך יטול ידיו בלא ברכה שירים מזהמות פסולות לברכה וימזוג כוס שלישי לברכת המזון ויברך בפ' הנפנ וישת(ו)[ה] ואחר כך על הנפנ ולא ישתה בין שלישי לרביעי שלא ישתכר וישכח לנמור סדרו אבל בין שאר הכוסות אם רצה לשתות ישתה דיין שבתוך הסעודה אינו משתכר וקודם חמון אין רגילות להשתכר ואחר כך ימזוג כוס רביעי ויאמ' שפוך :

The curious passage שפוך חמתך, which appears immediately after Grace and before the continuation of the Hallel, and has become associated with Elijah's Cup, but for which there is no authority in the ancient Talmudical literature, was recited in the following characteristic form :

¹ What is here related in the name of R. Menachem, the saint of Joigny, Isaac, *Or Sarua* (II., 119b), tells in the name of R. Jom Tob of Joigny, the martyr of York. See Z. Cahn, *Revue des Études Juives*, III. 4.

² המנהיג, *Pesach*, § 86.

³ *Pesachim*. f. 102b.

קראו • שפור עליהם זעמך וחרון אפך תשיגם : תנה שון על עונם ואל יבאו בצדקתך • תשיב להם גמול ׀ כמעשה ידיהם • תתן להם מננת לב תאלתך להם • תדרך באף ותשמידם מתחת שמי ׀ • תהי מירתם לשמה באהליהם אל יהי יושב • ימחו מספר חיים ועם צדיקים אל יכתבו • תרתם כשבת ברזל ככלי יוצר תנפצם • תן להם ׀ מה תתן תן להם רחם משכיל ושרים צומקים • כי אכלו את יעקב ואכלוהו ויכלוהו ואת נדו השמו :

While, therefore, the Italian Jews recited only Ps. lix. 6 (cp. *Roman Machzor*), and the Sephardic Jews added v. 7, and the present form has in addition Lam. iii. 66, we see here, in contradistinction even to the North-French Ritual, as preserved in *Machzor Vitry*, p. 296, with its many verses, the following independent selection of Scriptural texts: Psalm lix. 6, 7, 28; Lam. iii. 64-66; Ps. lix. 26, 29; ii. 9; Hosea ix. 14; Jer. x. 25. The margin contains, in addition, Ps. xxxv. 5, 6; Jer. xvii. 18; Ps. xxxvii. 15; lix. 24; lxxxiii. 18, in the same hand as the text:—

יהיו כמון לפני רוח ומלאך ׀ רוח • יהי דרכם חושך וחלקלקות ומלאך ׀ רדפם • הביא עליה' יום רעה [ו]משנ[י] [ה] שברון שברים • חרבם תבא בלבם וקשתתם תשברנה • תחשכנה עיניהם מראות ומתניהם תמיד המעד יבושו ויבהלו עדי[ע] ויחפרו ויאבדו :

Then follows the rubric:—תכון להתחיל הלל ולברך עתה אקבו—לקרות הלל אף כי צריך לגמרו אין לברך לעולם כי אם לקרות כדפ"ח פ' אין נערכין ואו' עד לא לנו וגומ' כך :

Before the מסובי' הודו—the direction is given:—מכאן ואילך כופל—אבן מאסו בכל פסוק.

Before יהללך the remark is made:—ואל יתחום ביהללך עתה—אך יתחיל בהלל הגדול כי מה בצע לחתום שני פעמים במהולל בחשבחות • וכן היה נוהג ר' חיים כהן' אך אם חולה הוא או איטנטים ורוצה לשתות יותר יתחום ביהללך כדי לשתות כוס אחר וזה החתימה • יהללך..... :
The conclusion here reads:—יהללך כל מעשיך וחסיד[י]ך—

¹ *Arachin*, f. 10a (*Tosafot*, s. v. פ"י). Cf. *Berachot*, f. 14a, *Tosafot*, s. v. ובילי פסחים יש שמברכין פעמים ובתחלה לקרות ואחר הסעודה אחר ישפך מברכין לגמור.

² *Tosafot Pesachim*, f. 118a, s. v. רבי יוחנן.

ברנה יפארו וירוממו וישבחו וימליכו את שם קדשך הוד והדר יתנו לזכר מלכותך כי לך טוב להודות ולזמר שמך בכל יום תמיד כי משולם ועד שולם אתה יי בֵּא יי מלך מהולל בתושבחות :

Then comes the following passage:—
וּבֵרַךְ הַחֹלֶה או האסתנן:—
בִּפְהַּ וישתה וימוג כוס חמשי להלל הנדול ואחר כך יאמ' נשמר
וישתבח ויחתום ויברך בִּפְהַּ וישתה ולא יטעם כלום כל אותו הלילה :
שלא יפיג טעם האפיקומן אף כי אין מקפירין לשתות מים :

The conclusion consists of the brief *memoria technica* of the Seder Ritual. A commentary on it is not given, though the writer probably composed one; just like Samuel b. Solomon, styled Sir Morel of Falaise, who wrote one on Joseph Tob Elem's rhymed Pesach arrangement which is preserved by R. Isaac, *Or Saruah* (II. 114-20); or, to quote a later instance, Solomon b. Jechiel Luria, who provided a Commentary to his own verses on this theme, in which he gives his name acrostically (Resp. 88):—

הָא לך הסימן הסדר שיסדתי
קדוש נטול מור[עבר לכחוש לחמיל] [צרפואל s.]
נסי נאל ירך תינא סמוך עני | ארר
חזיר זכרו וסוד שבור שוטמי
מי פרנסת תן כוס מעריץ קוני :

Then follow rules for those who perform the Seder in other households:—

מי שאין לו יין נוטל תחלה ומקדש [אחר] כך בוצע אחת מנ' מצות ומתחיל ואר בֵּא יי אֵ מֶה המוציא לחם מן הארץ בֵּא יי אלהי מֶה אשר בחר בנו מכל עם כו' זמן . וחזור ומבר' אֶקְבֹּה על אכילת מצה ובוצע משתייהן יחד ואוכל משתייהן ולוקח צירפואיל ומטבל ואוכל בלא נטילה כי כבר נטל לצורך המוציא ואר הא לחם' עניא ומה נשתנ' עד נאל ישר' . ואין כאן ברכה מאחר דאין יין ולוקח מרור ומברך על אכילת מרור ומטבל בחרוסת ואוכל בלא ברכה וסוד ומפטיר ונטל בלא ברכה ומברך ברכת המזון בלא כוס כך העתקתי מכו' יד רבי' משה מלונדרש

¹ G. Bikell, *Messe u. Pascha*, p. 81, thinks that the fifth cup is first mentioned in the 10th century. He has overlooked the fact that in the *Boraitha Pesachim*, 118a, the old reading is כוס חמשי. See *Siddur Rav Amram I.*, הלקט מ"א, p. 200; Joseph Caro. *Tur Orach Chaim*, 481.

ושב מצאתיו ברא' בסד' רב עמר' המוציא אחרים בסדר פסח כך עושה יקדש וישתה כוס ראשון ויטבול טבול ירוק ראשון יאמ' אנדה וישתה כוס שני ויפרוס פרוכה ברכ' המוציא ועל אכילת מצה ויאכל ויברך על המדור ויברך כהלל וישנה כן בכמ' בתים וכן בביתו באדרונה ינמור סעודתו ויברך על מזונו וישתה כוס שלישי ועל הרביעי יאמ' הלל וישתה ואחר ילך לבית שני ויברכו ברכת המז' וישתה כוסם ועל הרביעי ינמור הלל ויברך וישתה שלא אסרו לשחות אלא בין שלישי לרביעי ואם יש עוד בית שלישי לנמור שם הלל ינמור הלל והם יברכו וישתה ולא הוא ומשאכל אפיקמן בביתו לא יוסיף לקדש בבית אחר ואם צריכין לו יקדש ולא ישתה ועל הירק' יברכו הם בפה וישתה וברכ' המוציא ואכילת מצה יכול לברך ולהוציאם ולא יאכל הוא וכן על המדור הואיל וחובה אעפ' שצא מוציא אבל ברכת הירק' לא יברך להם והם יברכו כוסות המזון וההלל כתב ריבא' נר' שאין לברך על הגפן ועל פרי הגפן עד אחר כוס רביעי וכן נהג רת' ולאחר טבול ראשון אינו מברך לבסוף בורא נפ' כי היכי שלא יברך בטבול שני בפה ובפ' הג' מברך לכוס שני ולעשו' מצוה לכל כוס שתקנו ואנדה לא מסח דעת' רק לנמיל' ולא נבי ברכה ולאות' שמברכ' על הגפ' על כוס ראשון סברי דאנר' מסח' דעת' אף לברכה דא לא מסך איך יברך על הגפ' כדי לברך פעם שנייה הוי ברכה לבטלה ויש שמצריכי' לעומדי' באמצע סעודת' להתפלל לחזור ולברך המוציא והכל הוא בעיני ה' משה מלונדרש דאין הפסק כי אם ברכת המזון לסעודה וכסי' בין שחית' לשחית' ולא תפלה ואנר' :

Of free poetical additions, which certainly embellished the Seder Evening Service in Anglo-Jewish, as in French and Italian homes, the author of our compendium has preserved only one specimen in his work. Before passing on to the chapter on the Middle Days of the Festivals, he gives the piece which he found in the *Etz Chaim* (Zunz says (*Gottesdienstl. Fort.*, 2nd edition, p. 133) that it, together with the last three passages of the Agada, was added in the 15th century. But, at the close of the 13th century, we see it a firmly established portion of the English Ritual, before the expulsion. The author of the *Etz Chaim* has even taken care to anticipate all questions as to its antiquity, by adding a stanza in which he introduces his own name, Jacob, acrostically. There can be no doubt, therefore, that in his time already this poetical effusion formed an integral portion of the

Seder Ritual. Its original form is that given here. In our Ritual and in the Roman it has suffered several modifications. It may fitly form the pendant to this note:—

כי לו נאה כי לו יאה אדיר במלוב • ברוך כהלכה • נרודיו יאמרו לו
לך ולך לך כי לך אף לך לך ׀ הממלכה • כי לו נאה כו' דגול
במלוכה הדור כהלכה • ותיקיו יאמרו לו לך ולך כו' כי לו נאה כו' :
זכאי במלוכה חסין כהלכה • טפסריו יאמרו לו לך ולך כו' כי לו נאה כו' :
יחיד במלוכה מרום כהלכה • נוראיו יאמרו לו לך ולך כו' כי לו נאה כו' :
סביב במלוכה עניו כהלכה • פדוייו יאמרו לו לך ולך כו' כי לו נאה כו' :
צדיק במלוכה קדוש כהלכה • רחומיו יאמרו לו לך ולך כו' כי לו נאה כו' :
שתול במלוכה תקיף כהלכה • יקיריו יאמרו לו לך ולך כו' כי לו נאה כו' :
עוזו במלוכה קנא כהלכה • בניו יאמרו לו לך ולך כי לך אף לך
לך ׀ הממלכה :

DAVID KAUFMANN.

THE CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE FIRST PART OF ISAIAH.

IN July and October, 1891, I ventured to discuss in the JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW some neglected problems of the prophecies of Isaiah xl.—xlvi. Those articles were intended both to supplement and to correct the views which I had already expressed ten years previously. In continuation, I wish now to state the results to which I have been led in completing the revision of my critical results (now in their third stage) on the dates of the prophecies of Isaiah i.—xxxix. Discussion must, I fear, be reserved for a work in which I hope to deal with what are sometimes called Introduction-questions relative to the Book of Isaiah. No one can be more conscious than I am myself of the difficulty of these questions. At one time I thought it possible to give a chronological re-arrangement of the prophecies of this Book; I should now find it very difficult to do so except for beginners. For them, I confess that I agree with Prof. Siegfried, of Jena, in thinking the plan of re-arrangement very decidedly the best. But if it be desired to represent typographically for advanced students the present state of critical research, I think that such a plan as Kautsch and Socin have adopted in their German edition of Genesis¹ is a far more feasible one. I am not very hopeful of persuading many people to adopt my results; English scholars do not for the most part agree with me that "complication, and not simplicity, is the note of the questions and of the answers which constitute

¹ The principle of this edition is also adopted by Mr. Bacon in his *Genesis of Genesis* (Hartford, U.S.A., 1892); and, with modifications, by Mr. Fripp in his just published work, *The Composition of the Book of Genesis* (London, 1892).

Old Testament criticism"³ in our day. Nor am I in the least disposed to claim finality for them. There are evidently great critical problems, but as yet they have not been examined with adequate thoroughness by a sufficient number of independent scholars. I have endeavoured to collect the evidence and at considerable length to discuss the possible solutions, and I have been able to profit by the sometimes fragmentary but often very suggestive writings of students like Kuenen, Stade, Guthe, Giesebrecht, Dillmann, Cornill, Francis Brown. But I am sensible that in the manipulation of such delicate evidence I must often have fallen into errors which may sometimes (not always) affect the soundness of my results.

To begin by theorising as to the manner in which the original Book of Isaiah (chaps. i.—xxxix.) arose, would obviously be absurd. A mere glance at the collection reveals the fact that it contains heterogeneous elements. Our first object must therefore be to separate the Isaianic from the non-Isaianic passages, or from those of mixed origin; and our next to determine as far as possible the period to which each of them belongs. In short, we must institute a very careful and deliberate analysis, not only of each of the larger parts into which at first sight Isaiah I. appears to fall (viz. *a.* chaps. i.—xii.; *b.* chaps. xiii.—xxvii.; *c.* chaps. xxviii.—xxxiii.; *d.* chaps. xxxiv., xxxv., and *e.* chaps. xxxvi.—xxxix.), but of each separate prophetic composition. And in our analysis we must bear constantly in mind the great dangers to which the pre-Exilic texts have been exposed, and the probability that, in the words of Prof. Francis Brown, they "owe much more to compilers and editors than has often been supposed."⁴ I now venture to put forward my present critical conclusions as to the origin of the several prophecies in their present form, reserving the arguments which support them for the book which I hope to publish next year.

³ *The Prophecies of Isaiah*, by the present writer, vol. ii., p. 228.

⁴ *Journal of Soc. of Biblical Lit.*, 1890, p. 105.

Chap. i. Verses 5—27 reproduce passages from prophecies delivered during Sennacherib's invasion of Judah (but before the siege of Jerusalem), preceded by a specially written introduction (vv. 1—4). Verses 29—31 are an Isaianic fragment, for which the editor desired to find a home, and which he therefore linked to vv. 1—27 by an artificial verse (v. 28) of his own composition. It is possible that the Messianic prophecy in ii. 2—4 (=Micah iv. 1—3) once stood after i. 29—31, perhaps with the addition of the now omitted verse, Mic. iv. 4. If chap. i. has been rightly dated, it has no special connection with chaps. ii.—xii., but must have stood as a prologue to a larger collection which included prophecies of the period of Sennacherib.

Chaps. ii.—iv. There have been many theories as to the opening verses, which contrast so strongly with the sequel. My own theory is that vv. 2—4 were inserted from the Book of Micah (see Mic. iv. 1—3) by an editor, who, in place of Mic. iv. 4, has given us a shorter practical exhortation of his own (ii. 5). It is probable that ii. 2—5 exactly fills the place of a passage of Isaiah, which in the editor's time had become illegible. (This theory may be combined with one on which I do not lay quite so much stress relative to another change of position which this favourite passage may have experienced; see above.) It should be added that the original prophecy in Mic. iv. 1—4 is probably itself the work of an editor (or rather, of one of the editors) of the prophecies of Micah in the Persian period, when the activity of the Sopherim (*Prophecies of Isaiah*, ii. 228—231) was at its height. The Isaianic portion of the prophecy may be safely assigned to the reign of Ahaz; it was written before B.C. 734 (first captivity of Israel; first payment of tribute to Assyria by Judah). Non-Isaianic portions: ii. 22; iii. 6, 7; iii. 10, 11; iv. 1; iv. 5, 6. iv. 2 should stand after vv. 3 and 4 as the close of Isaiah's prophecy.

Chap. v. 1—24. Nearly contemporaneous with the pre-

ceding prophecy. Verses 8—24, together with x. 1—4a, form an independent discourse consisting of six sections, each of which opens with a "Woe."—Chap. v. 25—30. Verse 25 is an editorial insertion, composed at a time when v. 24 was immediately followed by the great retrospective oracle, ix. 7—20, to which v. 26—30 forms the conclusion. This hypothesis, which is that of Giesebrecht and Cornill, is a development of that of Ewald, adopted in 1870 by myself, and seems to me the only one which accounts for all the phenomena.—Chap. vi. Evidently the prologue to the prophecies which follow. It describes the vision and call of the young Isaiah, and the prophetic message entrusted to him. Written not earlier than the retirement of the allied kings, Rezin and Pekah. The troubles caused by the latter were the prelude of those sore judgments announced in *vv.* 11—13 (cf. vii. 17—25); hence the editor places directly after chap. vi. the description of the abortive Syro-Ephraimitish attempt upon Jerusalem.—Chaps. vii.—ix. 6 (7). I have already expressed the opinion that this obviously composite work belongs to different periods and writers, "the whole section [having] only assumed its present form long after the original utterance of the prophecies" (*P. I.*, i. 42). This theory I still hold, but as I hope in a more critically accurate form.—Chap. vii., which relates to the Syro Ephraimitish invasion, is based upon accurate records of Isaiah's utterances, though a few glosses have made their way into the text, and in *vv.* 21—25 it is more than probable that mutilated and sometimes partly illegible fragments of Isaiah have been worked up by a later editor. Verses 18 and 19 moreover, though genuine, seem to belong to a different period.—In chap. viii. (written soon after the preceding prophecies) there is good evidence (see *vv.* 9, 10) that the prophecy was modified by Isaiah himself subsequently to its first composition. And at *v.* 21 the historical situation all at once becomes entirely different. It is a new prophecy which meets us here, and the opening of the description is evidently incomplete.

The editor could not help interposing to make the fragments which he had intelligible. This latter part of the section is clearly subsequent to the Assyrian annexation of the N. and N.E. districts of Israel.—Chap. ix. 7 (8)—20 (21), with v. 26—30 : Date, the beginning of the reign of Ahaz.—Chap. x. 1—4 ; see above.—Chap. x. 5—xii. This great composite work falls into four parts, viz., *a.* x. 5—34 ; *b.* xi. 1—9 ; *c.* xi. 10—16 ; *d.* ch. xii. The greater part of *a.* belongs to the time immediately preceding the siege of Ashdod in 711, but vv. 22 and 23 are a later insertion, belonging to the period of Hezekiah's rebellion against Sennacherib, while vv. 28—34 are probably a fragment of an earlier prophecy, delivered during the siege of Samaria, and xi. 1—9 (*b.*) is properly an independent work belonging to the reign of Ahaz, but presumably (on account of the progress in its view of the Messiah) not as early as the prophecy of the Prince of Peace (viii. 22—ix. 6). To this prophecy of the Messiah, the remainder of chap. xi. forms an appendix ; it is undoubtedly post-Exilic, as well as the two liturgical songs in chap. xii., which in the *Prophecies of Isaiah*, ii. 187, note 2, and in the *Encycl. Britannica* (art. "Isaiah"), I already admitted might plausibly be viewed as late compositions.

We now come to the second of our more obvious divisions, chaps. xiii.—xxvii. The first prophecy in the collection is beyond question of late Exilic origin. The only possible doubt is, whether the ode in xiv. 4 *b.*—21 may not be the work of a different hand from xiii. 2—xiv. 2.—Chap. xiv. 24—27 : originally the epilogue to x. 5—27 (or 34).—Chap. xiv. 28—32 : Date B.C. 705.—Chaps. xv., xvi. While still regarding xv. 1—xvi. 12 as substantially a pre-Isaianic oracle (a result of high literary importance), I now incline to hold a more complicated theory with regard to the epilogue. I think that the certainly Isaianic portion of the epilogue begins at the words, "Within three years," and that the remainder of it is due to a late editor, who wrote as far as possible in the style of Isaiah. It was not

Isaiah, I think, who sought to rescue the "oracle on Moab" from oblivion, but the editor. Finding a prophecy of Isaiah upon Moab, the greater part of which had become illegible, he substituted for the illegible portion a pathetic anonymous elegy on the destruction of the same people, retouching it here and there in a somewhat Isaianic style, and prefixing some connecting words to the Isaianic fragment at the end. (This theory is in harmony with my conclusions in some similar cases.)—Chap. xvii. 1—11: Date, just before the Syro-Ephraimitish invasion. Verses 7 and 8 were inserted later by the prophet himself; after his time (as Stade has well shown) some explanatory paraphrastic words were introduced by mistake.—Chap. xvii. 12—14, written when Isaiah was anticipating an invasion of Judah by Sargon (cf. on x. 28—34).—Chap. xviii.: Written on the occasion of an embassy from Tirhakah to Hezekiah, about B.C. 703.—Chap. xix., verses 1—4, and 11—17, are Isaianic; their date nearly synchronises with that of chap. xviii. Verses 5—10 are probably a post-Exilic insertion; they may perhaps fill the place of a genuine Isaianic passage which had become illegible. The epilogue (vv. 18—25) can hardly, as a whole, be earlier than the time of that wise and beneficent ruler of Egypt—the first Ptolemy. This view I have already expressed elsewhere (*The Origin of the Psalter*, p. 184); it is, of course, widely different from that of Hitzig, which makes verses 16—25 an interpolation from the hand of Onias. I am sorry that it should have displeased one of my most respected critics (Professor Whitehouse, in *Critical Review*, Jan. 1892). I cannot, however, admit that "all canons of literary criticism are flung to the winds," nor am I satisfied with the argument for Isaiah's authorship offered by the critic. Kuenen, it is true, is in favour of the conservative theory, but it is evident that the scale inclines but slightly toward Isaiah, and that he would willingly have re-examined the question. The reader will notice, however, that I have been speaking of the epilogue *as a whole*. If any one should think it safer

to assign verses 18—22 to the age of Xerxes, leaving only verses 23—25 for the early Greek period, I have no objection; or if some one can make me understand how the whole of the epilogue can have arisen in the Persian period (which appears to be the view of Dr. Oort, of Leyden), I am very willing to be persuaded.—Chap. xx. obviously belongs to the time of the siege of Ashdod, B.C. 711.

At this point another Babylonian prophecy comes in. Chap. xxi. 1—10, it is now quite certain, belongs to the close of the Exile; "Elam," in verse 2—"Anzan," of which Cyrus was king before his conquest of Media. On my change of view on this subject I have lately said enough in the *Expositor*, March, 1892, p. 214.—Chap. xxi. 11, 12 and 13—17. Verses 15 to 17 are, I fully admit, a small fragment of a prophecy of Isaiah. But they were, I think, attached, after the return from Babylon, to two small oracles of unknown authorship (verses 11, 12 and 13—17).—Chap. xxii. 1—14, written on the occasion of the raising of the siege of Jerusalem by the Assyrian general.—Chap. xxii. 15—25, written during Sennacherib's invasion, but before the siege (cf. Isa. i. 23, 24).—Chap. xxiii.: Is this chapter a whole, and is it all the work of the same writer? A negative answer must be returned; verses 15—18 are certainly an appendix, and since they have no points of contact of any kind with the preceding ode, and end in most unpoetic bathos, we may safely deny them to the author of the ode. Next, when was the appendix added? There are weighty arguments for assigning the date to the restoration period. A harder problem remains—Was the ode itself written by the prophet Isaiah? It is complicated with the minor question—Does verse 13, in its present form, come from the same hand as the rest of the poem? I agree with Dillmann, that though verse 13 probably contains a certain Isaianic element, in its present form it is late, and is probably due to the author of the appendix (who had in his mind Nebuchadrezzar's supposed conquest of Tyre). The occasion of Isaiah's ode was probably one or both of the two attempts

on Tyre made by Shalmaneser IV.—Chaps. xxiv.—xxvii. No doubt post-Exilic. Vatke is, I think, right in connecting this strange but fascinating work with the times of Artaxerxes Ochus, though he is wrong in identifying the “city of desolation” with Sidon, so ruthlessly treated by the Persian conqueror in 351. The critical problems of this long prophecy (or reflexion of prophecy) are singularly complicated.

The third part contains chaps. xxviii.—xxxiii. Chap. xxviii., which, in spite of some contrary indications, must be isolated from the rest, has received much fresh light through the researches of Giesebrecht. Verses 1—6 and verses 23—29 represent Isaiah’s hopeful anticipations for the collective people of Judah during the siege of Samaria; verses 7—22 embody the sterner and more severe views formed under the influence of a great disappointment, viz., Hezekiah’s rejection of the wholesome policy of Isaiah, and his rebellion against Assyria. The same date will answer for chaps. xxix.—xxxi., which reproduce prophecies delivered at various times between B.C. 704 and 701.—Chap. xxxii. 1—8 and verses 9—20 are appendices to these prophecies. A somewhat elaborate study of these sections has led me to the conclusion that they are both post-Exilic. It would be impossible to abridge my arguments; I hope and think that I have taken due account of the obvious objections, by which I have myself in times past been influenced.—Chap. xxxiii. This is one of the most difficult prophecies to date, because of the number of preliminary questions, critical and historical, which have to be settled. That in its present form it is Isaiah’s, cannot however be maintained without rashness, and the arguments are very strong for making it post-Exilic. I take it to be an imaginative reflexion of history, half poetic, half prophetic in style.—Chaps. xxxiv., xxxv., though placed in juxtaposition, have no very close connexion (cf. Prof. Graetz’s article in this REVIEW, Oct., 1891). They are however both certainly post-Exilic, and called forth, as Kuenen has remarked, by the inadequate

fulfilment of earlier prophecies.—Chap. xxxiv. is imitated in Jer. l., but as Jer. l. and li. are undoubtedly very late, this is no proof that chap. xxxiv. is a work of the early Persian period.—Chaps. xxxvi.—xxxix. Into the complicated question of the origin of this narrative I cannot here enter; but the authenticity of the fine oracle, xxxvii. 22^b—32, is beyond question; we cannot, unfortunately, say as much of verses 33—35. There may also be a historical element in xxxvii. 6, 7, though the form may be doubtful. The “Psalm of Hezekiah” I long ago, quite independently of any modern critic, claimed for post-Exilic literature. It was of course introduced subsequently to the transference of the abridged narratives from 2 Kings xviii.—xx. With regard to the circumstantial prediction in xxxix. 6, 7, I am still of the same mind as in 1880. Nothing in Dillmann’s note seems to me to affect the main points urged in my commentary. The prediction is no more the genuine work of Isaiah than the words, “and thou shalt go even to Babylon” (Mic. iv. 10), are the work of his contemporary Micah. There is probably a basis of tradition to the narrative (2 Kings xx. 12—19), and it is *a priori* certain that Isaiah was opposed to a Babylonian alliance; but there is no good reason for supposing that we have any even imperfect record of a prophecy of Isaiah on the occasion. Let me add that our undoubtedly authentic record of the thoughts of Isaiah during the predominance of the untheocratic party holds out the prospect of a sure and prompt punishment, not for the royal family, but for the politicians: “Wherefore hear the word of the Lord, ye scornful men that rule this people which is in Jerusalem,” &c. (xxviii. 14).

T. K. CHEYNE

ABRAHAM KUENEN.¹

ABRAHAM KUENEN was known throughout Europe and America as one of the greatest scholars of the century; and he shared with Wellhausen the acknowledged leadership in the field of Old Testament criticism and the Religion of Israel, as interpreted by the newer school of which he, himself, was practically the founder. He did not write easily, or, generally speaking, with pleasure to himself, but the mass of work of a high order which he accomplished may be judged from the bibliography that has already appeared in these pages.

Besides his greater works and his technical labours in editing Arabic and Greek texts, the list includes, for example, the series of studies in the *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, which Robertson Smith has spoken of as perhaps the finest things which modern criticism has to show, and which are generally accepted as perfect models of method; the investigation into the composition of the Sanhedrim, which Wellhausen declared would have been epoch-making had any one read it; the tracking down of the Talmudic tradition as to the "men of the great synagogue," which is nothing short of a discovery—the earnest of what may be expected whenever the mazes of the Talmud shall be

¹ The materials of this notice are drawn partly from Kuenen's works and other sources easily accessible to the public; partly from the numerous obituary notices which have appeared in Holland and elsewhere; partly from my own personal recollections, and partly from the letters, manuscripts, and general information ungrudgingly placed at my disposal by Kuenen's friends and the members of his family during a recent visit to Holland. It does not lie within the plan of this sketch to make detailed acknowledgments, but I wish to offer my sincerest thanks to all those who have so generously helped me. A few paragraphs of this article have already appeared in *The Inquirer*.

threaded by those who hold in their hands the clue of modern critical method; and an inquiry into the genealogy of the Massoretic Text of the Ages of the Patriarchs, which, if there be such a thing as finality, has settled the question with which it deals.

But although his works were great, he himself was greater. In the days that followed his death one thought found constant utterance: it was that while Europe would mourn the unrivalled scholar whose work was but half done, Holland could only think of the friend and brother who had left a place vacant that none could fill, in the hearts of hundreds, nay of thousands, to whom he had made life larger, calmer, and nobler.

The charm of his character was irresistible. It was in the autumn of 1872 that I first saw him. None of his great works were as yet translated, and in those days no one read Dutch; but his fame had overstepped the boundaries of his own country (chiefly through the medium of Réville's articles in French and English reviews), and he was already beginning to be regarded as the greatest and most original investigator of the Old Testament which Europe had produced since Ewald. It was this reputation that drew me to Leiden to study under him. I had already had some correspondence with him, had received many kindnesses at his hands, and had conceived so deep an admiration for him, that I almost dreaded a personal interview, for fear it should lead to a disenchantment.

As I stood in the day-room in his house in Leiden on my first call, and heard his step along the passage, I can well remember how my heart beat. Would he be as grand and calm, as large and clear-souled, as his books? Would he be as gracious and kindly as his letters? A moment was enough to dispel the doubt. He had the art of making you perfectly at ease as soon as you saw him. The idea that you were in the presence of a great and learned man dropped out of your consciousness, but you felt your own life quickened and stimulated and brought under command.

Your powers, such as they were, became effective instead of being frightened; and as you sat there drinking in knowledge at every pore, you felt as if you were conversing with a companion on a subject of interest to you both, not as if you were being discoursed to by him, or as if you were drawing him. I never knew any one the least like Kuenen in this. I was never ashamed of my ignorance, or conceited about what I knew in his presence. His tact was unique; and it was so absolutely guileless and simple.

At this time, though one of the most learned Biblical scholars in Europe, a man of enormous reading in many other fields of knowledge, and an assiduous worker on all manner of Committees and Boards, he had that air of disengaged and disposable good nature which so often characterises Continental scholars, but is the peculiar charm of the indolent in England. The work he got through was almost fabulous, but he seemed to be at everyone's disposal. Again and again I have been amazed and abashed at the ungrudging freedom with which the time—every moment of which one almost felt one was stealing from the world—was lavished upon the simplest offices of kindly friendship; and it was a sight not to be forgotten to see him roaming along the canals and boulevards of Leiden, with a daughter having hold of each hand, and a cigar carelessly tilted between his lips, looking as if there had never been a care or a thought behind his broad brow, and as if business was a thing he had never heard of.

This period of Kuenen's life doubtless had its trials and sorrows, but as far as may be judged from outside, it must have been as nearly ideal as can well be imagined. With a splendid constitution and rare power of work, with a severe simplicity of personal tastes and habits that rendered his means adequate though never ample; utterly free from personal ambition, yet exulting in the knowledge that his labours were actively and visibly extending the boundaries of ascertained truth; devoted to his wife, his children, his friends, and his pupils, and receiving from them the return

of an admiration and affection which filled his life; too simple-minded and unconscious to be hampered by the moral responsibility of being looked up to as he was, and too natural and human not to feel the stimulus—he went his quiet way between his home and his lecture hall, one of the greatest, and one of the least pretentious, men in the world of letters, or, indeed, of life.

As years went on his fellow-countrymen, and especially his fellow-townsmen, far beyond the sphere of his direct influence, came to feel a proud and affectionate sense of possession in him.

For even the common people of Leiden had been told, and believed, that Professor Kuenen “knew everything.” For more than forty years they were familiar with his striking figure, and though he never had what are known as popular powers, yet his keen interest in all civic affairs, his social habits, his natural courtesy, and the combination of dignity and simplicity in his whole being had made him a vivid personality to the people. He stood for the incarnation of the University and learning to them. In him these somewhat remote and abstract ideas had become flesh and had vindicated their humanity.

The same fascination had always surrounded him. The story of his uneventful life is a romance.

Kuenen was born on September 16th, 1828, in King Street, Haarlem, where his father and grandfather before him had been apothecaries. His father was a man of exceptional culture, and took a good position amongst the professional men and the literary societies of his native place. His mother, the daughter of a clergyman, long lived to enjoy the renown of her son. Kuenen was only five years old when he went to his first school. The master was a savage, of a happily extinct type, and in our days, as one of his old pupils still testifies, would speedily have fallen into the hands of the police; but there is no record of Kuenen having suffered from his brutality, or having retained any painful

impressions of his first school. He stayed there till he was twelve years old, and—as if to bring the almost fabulous records of his early promise into complete harmony with the established type of mythical narrative—his childhood was threatened with a great danger, which proved all but fatal. I have heard from the lips of his companion on this occasion a detailed account of how the boys were crossing a “gracht,” just off the Spaarne, on a forbidden raft, from the little garden-house in which they were supposed to be preparing their holiday task. Kuenen, then twelve years old, made a lunge with his boat-hook at the round stone post on the edge of the “gracht” instead of at the wall. The hook slipped, and he plunged headlong into six or eight feet of water. When his young companion found that he was too dazed to cling to the end of the pole which he held out to him, he instinctively stabbed at his hand with the sharp end of the boat-hook, and so roused him to clutch it. At this moment the lad’s mother, who had heard the alarm, leapt from the bank on to the raft, and helped her son to drag out his companion, who was already unconscious. But the future professor was soon restored, and it may be presumed learnt the lesson of obedience, which forms the natural moral of this edifying narrative. The companion of this adventure has seen little of his old friend since those early days, and, boy-like, remembers nothing of Kuenen’s special promise or talent, but only that he was a delightful companion. Other eyes, however, were already sharper, as the following words, fresh from the lips of another acquaintance of his youth, will testify:—“Bram Kuenen! Why, I have known him since he was three or four years old; since he was so high! What a child he was! It seems nonsense to talk of a baby like that being ‘gifted’ or ‘talented,’ but I don’t know what else to say of him, such a quick, bright boy as he was! When he was nine years old he used to come and stay with us at Half-Way, and what questions he used to ask! You see, I was earning my living as a governess, and, of course, I had to be

pretty well up in things ; but when that child asked me a question I never dared answer it without looking it up in my books first, to be sure I was right. For you can't think how keen he was, it is incredible. Nothing but the very truth itself was good enough for him. Oh, Bram Kuenen was always the same. Let me see, how old was he when he died? Sixty-three? Well, then, I was fifteen years older than he ; but, I tell you, I *respected* that child ; there's no other word for it. And such a merry lad ! How I remember him coming in and asking to have his belt let out, and another hole made ; he had eaten so many apples and pears ! And how good he was to his mother and sisters ! He was everything to them, everything. Selfishness ! well, he knew what it meant—he knew so many things—but he never knew what it felt like, no, never ! And for history, you can't believe how he used to read it, and understand it, and see into it ! And so modest with it all, and so merry. And then, when he was Professor, and came here, it was just the same. Bram Kuenen was always the same ! See ! I call him Bram still, for when first he came here and I called him ' Professor,' he would not have it for a moment. ' None of that,' he said, ' just let us stick to the old names ' ; so you see I do. What was it about him as he stood there ? You couldn't call him handsome, he was not that. It was *noble*. Are you going to write about him ? Say all the good you can, you cannot say enough. I am seventy-eight years old, and they say the feelings get dulled when you are old, but his death was like a stab to me. I am not so old but what I felt that."

His merriment and high spirits have left a vivid impression upon the minds of all who knew him in early life. We shall see that he soon became renowned amongst his schoolfellows as a prodigy of cleverness. His girl friends—and he had many of them—beyond knowing that he could do their French exercises or their sums for them as easily as a fish can swim, that he had enough mechanical skill to devise a pulley and basket by which they could

communicate with him for this laudable purpose when put into separate studies, and that they always managed to learn more by being helped by him than by struggling on alone, all of which they took as part of the order of nature not calling for special notice or comment—appreciated his society chiefly on account of his fertility in devising sports, punting or boating on the since-vanished Haarlemmer Meer, and, above all, acting charades. His remarkable height, his gawky figure and prominent features, made him an ideal figure for “dressing-up.” A lady, now advanced in life, who cherishes amongst the happiest recollections of her childhood her familiarity with the Kuenen family, remembers to this day her amazement when she had been told by the girls that they should find their “little brother” at home, and was introduced to a boy as tall and thin as a lamp-post, with his arms and legs shooting out like the new wood of a tree far beyond the old bark of sleeves and trousers! His high spirits and absence of self-consciousness as a rule prevented his suffering under the caricatures which adorned the slates of his school-fellows, or the chaff that rained round him; but, on one occasion, when particularly desirous to do honour to the wedding-feast of one of his cousins, he persuaded his mother to stuff him with cushions, in order to bring his breadth into better proportion with his height. Nothing in the memories that Kuenen has left behind him is pleasanter than the love and admiration of his child companions. One tells of the half-comic, half-pathetic solemnity with which he pronounced the funeral discourses over the deceased rabbits and other pets of a philotheric companion, while the other children gazed at him in open-mouthed wonder and admiration; another remembers the practical jokes with which he relieved the tedium of the interval between the arrival of the pupils at a class, and that of their reverend tutor; and all have some bright and innocent recollection of his capacity for giving and taking enjoyment.

In 1840 Kuenen went to the “Institute” in connection

with the Latin school, to the classes of which latter he was gradually transferred. He had already distinguished himself highly when, in the February of 1843, his father died, and it seemed as if his studies must be permanently broken off; for his services were required in the business. With a divided heart, as he himself afterwards declared, but with unshrinking courage, he devoted himself to the task that lay before him. But his old companions would not let him pass out of their circle. He became the leading member of a society which they founded under the name of the "*Utile Dulci*," in which papers were prepared and discussed under conditions, the severity of which made membership of the society a very genuine and serious form of study; and, moreover, the apothecary's shop became a kind of unofficial adjunct to the Latin school. There, day by day, the boys gathered in a little side-room to consult Kuenen on their difficulties in preparing their work, and it was then that he first established that reputation for omniscience which he never afterwards lost. It seemed to his young companions as if there was really no limit to his knowledge, and he established an intellectual supremacy over them before which all other distinctions faded away. The boys of the best families in Haarlem were proud to accompany him as he walked through the streets with his bottles in his pockets or under his arm, to deliver to the customers; or they would help him to mix his pills, while he, in return, expounded the mysteries of Greek irregulars to them. Somewhat exaggerated reports (for which I am myself partly responsible) of the straitened circumstances of the family and the lowly nature of Kuenen's participation in the business, have been current; but the facts, as they stand, are sufficiently eloquent, and testify to the extraordinary impression which Kuenen had made on his companions. There is no part of his life which has left a more vivid picture in their minds than this period. For more than two years he received no formal education, but still retained his leadership; and, in spite of his proverbial

modesty, he evidently relished and tried to maintain his reputation for being able to answer any question which it could come into the heads of his friends to ask. Some of his companions, who were in the habit of quoting what he was allowed to do as a reason why they should enjoy like privileges, were met by their mother with the answer, "Oh well, Kuenen is Kuenen;" and sometimes when his friends asked him how in the world he got hold of the information he produced, he would take up the phrase and answer, "Kuenen is Kuenen, I can tell you!"

Meanwhile, though he put a brave face on it, and seemed to his sisters to be happy enough as he recited Latin poetry by the yard for his own amusement, or arranged less elevated entertainments for theirs, he was in truth sick at heart. One of his aunts thought she noticed an abatement of his once high spirits, and when she pressed him for confidences, he admitted that he could not suppress his longing to study theology and enter the Church; and that the work he was now engaged in was only done from a sense of duty. His former schoolmaster's thoughts had also been busy in the same direction, and after more than two years' absence from school he returned—not to his old place, but to the place now occupied by his former companions. In his two years of compounding drugs he had thoroughly kept pace with their Latin and Greek, and the list of his first prizes goes on again as if it had never been broken. As one of his school-fellows, by no means predisposed to give him more than his due, declares: "His great talent for languages, with his wonderful memory and judgment, backed by a remarkable combination of passionate ardour and calm self-possession, placed him beyond the reach of our rivalry."

In 1846 he entered the University of Leiden in the Theological Faculty. How the means for his studies were got together is not quite clear. He enjoyed at least one small bursary, he made a little by teaching, and possibly some-

thing was added for a time by some of the friends whose interest had been roused by his extraordinary talents and character. In any case he seems to have suffered no painful privations for lack of funds, though strict economy was always necessary. His career at the University was the natural continuation of his career at school. The amazing variety and accuracy of his knowledge set all the professors by the ears; he was the body of Patroclus over which they fought, each one longing, and sometimes hoping, permanently to attach him to his special branch of study. His mathematical examiner pronounced his paper unique, and to the last was never able to reconcile himself to the fact of his having turned his attention to other studies; and Kuenen himself, though he never followed up his mathematics, never lost his interest in them. If he lay awake at night, he would amuse himself by trying how far up he could pick out the prime numbers, and if his children came to him with any difficulty, the exposition was as pleasant to him as it was profitable to them. His knowledge of classics not only gave him easy command of the flowing and lucid Latinity in which several of his early works are composed, but made even so scornfully severe a judge as the celebrated Cobet pleased to associate him with himself in editing the Greek text of the New Testament. His earliest serious work and his first appointment were in connection with the study of Arabic, and Juynboll could never get over the feeling that he had suffered a personal injury because his brilliant young colleague did not make Arabic his main study. We hear of his amusing himself in the evenings with the study of Sanskrit and Persian. But through it all his loyalty to his theological studies never wavered. His talent for having time to spare did not desert him. He was not only the oracle of his fellow-students in all matters of learning, but their chosen companion in their amusements and social life. "Sports," as we understand them, did not exist in Leiden in that day; but Kuenen was a great walker, he was a member of the

rifle corps, and a devoted, though not an exceptionally expert, billiard player. The programme of a masquerade in which he took part is still extant, and his old friends delight in recording innocent escapades of these days, which are not worth relating in detail, but go to swell the family anthology of anecdotes. In more serious matters he was always ready with his good services. On one occasion we hear of his averting a duel; on another of his throwing the ægis of his companionship over a student who, having made a hopeless fool of himself, was being left to pine in his own self-contempt and misery till rescued by Kuenen's kindness. Entrance into the University involved at this time a very stiff examination, and in 1847 several of Kuenen's fellow-townsmen were plucked. Next year he organised a class in Haarlem for the benefit of the next batch of candidates, and brought them all triumphantly through. The general estimation in which he was held by the students is evidenced by the fact that, in 1850, he was appointed president of the Studenten Corps. Though it will, perhaps, hardly strike the English and American reader, this is the most remarkable fact yet recorded in this history! The Studenten Corps represents the whole social side of the student life, and the president is usually selected on account of his high social position and his large means. Many duties fall upon him which require that he should be a man of recognised position, not only amongst the students, but in general society. That the honour should have been conferred on a theological student of narrow means, and distinguished only by his personal character and attainments, is probably an event without a parallel in the annals of the University. The manuscript of his address on the occasion of his presidency is still preserved, and shows the earnest gravity and directness of appeal which made him a moral no less than a social force, although he was never given to preaching.

But as far as Kuenen himself is concerned, the great thing to note with regard to the years of study at Leiden,

is the fact that they brought him under the direct influence of Joannes Henricus Scholten. This great genius and superlative teacher had not yet come to the full consciousness of his own theological and philosophical position, but his over-mastering personality had already asserted itself as a leading factor in the theological and ecclesiastical life of Holland. He and Kuenen were at once drawn to each other, and for almost forty years found mutual support and strength in one another. The contrast between these two great scholars is dramatic in its sharpness. Scholten had unquestionably a larger measure of the qualities which we think of as constituting genius. Though he had no organising power, he was intellectually a born leader of men. To come within the range of his influence was to be fascinated and inspired. The enthusiasm he kindled in his friends and the dread which he aroused in his opponents were boundless. The passion of his conviction, his vivid insight, his dramatic presentation of the matter with which he dealt, the coruscations of his wit and his dialectic skill, swept his hearers through every mood, and if their judgment was not convinced, it was at least silenced. To dissent from him, even mentally, seemed like defying the lightning. Kuenen's personality, however much it attracted, was never thrown into the scale of the argument. If he convinced you, it was not he, but the facts with which he brought you face to face that were convincing. He threw no passion into his lectures and was as careful not to make the position of his opponent seem ridiculous as he was to do justice to his own. His method was characterised by what some consider an extreme caution. He never left a fortress unoccupied in his rear. There was no suppressed protest in his hearer's mind borne down for the time, but reasserting itself when the strength of the charm was exhausted. You never felt that it was rash or presumptuous to dissent from his conclusions, but you seldom felt disposed to do so. The contrast has indeed become a commonplace in the conversation and writings of

two generations of Dutch scholars, but it will never lose its freshness so long as any survive whose minds have been stirred and trained by these two great masters.

The first volume of Scholten's *Leer der hervormde Kerk* appeared in 1848, and marked a turning-point in the history of the movement subsequently to be known as that of the "Moderns"; and perhaps this may be a suitable point at which to say a word on Kuenen's early religious opinions, and some of their subsequent modifications, though we shall have to revert to this matter presently in another connection. Kuenen received his early religious education from the pastor of the Walloon Church at Haarlem. He was a man of moderate and liberal views for his day, but he retained many traces of the orthodox Christian dogmatics, from which Kuenen ultimately freed himself, teaching, for example, the "divinity" though not the "deity" of Jesus. At the period we have now reached Kuenen, himself, was still far from having fully realised and embraced the principles which subsequently characterised the "Moderns." His temperament, however, both intellectual and spiritual, was rather of the lucid and tranquil than of the impetuous type, and the rapid development or even change of his views was accompanied by no great period of mental storm and stress. It is singularly difficult to find any traces, in the recollection of his friends, of the convictions with which he began his studies or the successive steps by which he arrived at the position which he ultimately occupied. His printed works and his correspondence, however, show clearly enough that his convictions only ripened gradually, and that many of the opinions which he finally embraced appeared to him when first he considered them as wholly to be rejected. In 1855, for instance, according to the testimony of a friend, he seemed shocked and startled by the rejection of the belief in the Resurrection of Jesus; and we shall see in detail how much his views on his own special subjects changed in the course of years.

In 1851, when he had taken his doctor's degree, he received an appointment which retained him at the University in connection with Oriental studies for two years; after which, in 1853, he was appointed Extraordinary Professor of Theology. His Inaugural Oration, delivered in Latin, dealt with the importance of an accurate knowledge of the Old Testament antiquities to the Christian theologian, and it is interesting and instructive to read the following passage in it: "I am not ignorant that critical examination, on the principles I have recommended, has led certain scholars to conclusions concerning the books of the Old Testament irreconcilable with their Divine origin howsoever defined; and we need not wonder that there have been teachers who have attempted entirely to sever the Old Testament from the New for fear of the dangers resulting to the Christian religion itself from such speculations as these. Nor do I myself believe that the opinions of Von Bohlen, Vatke, and others concerning these books can be reconciled with the utterances of Jesus and the Apostles. But—to say nothing of the fact that their ravings have already been rejected by all the critics of any note, to a man—the abuse of a thing should not prohibit us from using it." We shall see presently that these "ravings" of Von Bohlen and Vatke were subsequently regarded by Kuenen as the fore-gleams of the view of the Old Testament history which he himself expounded; and the attempt to prejudge questions of Old Testament criticism by an appeal to the authority of Jesus never found a more uncompromising opponent than he.

The Professorial duties inaugurated by this oration opened the long and brilliant career which closed only with Kuenen's death. Amongst the hearers of the first lecture in his ordinary course were some who had been his fellow students and were henceforth to be his pupils, and the occasion was honoured by the presence of the senior Professor of the Theological Faculty, the venerable Van Hengel. "He was kind enough to sit on one side, so that

I could not see the wry faces he was, no doubt, making," said Kuenen to a friend; but the truth was that, though it would be hard to imagine a more formidable audience, Kuenen's success was assured from the first. He had found the work of his life.

While holding these successive appointments Kuenen maintained his keen interest in the welfare of his old companions, and they took ample advantage of his friendship. Doctoral disputations were then written in Latin, and it was an understood thing that no close inquiries were made as to how they got into that language. How many dissertations Kuenen Latinised, and how far his work affected their substance as well as their form will never be known to man, but I have little doubt that he owed to these friendly labours much of the astonishingly detailed knowledge he possessed on subjects entirely outside the range of his own studies. He had entered with his friends into specialist researches on all kinds of fields, and nothing that once came into his "iron memory" ever escaped it again. If a friend was plucked at an examination, Kuenen took it to heart as a personal misfortune; he planned how best to break the news to the family and how to make things easy for the victim, with unflinching tact and forethought. But prevention was better than cure, and it was not easy for a friend of Kuenen's to escape passing, so assiduous was he in his gratuitous coaching. Friends at a distance, too, had their claims allowed, and though he does once write in mock indignation, "It is all very well for a man with nothing in the world to do to give a fellow a day's work in commissions and then sign himself 'yours in haste,'" yet we may be sure the commissions were performed!

In 1855 Kuenen was appointed ordinary Professor of Theology. That same year he married Wiepkje, the eldest daughter of Professor Muurling, of Groningen. Though there was no relationship between Kuenen and his wife, the families were connected by Professor Muurling's

second marriage with a cousin of Kuenen's, and the young people were well acquainted with each other by name when first they met. The romantic character of Kuenen's biography follows him here. A few days' acquaintance was followed by an engagement, and then by a marriage of ideal happiness and beauty. Mrs. Kuenen was a lady of rare intellectual and social gifts and during the early years of their married life was the constant companion of her husband's studies. Though never a student in the narrower sense, she learnt enough Greek to be able to correct his proofs, a point in which he was of the most exacting scrupulosity. She was often his confidential adviser in questions of form, and kept close pace with the progress of his opinions. For example, when doubts as to the authenticity of the Fourth Gospel began to be in the air, and Kuenen announced his own growing conviction of their validity, Mrs. Kuenen felt at first as if the ground were sinking beneath her feet, but her husband went through the whole Gospel with her, chapter by chapter, and succeeded at last in securing her full sympathy. Their home was the centre of an intellectual and social life which may well be called brilliant, and nothing could be more charming than the picture drawn of the home by those who remember it. Kuenen worked with the toughest endurance, but managed to include a wide range of general literature in his reading, and to keep up the brightest social intercourse with his friends and the inmates of his house. One tells of his giving him the quintessence of *David Copperfield* in the course of a summer walk, another tells of the piles of history and literature which he worked through during morning "coffee," all the while apparently hearing everything that was said, and firing off jocular comments as he turned his eyes from his book to his coffee-cup. But there was one source of sorrow in the house. For seven years the Kuenens had no living child, and the hopes that had been blighted by that strangely pathetic experience, a birth that does but announce a

death instead of beginning a life, had left only a deepened sense of want. Subsequently, however, a numerous family gladdened their home, but at the same time qualified their hitherto close companionship of work.

A glance at the bibliography published in this journal will show that Kuenen's intellectual progeny were meanwhile multiplying apace. From 1861 to 1865 appeared the three volumes of his *Historico-Critical Inquiry into the Origin and Collection of the Books of the Old Testament*, the most satisfactory "Introduction" which had appeared in any European language. This work displayed Kuenen's most characteristic qualities—wide and accurate learning; lucid arrangement and method; a genius for concrete and objective statement of the grounds on which even the subtlest shades of subjective impression rest; patience in examining hostile opinions; powers of analysis and of combination; the finest qualities of temper and judgment, and an open-minded impartiality.

Apart from its great intrinsic merits, Kuenen's book did for Holland all and more than all that the first part of Colenso's Pentateuch did for England. It made it impossible for instructed persons henceforth to ignore or deny the fact that the Bible bears upon its face the evidence of growth and compilation, in accordance with the ordinary laws and subject to the ordinary errors of the human mind. In principle the Old Testament was won to the methods of the "modern" theologians by Kuenen's first great book; and history has never gone back upon this step. More and more Kuenen's criticism of the Old Testament has come to be acquiesced in, if not exactly accepted, by all schools of theological thought in Holland. This decisive result perhaps explains the opinion, all but universal in his own country, that the *Historico-Critical Inquiry* is Kuenen's greatest work. Before it was completed, however, an important section of it was already superseded in Kuenen's mind. Even when he was writing his first volume, the "ravings of Von Bohlen and Vatke" had

already come to appear somewhat less delirious than he thought them when he delivered his oration in 1853, and under stress of their arguments and those of George and Oort, he had found himself compelled to admit more or less extensive post-Deuteronomic revisions of the Levitical Laws; but, on the whole, he remained faithful to the then reigning school of advanced criticism, of which Ewald was the great hierophant, and spoke of such opinions as that the Mosaic Tabernacle never actually existed as "really not worth refuting." The *Grundschrift* or *Book of Origins*—the framework into which all the narratives and laws of the Hexateuch are fixed, and which includes, amongst other things, the sublime opening chapter of Genesis, and the bulk of the legislation of Leviticus—was still to him the earliest stratum of the Pentateuch. But, in 1862, the very year after the publication of Kuenen's first volume, appeared the first part of Colenso's *Pentateuch and Book of Joshua critically examined*. Kuenen's own work had produced a decisive influence on Colenso, and now Colenso's book in its turn inclined Kuenen to believe that he and other critics had stopped half-way in their conclusions with respect to the *Book of Origins*.

Colenso's relentless examination of every detail of the Exodus story had submitted the data of the *Book of Origins* to a pulverising criticism, and a "strange presentiment" rose in Kuenen's mind and gradually ripened into a settled conviction that the *Grundschrift* was not based on naively exaggerated traditions, but was a systematic, symmetrical and purposeful creation. In 1865, Graf's celebrated examination of the historical books of the Old Testament separated the narratives of the *Book of Origins* from its legislation, and, while still assigning a high antiquity to the former, reinforced with convincing power the arguments for the post-exilic origin of the priestly laws. The conviction which had long been ripening now flashed upon Kuenen's mind. Graf was right in the late origin he assigned to the priestly laws, but wrong

in separating the connected narratives from them. Kuenen wrote at once to Graf and succeeded in convincing him of the truth of this hypothesis, but the lamented death of that fine scholar barely allowed him time to announce, in an article that almost entirely escaped attention, his acceptance of the more radical hypothesis. It was only many years later, shortly before his death, that Colenso also accepted the conclusions which his own researches had helped to suggest.

The immense significance of Kuenen's change of view was brought out in his next great work, *The Religion of Israel*, published in two volumes in 1869 and 1870. His newly adopted critical position enabled him to conceive of the development of the religion of Israel as an organic growth in a sense which had never been possible before. Instead of standing at the well-head of the Hexateuchal stream, the sublime monotheism of the first chapter of Genesis was the ocean into which it flowed. It now became possible to trace the course of religious thought in Israel from the early stages of animism and nature-worship that characterise all infant religions, through the vigour and crudity of the early narratives of the Hexateuch, through the ethical passion and nascent monotheism of the prophets of the eighth century, on to the full development of the later prophets, psalmists, lawgivers and apocalyptists. In fact, the history of the Israelite religion could now for the first time be written. Kuenen was fully conscious of the importance of his task, and felt more and more deeply the necessity of a complete departure from the old methods. His work must be constructive, rather than critical, and must begin with what his readers were asked to believe, not what they were asked to disbelieve. It was no use beginning with Abraham; it was no use beginning with Moses. Would it do to begin with the Judges? One day he said to his wife, "I should like to begin with Amos and the prophets of the eighth century before Christ, if I dared." "If that's how you think it ought to be done, do it so," she

answered; and Kuenen began his history of the Religion of Israel with an examination of the earliest considerable stratum of literature of an assured date which the Old Testament contains; and in the light of the results thus obtained, tested the traditions as to the earlier stages of the historical development, and traced it onwards to its goal.

It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of the magnificent piece of constructive work in which the results of his investigations were given to the world. It is dangerous to speak of finality. We may reverse in the future, as we have reversed in the past, our ideas of historical and literary evidence, of the psychologically possible and impossible, and of the general laws of evolution. But until we do so, it is safe to say that the main results of Kuenen's *Religion of Israel*, however modified and supplemented, will stand. Its departure from tradition is so radical, that it ought perhaps not to cause much surprise to hear it spoken of as "bold," "destructive," "brilliant," and so forth. But as a matter of fact, extreme caution, sobriety, and self-restraint are its distinguishing features, and from the first page to the last it is patiently and methodically constructive. Hence the steady growth of its influence as it conquered the scholarship of one country after another, until at last Wellhausen's brilliant works announced the surrender, after a stubborn resistance, of Ewald's fatherland, and the victory was complete.

I have said that the Dutch scholars almost unanimously regard the *Historico-Critical Inquiry* as Kuenen's greatest work. Outside Holland an almost equally unanimous opinion pronounces *The Religion of Israel* to be his masterpiece. For if the former work won Holland for the critical method, and if all that followed seems to flow spontaneously from it, *The Religion of Israel* revolutionised the whole conception of the growth and development of Israelitish thought and belief, and performed a service for scholars of all countries which gives Kuenen a

unique place in the history of Old Testament studies. Its conclusions in his own country were known and had been accepted before they were embodied in his systematic work, and its significance was thereby disguised; but in England and America, to say nothing of the other countries of Europe, the translation of *The Religion of Israel* actually created the organic conception of the Old Testament, and became a power, in comparison with which the purely scholarly and critical work of its author sinks into relative insignificance.

The history of Old Testament criticism during the next decade is the history of the gradual triumph of Kuenen's views over those of the school of Ewald.

It will be seen that the *Religion of Israel* carried the logical necessity of a complete re-writing of the *Historico-Critical Inquiry*. But several works, of importance only less than that of the *Religion* and the *Inquiry*, lay between the conception and the accomplishment of this task. In 1875 Kuenen published a study on *The Prophets and Prophecy in Israel* undertaken at the request, and under the auspices of his friend, Dr. Muir, of Edinburgh, with special reference to English opinion, though it was not till 1877 that the English translation appeared. This is the only one of Kuenen's great works which is polemical in its main intention. It is a monument of patient induction, and aims at explaining the true religious and historical significance of the phenomenon of prophecy, while stripping it of the false associations which have obscured it.

Kuenen's next book followed in 1882, when he delivered the Hibbert lectures in English. The work appeared simultaneously in English and Dutch. Space prevents my dwelling upon these lectures, which have hardly received the attention they merit, for I must hasten to the close. In 1886 appeared at last the first half volume of the new edition of the *Inquiry*, summing up the whole of the work that had been done by Kuenen himself, and others

upon the criticism of the Pentateuch, since the issue of the first edition. But meanwhile a blow had fallen upon the author, from which, in truth, he never fully recovered. Even in 1882, when he visited England, on the occasion of his delivering the Hibbert lectures, he was in serious anxiety as to Mrs. Kuenen's health; and in the spring of the following year, the year of the Oriental Congress at Leiden, the dreaded blow fell. Kuenen was appointed President of the Congress, and he went through his duties in the autumn with a tact and spirit to which no small part of the eminent success of the meeting was universally attributed, not only performing all the more serious duties of his office, but throwing himself with apparent zest into the social and festive proceedings. It is only from the evidence of one of those rare letters in which Kuenen revealed something of his inner life that the cost to himself can be known. It was one of those efforts which bring their own reward, indeed, but can hardly fail to sap a man's vital strength. This blow was rapidly followed by others. In 1885 Scholten died. In 1886 a beloved sister, who had lived with Kuenen since his wife's death, closed a life of self-forgetful love and helpfulness. His professorial duties had always been engrossing. His activity on committees and boards was unceasing, and his ever ready helpfulness still constantly placed him at the disposal of his friends. With lowered vital powers he continued to bear the burden of all these engagements, only regretting that they prevented his making as rapid progress as he would have desired with the great works to which he meant to devote his remaining years. In 1887 he was attacked by a painful and distressing complaint which left him much weakened and depressed, and with no expectation of ever recovering his former strength. Nevertheless he regained what in another man would have been regarded as an extraordinary power of work. His serenity was undisturbed, and although half the light seemed to have gone out of his life, he had yet much

quiet happiness. He deeply felt the loss of his lifelong friend Prof. Rauwenhoff, in 1889, without whose counsel and sympathy, he said, he had met no serious event or crisis in his life for forty years; but the temper in which he faced the present and the future, may be gathered from a few lines out of the address he delivered on the occasion of his friend Prof. Tiele's marriage with Miss Ruychaver: "As you join hands the sun of your lives has already passed its meridian and is beginning to drop towards the horizon. It will rise no more, but sink. Yet they who are descending the hill may enjoy the outlook over the fair scenes that stretch at their feet. For them, too, the earth is rich in manifold blessings. Even when—may it be long hence in your case—the weight of years begins to be heavy, may you not still lighten it one for another? And may not the heart be young even in old age, if love illuminates and cherishes it? So may the All-good ordain it for you, my friends! May his peace dwell in your hearts and in your home."

Kuenen was now engaged not only in rewriting his *Inquiry*, the second volume of which appeared in 1889, but also in superintending a translation of the Old Testament with commentaries and introductions, which his friends and former pupils, Doctors Kusters, Hooykaas, and Oort, were executing. Should life be continued, he further contemplated the re-writing of his *Religion of Israel*. The characteristic method of opening with an examination of the eighth century prophecy was to be retained; in all other respects the book was to be completely re-written. But to this work the author's hand was never set.

In 1891 he was attacked by disabling and painful sickness; his power of work and zest of life were gone, and it needed all his strength to endure patiently. Yet still his friends found him ready with sympathy and counsel, and there is more than one who will cherish while life lasts, the picture of his gentle smile as he sat in his dressing-gown opposite the door of his study, and said, "Is that

you?" as an unexpected visitor entered. In such moments it was still true of him that "his face was like a benediction."

His death, which took place on the 10th of December, 1891, was of unexpected and merciful suddenness. His life, in spite of sorrows and disappointments, had been not only widely and deeply beneficent, but singularly happy, singularly peaceful, singularly successful and honoured.¹ Take it for all in all, it would be hard to find a life richer in the things for which wise men pray.

A few notes on the state of the unfinished works upon which Kuenen was engaged at the time of his death, will be welcome to the readers of THE JEWISH QUARTERLY.

Of the great work on the Old Testament already referred to, the Hexateuch and the Books of Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Lamentations and Ezekiel are already printed in proof in a provisional form, though subject to extensive revision. The revision has only been carried through a few chapters of Genesis.

The third volume of the *Inquiry* was to deal with the

¹ A list of some of the appointments and distinctions enjoyed by Kuenen is here added:—

1849: President of the Leiden Studenten Corps. 1849: Teacher of Hebrew in the Leiden Gymnasium. 1851: Degree of Doctor of Theology. 1851: Member of the Deutsch-Morgenländische Gesellschaft. 1851: Interpreter Legati Warneriani. 1853: Honorary Degree of Doctor of Literature. 1853: Inaugural Address as Extraordinary Professor of Theology. 1853: Member of the Society of Dutch Literature. 1855: Ordinary Professor of Theology. 1857: Member of the Hague Society for the Defence of the Christian Religion. 1859: Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences. 1863: Member of the Scientific Association of the Province of Utrecht. 1869: Member of the Scientific Association of the Province of Zeeland. 1874: Knight of the Order of the Netherland Lion. 1878: Member of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences. 1879: Member of the Scientific Association of the Province of Holland. 1889: Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws, University of Edinburgh. 1889: President of the Royal Academy of Sciences. This last distinction was, perhaps, the one of all others in which Kuenen found the greatest gratification and pleasure.

Gnomic and the Lyric poetry of the Hebrews. The former section—Proverbs, Job and Ecclesiastes—is ready for the press and is being printed. With respect to both Proverbs and Job, Kuenen has moved with the stream, and they are regarded in the new edition as *post-exilian*. He was at work on the Psalms when overtaken by his last illness and death. Two careful drafts of his intended treatment of the subject, one superseding the other, lie amongst his MSS. They differ only in method and arrangement, and taken together, they give striking evidence of the conscientious and unsparing pains he bestowed upon all his work. But the plan has not been filled out. A few exegetical notes exist, and the numerous paper marks in Cheyne's "Bampton Lecture" testify to the earnest consideration he was giving to that work. It may be of interest to note that the general drift of his opinions seems to have been towards bringing down the Psalms to a comparatively late date, but that he still rejected the extremest views, and occupied a middle position. In this connection, it may be observed that his last notes on Psalm xvi. admit that it contains at least a presentiment of the belief in Immortality.

Of the "Song of Songs" no notes for the *Inquiry* exist; but a carefully prepared sketch of a college lecture shows that here, too, Kuenen had followed the stream, and that he now regarded the poem as belonging to the Greek Period. He rejected the theory of a loose collection of love songs and defended the dramatic interpretation.

On Lamentations (which Kuenen had undertaken for Professor Haupt's great Bible), no notes or indications of any kind have been found.

The *Inquiry*, therefore, will have to be completed by a practically independent section on the Lyric poetry by Kuenen's friend and former pupil, Dr. Matthes, who has the editing of the third volume in his hands.

Finally, the MS. of the treatment of the Text of the

Old Testament has been carried up to § 40 which deals with the text in the Mishna and Gemara.

It remains to make some attempt to characterise, at once more broadly and more closely than has been possible in the course of this sketch, the position which Kuenen took in the theological and religious history of his country, amongst his own friends and in his own home. It is impossible to tell, even in outline, the story of the rise and progress of the Dutch "Modern" movement. I must be content with reminding my hearers that it was an attempt of singular boldness and vigour to shake the tradition of Christian piety free from every trace of supernaturalism and implied exclusiveness. It involved the absolute surrender of the orthodox dogmatics, of the authority of the Scriptures, of the divine character of the Church as an external institution; and of course it based the claims of Jesus of Nazareth to our affection and gratitude solely upon what history could show that he, as a man, had been and had done for men. The year 1859 is usually regarded as the birth year of this movement, which differed from others based on the same principles by the unparalleled frankness with which the most revolutionary results of the investigations of the study were carried into the pulpit, the Sunday-school and the class-room, by the apostles of the new teaching. Text-books on the Bible, catechisms and class-books, popular journals and sermons treated questions of religious history and of religion itself with a directness and freedom that knew no reserve. No shred of distinction between esoteric and exoteric doctrine was retained, and the "Moderns" threw themselves into their task with a fervour of conviction and a loftiness of hope which seemed to leave no room for doubt or failure.

The singular freshness and compactness of this movement gave it a vital force which secured it rapid success. The books of the Moderns ran through edition after edition; the circle of their influence was constantly

extending, and Scholten and Kuenen, together with their colleagues, must have felt like conquerors. But these halcyon days of the Modern movement were numbered. In many cases indifference succeeded the excitement of awakened interest and the relief of escape from cramping traditions. Divergences of view developed themselves within the ranks of the Moderns themselves, which interfered with the compactness, if they did not disturb the harmony of the movement. The position of the new teachers within the Church of Calvin and of the fathers of Dordrecht was, to say the least, open to challenge; and after a long and sometimes bitter ecclesiastical struggle, it finally appeared that the Moderns had indeed converted many members of the Church, but had not carried the Church by storm. The newly-introduced democratic methods of election to the pastorate, for which the Moderns themselves had most of them fought, revealed the fact that their strength lay with the middle classes, and that the mass of the people had very largely remained true to the old forms of faith. This could not fail to tell on the ranks of the young men dedicating themselves to the ministry of religion in the Modern spirit. Towards the end of the seventies the attendance in Kuenen's lecture-room began to thin, and of those students who came, many were and remained orthodox. Kuenen felt the depressing influence of this change, and especially of his inability to bring home to honest students the truth of those views which to him rested on absolutely irrefragable evidence. The explanation, however, is not far to seek. When problems are directly connected with religious faith, most men do not and cannot take them simply on their own merits. Kuenen's orthodox students admitted that they could not refute his arguments, but they declined to accept the natural inferences from them; for there lay at the back of their minds the conviction that Kuenen was not a Christian theologian, and therefore could not grasp the whole bearings of any question which affected the Christian faith.

This comes out all the more clearly when we contrast the impression produced upon his orthodox students by his lectures on Ethics with that produced by his lectures on Biblical criticism. In Ethics Kuenen did not regard himself, and was not regarded by the most competent judges, as a great or original thinker, and on that account he repeatedly declined to publish his lectures. But for mastery of the inner principles of the various ethical systems, for lucidity of exposition, and for fervour of conviction, he was here unrivalled. Indeed, he threw more fire and personality into this branch of his teaching than into any other, and every student who came under his influence, whether Orthodox or Modern, was deeply and permanently impressed with the grandeur of his ethical character and teaching. It was not only felt in his words, but it was seen in his whole life. A sense of duty, not as a burden but as an inspiration, was the constant and guiding influence of that life, both in its general plan and in every detail. But to those who were not in sympathy with him, his religious nature did not shine through his teaching or his life with the same apparent lustre. Even his disciples sometimes complained of religious coldness in his great works. It is seldom indeed, even when he dealt with such subjects as the Prophets or Psalmists of Israel, that anything like a spiritual glow seemed to spread over his pages.

To many of his readers, it is true, this "dry light" was a spiritual tonic. It braced their souls to escape from the feeling that the bellows were for ever being blown, and that the historian was for ever demanding raptures from his readers. To let the figures come upon the stage and speak for themselves; skilfully to group the matter and then leave it to make its own impression was severe and chaste indeed, but in the dignity of such reticence they found no coldness. But to those who were not sufficiently in touch with Kuenen to read between the lines, or sufficiently in touch with the prophets to know when to be

affected without being told, or to others who felt that a more "expansive" treatment was demanded by the subject, Kuenen's *Religion of Israel* seemed unsympathetic and spiritually jejune. As a preacher, again, though Kuenen bestowed almost disproportionate labour upon the preparation of his sermons, and one of his oldest friends gave up asking him to preach for him when he came to spend a few days with him in the country, for the purely selfish reason, as he declares, that it cost him more to witness Kuenen's sufferings on the Saturday and on the Sunday morning than it did to prepare his own sermon, yet in spite of all his pains he was not generally regarded as a moving preacher.

All this was not due to any lack of religious depth or earnestness in Kuenen's nature. To the last he was supported by a simple and ever present faith, in the strength of which he regarded all the events of life as personally dispensed by a power which he conceived as wisdom and love. These were no phrases with him. They were an all-pervading and living faith, determining his mental attitude towards all the events of life. In his own mind this sense of the divine providence was connected with a staunch determinism, which he had learnt from Scholten, but which he held as an independent conviction; and this determinism again was one of the main things that made him feel himself in his true home and in the enjoyment of his true birthright while remaining in the Church of Calvin, though cultivating the freest spirit of inquiry and development. His theism was of a clear and definite type. He took a decisive stand against those Moderns who desired to remove the stress from this dogma as the centre of the religious life, and the furthest concession that his charity dictated was embodied in the words, "in a truly *ethical* pantheism I can recognise a form of theism not incompatible with Christianity." On the question of personal immortality, I gather from indirect and negative evidence that he laid no vital stress. He faced death and separation

as he faced all else, with a child-like self-surrender that reserved nothing, and demanded to know nothing, save that "wisdom and love" were over all.

But in his religious life he was deeply reserved; nor had he the constructive and dogmatic power of his great master, Scholten. When he produced a marked religious impression, it was either silently by his own unostentatious faithfulness, or by an indirect stimulus to thought conveyed in a word or look. A young man, for instance, once said carelessly of some avowed opponent of religion, "You know he goes much further than you do." "*Further* than I do," answered Kuenen; "is that the only difference?" This set his interlocutor, perhaps for the first time, seriously thinking on the subject, and brought him to the conclusion that it was *not* the only difference.

The last ten years or so of Kuenen's life were happier in respect to his professorial work. Things had found their level. If the Modern movement had not won the Church, it had at least firmly established itself. Modern students again gathered in somewhat increasing numbers at Leiden, and the relations between the Orthodox and the Moderns became less strained, largely because the irresistible weight of Kuenen's own works had insensibly modified, almost revolutionised, orthodoxy itself with respect to biblical criticism and exegesis.

Amongst the Moderns themselves, as already intimated, Kuenen exercised a unique influence. "When I try to express what he was," says one, "I do not think of him as a scholar, I do not think of him as a genius, I think of him as a sage"; and two others of his most intimate friends, in their tributes to him on his death, drew their illustrations of his influence upon men and of their feelings towards him from Oriental sources, one of them quoting an Arab saying, "My son, thy speech has been like a shower of rain on a dusty day." Yet another, speaking of his skill and presence of mind in managing business, exclaimed, "Other men have their happy moments of tact and insight, but all

Kuenen's moments were happy." If the blessing of the peacemakers is to be extended to the peace-keepers, then Kuenen shall indeed be called a child of God.

It has often been said of him that he never had an enemy, and in a sense it is true. But the position which he occupied more and more securely as his life advanced, and his love of and talent for details of administration and management, made him in many respects a kind of dictator in spite of himself, and it was hardly to be expected that his action should altogether and always escape hostile criticism, muttered it is true, and regarded as blasphemous, but uttered all the same. The good nature which made it hard for Kuenen to refuse a request or to lose an opportunity of doing any one a good turn was sometimes censured as weakness, but as a matter of fact it veiled not only a strong will, but a firm and even stern judgment, and those upon whom that judgment fell could not be expected always to appreciate its justice. He had, moreover, been engaged in controversies which it would be hard to distinguish from quarrels, and had stood in personal relations not free from bitterness; though this was so rare that one is tempted to forget it.

The statement, then, that he never had an enemy must not be understood to mean that everyone was equally well-disposed towards him; but it remains true that the long period during which he had often thrown the decisive weight into the scale alike of controversy or of business, thereby determining the prospects of men or of parties, had left behind it the absolute minimum of rancour and the maximum of affectionate respect and confidence. The spontaneous and universal impression, as his life closed, was, and deserved to be, "Here dies a man who never had an enemy, who never cherished or awakened an unkindly thought."

Kuenen had taken the lead in so many movements, had presided over so many meetings, and was a specialist in so many subjects, that people got into the habit of taking for granted that he was presiding whenever he was present,

that he had founded every society of which he was a member and that he was not only *an* authority but *the* authority upon every subject. Is there not a tradition that a friend once met him at someone's table, and after dinner thanked him for his gracious hospitality? But if any one ever felt that he was being unduly overshadowed, he might be sure that Kuenen himself had perceived the injustice sooner and felt it more keenly than he had himself.

It was because he shrank with sensitive aversion from the incense perpetually burnt upon his altar, that Kuenen got the reputation of a modesty almost incompatible with common sense; but this was an injustice to him. It is true that he was both modest and humble to a degree as rare as it was beautiful, but his modesty consisted, not in a foolish and untrue estimate of his own significance and attainments, but in the simplicity and absence of self-consciousness which were the key-note of his character. Most of us are apt to think that what gives information we possess, or contributions we have made to the store of knowledge, their real flavour and interest, is their personal connection with ourselves. To Kuenen this aspect of the case never so much as presented itself. But he was by no means insensible to recognition, and some of the honours bestowed upon him, both by foreign countries and in Holland, were the source of genuine and even deep gratification to him.

And as his modesty was sometimes misunderstood for a species of insensibility, so too his beautifully serene temper was often regarded as an angelic gift rather than as a human conquest. In point of fact Kuenen exercised the severest self-restraint; and if many of those who knew him intimately can only remember one or two occasions on which he amazed them by a sudden explosion of wrath, those rare occasions were in themselves enough to show that his habitual gentleness and patience did not come of themselves. The mediæval poets elaborated a special kind

of composition, which consisted in an enumeration of the things they "hated." If Kuenen's *Enueg* had ever been written, many an afflicted one amongst the small fry of his studious brethren would draw comfort from the parity of suffering. Banging doors, dried up ink-pots, and char-women at the spring-cleaning, no less than pretentious ignorance, hasty dogmatism and wilful misunderstanding could reach the quick under his finger-nails just as under our own.

But perhaps I am lingering over trifles, loth to say farewell to my beloved friend and master. One word about his home before I close. Even here his reserve did not wholly leave him, and after the death of his wife there was, perhaps, no one who lived his inner life with him; but his winning and gracious character, his frank simplicity, the child that had been father to the man, and that still lived in him—all this was fully known to those who knew his home, and to them only. He was so simple and natural that it was only gradually that his children came to understand how great a man he was; but from the first hours of consciousness a sense of security and a feeling of reverence pervaded their lives. If they wanted information or guidance upon any subject, they had only to wait till they saw him to be sure to get it; and when they themselves gained information and experience of their own, they found in him the same vivid interest and delight, and the same absence of self-consciousness, the same quickness of admiration, when he was following as when he was guiding their studies; and they were abashed to find at last the secret of that humility in which he carried all his knowledge and all his fame, when they saw that he thought it as natural to ask as to give counsel and instruction.

Generally speaking, of course, he was too much engaged to have much time to spend with his children (though we have seen that here too his talent for making time stood him and them in good stead), and during his summer holidays he was generally only accompanied by two or three

of them. But there is one golden memory for them. In the year 1880 Kuenen and his wife celebrated their silver-wedding feast. Mrs. Kuenen's health was already giving way. Two years before, on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of Kuenen's appointment as Professor, she had felt the strain—delightful as it was—a severe trial. This time no risks must be run, and they made arrangements to spend a month in country quarters with their family, free from intrusion and external engagements. No more beautiful celebration of the domestic festival could have been imagined, and, to the children, the memory of it is itself a heritage.

In his writings, and in his public utterances, Kuenen sometimes, but rarely, allowed a gleam of humour to flash through his words, but in his home his love of fun played round everything. He would turn the very annoyances to which his sensitive modesty was often exposed, into food for merriment. On St. Nicholas Eve, or any other festive occasion, he was the merriest and most fertile in resource of the party, and even when the relentless disease which caused his death had its grip fully upon him, his playful spirits would sometimes rally, and make him a leader of the sports once more.

In the later years, when bereft of his wife's support, the home responsibilities must have weighed heavily upon him; his extreme moral sensitiveness fought with his shrinking from anything like dictation or rebuke, and if he disapproved of anything, he would rather let it be known than say it. But it was still in his home that his heart rested, and that his joy lay; it was still there that he sought counsel and advice for (in small things he sometimes suffered from strange indecision); it was still there that his inmost life was lived, and it is there that we must bid him a reverent and loving farewell.

As I look back upon these slender gleanings and imperfect hints, I am reminded how often Kuenen, when called upon to sketch the life and character of some

departed friend, expressed his fear that he could only gather and arrange the dry bones, as it were, and could not clothe them with flesh and blood, still less breathe into them the breath of life.

How poor and frivolous, how inadequate and helpless, must such details as I have given seem to those who knew and loved the man; how little character or significance they can seem to have to those who knew him not. For ourselves, we can only say, combining the epitaph of one of Kuenen's friends with his own last tribute to another, "He who has really lived cannot really die, but will live on in us—not only his works but himself."

PHILIP H. WICKSTEED.

THE EARLY SETTLEMENT OF THE JEWS IN SOUTHERN ITALY.¹

THE precise date of the appearance of Jews at Rome is uncertain. The embassies sent there by the Maccabean Judah (in 168 B.C.), and later on by his brothers Jonathan (143 B.C.) and Simon (141-139 B.C.) to conclude a treaty of alliance with the Roman Republic do not mention Jews at Rome. It is unlikely that a part of the Ambassadors should have settled at Rome, or that Alexandrian Jews emigrated to the Roman capital. Possible, however, it is that Jews were brought to Rome from Asia Minor about 89 B.C., during the Mithridatic war, although no mention is made of the fact by Roman writers. Certain it is that Pompey, after the conquest of Jerusalem (63 B.C.), transported to Rome many Jews as hostages. Coming as slaves, they were soon liberated by their masters, to whom they probably rendered themselves troublesome by their strict adherence to the Jewish rites.² When they later obtained the Roman citizenship, they settled on the right side of

¹ The following four essays will be referred to in the notes by the names of the authors only, viz., Levy, Ascoli, Graetz and Schürer:—

a) *Epigraphische Beiträge zur Geschichte der Juden*, von Dr. M. A. Levy, in the *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte der Juden*, vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1861), Article V.

b) *Iscrizioni inedite o mal note, Greche, Latine, Ebraiche di antichi sepolcri giudaici del Napolitano*, edite e illustrate da G. I. Ascoli, in the *Atti del IV. Congresso Internazionale degli Orientalisti*, Firenze, 1880, pp. 239-354.

c) Professor Graetz's article on it under the title, *Die alten jüdischen Katakombeninschriften in Süditalien* (*Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Judenthum*, vol. xxix. (1880), pp. 434-451.)

d) *Die Gemeindeverfassung der Juden in Rom in der Kaiserzeit nach den Inschriften dargestellt*, von Emil Schürer. Leipzig, 1879. 4to.

² Schürer, p. 5.

³ *Ib.*, p. 6.

the Tiber (*Trastevere*), organised themselves into a community and soon gained considerable influence. This can be seen from Cicero's defence of Flaccus (59 B.C.).

We shall not follow up their vicissitudes under the various emperors. For our purpose it is sufficient to mention that as the Jews had in Rome synagogues, their own jurisdiction and their own cemeteries, their number must have been large, and they naturally must have wanted men to instruct them in the observance of the ceremonies practised in and out of the synagogues, and above all to settle their differences in matters of jurisdiction. We do not know how far the Jews in Rome were acquainted with the ceremonial laws, for no document has reached us on this subject. But we may suppose that practically they observed the ceremonies of the Jewish ritual according to the Pharisaic interpretation, and that they followed some rules for the order of the prayers, probably not written down, but orally preserved by the authorities of the synagogue. For the lessons of the Pentateuch and the Prophets they followed most likely the usage of the Palestinian synagogues. Whether the prayers were recited and the lessons read in Hebrew or in Greek we cannot say for certain; most likely it was done in both languages in different synagogues, for we shall see that there was at Rome a synagogue called *Ebraion* or Hebrew,¹ where probably Hebrew was used for the prayers and the lessons. That Greek was the predominant language with the Jews at Rome may be supposed from the early epitaphs, which we shall mention presently, the only authentic documents concerning the early Jewish community in Rome and in Southern Italy. They are nearly all in Greek, a few in Latin, and were recognised as Jewish only by the emblems of the palm branch (*Lulab*) and the citron (*Ethrog*), and also by the word שלום "peace," written mostly in Hebrew characters.²

The Jewish cemeteries hitherto known in Rome are:—

¹ See below, p. 608.

² Ascoli, p. 241.

1. At the *Porta Portensis*, most likely the burial-place for the Jewish inhabitants of Trastevere, discovered in 1602, but no longer to be traced; 2. In different parts of the *Via Appia*; and 3. At *Porto*, at the mouth of the Tiber. In the epitaphs we find the following titles of officers of the Jewish synagogues, which we shall enumerate without trying to identify all of them:—1, The *Γερουσιάρχης*, or the chief of the Gerousia, i.e., of the Elders (זקנים). This title shows the existence of a Gerousia at Rome, but not one for the whole congregation, as was the case with the Jews in Alexandria, but only for separate synagogues.¹ 2, The *Ἀρχοντες*, whose office is uncertain, unless it is synonym of the following office.² 3, The *Ἀρχισυνάγωγος*, the chief of the synagogue (ראש הכנסת). 4, The *ὑπηρέτης*, a title which also occurs Luke iv. 20, A. V. "minister," (חזן). 5, *πατέρες* and *μητέρες συναγωγῶν*, in Latin "*mater synagogorum*"; these are unknown in Talmudic literature; the title is perhaps equivalent to פֿרנס, and possibly identical with the title *Προστάτης*, which also occurs in the Jewish epitaphs. Professor Schürer³ mentions two other titles, which seem to be too doubtful, and are therefore omitted here. Amongst these functionaries certainly some directed the services in the various synagogues, of which the following are mentioned in the epitaphs:—The Augustan, the Agrippian, the Bolumni (Volumni), all three probably named after friends or benefactors of these synagogues; the Campesioi, probably named after the *Campus Martius*; the Siburesoi, called after the Subura, the name of a street in the noisiest quarter of Rome; the Aibreon (Ebraion), the synagogue where probably the service was in Hebrew, or the Hebrew vernacular of the time; the Elaias, or Eleaz, possibly named

¹ See below.

² Suggested by our learned friend Mr. H. J. Mathews, M.A., Exeter College, Oxford, according to Matthew ix. 18, Mark v. 22, and Luke viii. 41, 49, where the two titles are given to Jairus.

³ Pages 18 to 32.

after the congregation of the Jews coming from Elea; (possibly Elea is a corruption of Elijah the prophet); the Rhodion, named after the congregation of the Jews who came from Rhodes (we find, indeed, in the Talmud¹ synagogues named after the place whence the congregation originated); lastly, the Kalkaretision, a name not yet explained, the reading of it being uncertain.

There were, perhaps, other synagogues at Rome which may be found in still unearthed epitaphs. Usually the synagogue was also the house of study, as was the case with the Temple. Here the Roman Jews could have found opportunity for getting instruction. Indeed, the following inscription mentions the function of a teacher. We read here:—*Ἐνθάδε κείτε Μνασέας μαθητῆς σοφῶν καὶ πατὴρ συναγωγῶν*. Menasse is thus called the pupil of wise men, which is the equivalent of the expression תלמיד חכם²; he is also a father of synagogues. The physician Todos or Theodoros, a Roman, is quoted as having made a new rule for the meals of the Passover night, and he was such an important man that the Rabbis did not dare to attack him for this innovation.³ A Rabbi Palatin is mentioned as coming from Rome.⁴ Mathityah ben Harash went to Rome to found a school.⁵

The Palestinian schools were in constant communication with Rome, where money was collected for their subsistence. The visit to Rome of Gamaliel II. with some of his colleagues,⁶ had no doubt left traces affecting the study of the ritual law. Both of Todos and Gamaliel it is said that they expounded their teaching publicly.⁷ Philo reports the

¹ Compare כנישתא דבבלאי (Jer. T. *Shabbath* IV. 8a); כנישתא דרומאי (B. T. *Megillah*, fol. 26b). ² Levy, p. 317.

³ Jer. Tal. *Moed Katon*, איש רומי הנהיג את אנשי רומי שיהו אוכלין נדיים מקולסין בלילי פסחים. Todos scarcely lived before Hillel, as said by Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, p. 358, note c. ⁴ Zunz, *ibidem*. Levy's *Lexicon*, s. v.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 348, note a.

⁶ *Mishnah Erubin*, IV. 1.

⁷ Zunz, *Ibid.*, p. 348, note a.

teaching on Sabbath in the synagogues at Rome.¹ From the great number of proselytes made at Rome, we may judge that the study of the Oral law was upheld there. Indeed, Rome, which was of great importance to the Jews in Palestine, was certainly kept well informed in the progress of the studies of the schools. Rome must have had its prayer-book early settled, which spread from here to all Italy, since Qalonymos of Lucca, who, according to a legend,² settled at Mayence under the Emperor Charles, introduced the Italian ritual in the congregations of the Rhine provinces, and it spread from there to France. Italy never asked the Geonim to send them the rules for the prayers, as did the Spanish Jews with Amram Gaon.³ When the Jews of Spain ransomed the prisoner Moses, and proclaimed him as their Rabbi,⁴ Southern Italy had had theirs a long time. That there was no book written before the close of the Talmud is not a proof of ignorance; it may have been out of respect for the Palestinian schools, and later on (when this school was broken up) for the Babylonian schools of the Talmud, that the Italian Rabbis refrained from writing down their Halakhic interpretations.

That Rome had influenced the provinces cannot be doubted. We have already mentioned Lucca. Alcuin, the learned friend of Charlemagne, mentions a religious controversy at Pavia in 800 between the Jew Julius and Peter of Pisa. It is probable that the Jew Isaac, who was sent on a mission by Charlemagne to the court of Harun Al-Rashid was a native of Lombardy. In 887 a Jew named Zedekias is mentioned, who acted as physician to Charles the Bald in Upper Italy.⁵ Controversialists, diplomatic agents and physicians are usually men of culture and learning;

¹ *Leg. ad Cajum*, Zunz, *ibid.*, p. 332.

² See *Revue des Etudes Juives*, T. xxiii., p. 233.

³ See the introduction to this *Siddur*.

⁴ *S-pher haq-Qabala* (ed. Oxford, *Med. Jewish Chronicles*), p. 63.

⁵ Güdemann, *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens und der Cultur der Juden in Italien*, Wien, 1884, p. 14.

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and, besides, a Jew must have had knowledge of Jewish teaching; for a controversialist, indeed, the last is indispensable.

Before turning to the South of Italy we shall just mention the island of Sardinia, to which Tiberius banished 4,000 Jews (19 C.E.), and where we find in the sixth century a large congregation at Cagliari.¹ Indeed, the famous liturgist Kalir was once considered to be a native of this town. Two learned Jews are mentioned here in the eighth century, viz., Abraham who is said to have copied and deciphered Greek and Phœnician inscriptions, and another named Canaim (perhaps a corrupted form of Honein). Jewish physicians are also mentioned from time to time. Pope Gelasius (towards the end of the fifth century) recommends to a bishop the physician Telesinus, the very learned man and friend, with the following reservation "*quamvis judaicæ credulitatis esse videatur*," words which were taken in the sense that Telesinus was a converted Jew.²

Let us come now to the southern provinces. Here we find at Naples a respectable congregation of Jews, who distinguished themselves in the war against Belisarius (536 C.E.), according to Procopius.³ No mention is made of distinguished members of the congregation, but there can be no doubt that it possessed a religious chief. We have no Jewish inscription yet from the catacombs of Naples, neither have the Jewish cemeteries there been discovered as yet. More fortunate, however, were the antiquarians at Venosa, in the province of Naples—for the description of them we refer to Professor Ascoli's very learned essay already mentioned—where epitaphs similar to those at Rome have been lately found. They are also in Greek, and a few in Latin, when even the word *Shalom* is expressed with Greek characters; once we find שָׁלוֹם. Some epitaphs are written in Latin and

¹ Gûdemann, *ibidem*.

² Gûdemann, *op. cit.*, p. 15, Ascoli, p. 265.

³ Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, 2nd ed., T. v., p. 40.

in Hebrew; many have a longer formula, *e.g.*, שלום על ישראל אמן (Peace upon Israel: Amen); and in one the Greek is written with Hebrew characters. These epitaphs, which are in a catacomb, are not dated; they are most likely earlier than those which are engraved in stone, not only at Venosa but also at Brindisi and Lavello, the earliest of which is of 810 C.E. These are written in tolerably pure Hebrew, and the dates are given either from the destruction of the Jewish Temple or from the Creation, sometimes both together. These dates are different from those of the Babylonian schools, who employed usually the era of the Seleucidæ. The use of Hebrew in the later epitaphs is not exactly a proof that learning became more advanced and general, for the individual knowledge of the minister of the congregation would be sufficient for this purpose. Yet it is a sign that Hebrew was preferred in connection with religious ceremonies. The current style of these epitaphs might help for fixing dates and countries of anonymous writings, but this is not always the safest method, for the style of epitaphs, and even of liturgies, might be an imitation. Indeed, the Aden epitaphs are almost in the same style as those of Venosa with the differences of the era employed for the dates.¹

From the decrees of Gregory the Great, Pope Honorius, and many Councils, we may conclude that Jews were spread over the whole of Italy, including Sicily, as early as the sixth century and later on. About Bari and Otranto there is a saying by R. Jacob Tam, of Rameru: "Out of Bari shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Otranto" (Isaiah ii. 3). Jacob, who lived in the twelfth century, seems to give this saying as an old one. Indeed, we shall see at once that at least Otranto was of importance with regard to Jewish learning as early as the eighth century. Bari was the starting point of four rabbis, who became the chiefs of Cairo, Kairowan, and Cordova.²

¹ See JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, iii., p. 621.

² Chronicle of Abraham b. David, Ed. Oxford, p. 68.

If Dr. Porges's ingenious conjecture is accepted,¹ an epitome² of a manual for the reader of the law was brought at an early epoch from Jerusalem to Bari, probably written in Hebrew, and epitomised in Arabic by Joseph ben Hiyya. The Arabic text was later translated into Hebrew at Mayence by Nethaniel, son of Meshullam, or, according to another MS., by Meshullam, son of Nethaniel.

We now come to documents concerning South Italy, and more especially Otranto.

Zunz³ has pointed out that, according to commentators, the פזמון beginning with ישראל נושע and the סליחה which follows, beginning מאני יום אירא,⁴ which are recited in the Germanico-Polish rite on the third day of the regular Selihah-days before the New Year, are attributed to a R. Shephatyah, who composed it on the occasion when he saved five congregations of thousands in the Byzantine empire from forced conversion. This calamity was threatened under the emperor Basil the Second⁵ (called the Macedonian); Shephatyah was successful in this through curing the Emperor's daughter of insanity.

The editions of the commentaries on the סליחות becoming rare now, we shall give the passage *verbatim*, with the variation found in the MS. of the library of Baron H. Günzburg, in St. Petersburg, No. 615.⁶ Possibly it is the

¹ See *Revue des Etudes Juives*, t. xxiii., p. 310, *sqq.*

² This is the meaning of the words בדרך קצרה, as in the Colophon of the Vatican MS.; "by a short road," as Dr. Porges suggests, seems to us strange. There was only one road from Jerusalem to Bari at that early epoch; besides, a short road would be expressed in Hebrew by בדרך קרובה. Perhaps the right reading of the heading should be thus: זה ספר הוריית הקורא בדרך קצרה אשר הובא.....

³ *Littg. der Syn. Poesie*, p. 16.

⁴ According to the MS. Shephatyah is the author of the סליחה only. See p. 614.

⁵ Zunz believed that the calamity took place under Basil I. (976-1011). Graetz (*Geschichte der Juden*, V., p. 254, 2nd ed.) corrects Zunz, but the date is not given.

⁶ The MS. gives the name of Judah ben David as the compiler of the commentary.

same MS. which Zunz mentions without any indication of its *provenance*. It is as follows:—

זה הפזמון והסליחה שאחריו אני יום אירא וכולו מצאתי
שיסד אותם רבי שפטיה¹ בבזירת בסיליא² הרשע שגזר שמד
בכל ארץ יון והכריח³ יותר מאלף קהילות למעותם ולא נשאר
בכל ארץ יון (מדינה ומדינה עיר ועיר שלא פיתה אותם)⁴
אלהי המש קהילות שהצילם ר' שפטיה על ידי שריפא בתו
של מלך⁵ שנמרפה דעתה וריפא אותה על ידי שם ובטל אותה
מירח⁶ שלא פשטה באורן ה' קהילות שבמלכות⁷ יון [וכך היו
מכריחין אותם כל אחד שהיה ממאן לשעותם היו מכניסים
אותו לבית הבד ונותנין עץ עליו וכותשין אותו כמו שכותשין
זהים בבית הבד וזהו שיסד בחסליחה חתוך השאר כתשם
בבית הבד ושמו חתם בפזמון הזה דהיינו שְעִרִך פְּחוּדִים
פְּכוּתִיך יוֹשִׁיעוּ הֶקְשִׁיבם ר"ת שפטיה⁹

Prof. Graetz¹⁰ said that, according to an unauthentic document, Shephatyah saved these congregations from forced conversion. The statement is, however, found in a MS. of the Cathedral Library of Toledo, which contains a chronicle important for the Jewish settlement in Southern Italy. We shall give here a short notice only of it so far as concerns our subject, but this chronicle will appear *in extenso* in a second part of the Mediæval Jewish Chronicles. The date of Basil's persecution is given here as the year 4628 A.M.=868 C.E. We shall find that the style, written in rhymed prose, has great similarity with that of the famous Kalir. Unfortunately the MS. presents many lacunæ, and these sometimes in the most interesting parts. It was compiled in the year 4814 A.M.=1054, and is, therefore, contemporaneous with Rashi. The compiler says that his ancestors were brought in a ship which went to the river Po (lacuna

¹ MS. אני יום אירא אלך אקרא שמעתי שיסד סליחה זו.

² Ed. Cracow, 1584, and Venice, 1600, בולו; ed. Amsterdam, 1504, פולו.

³ MS., להכריח. ⁴ The words in parenthesis are only in the MS.

⁵ Editions, רק. ⁶ Ed. רשע.

⁷ MS., את הגזרה. ⁸ MS., שקבצה מלכות.

⁹ The words in brackets are not in the MS.

¹⁰ *Geschichte der Juden*, t. v., p. 244. *Eine unverbürgte Nachricht erzählt.*

. . . בנחר פא) with the exiles after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. They gathered at (lacuna), where their posterity attended to the law, teaching fervently, and many *Paitanim* arose among them. The first of them were R. Shephatyah, R. Hananel and Elazar, of the family Yoab. At the same epoch came Ahron, of the land בגרידים (Bagdad (Babel ?), read בגרידים). He was obliged to leave the country, took a ship at (to?) Gaeta, where he found a Sepharadic (Spanish) Jew, and reached Benevento, where the whole congregation received him. Then follows the mention of Ahiamaz, who made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem three times a year, and of R. Selano,¹ at Benevento. Next comes mention of the persecution of Basil, with the date 800 after the destruction of the Temple. He sent out his messengers to Otranto, went from there by water to Puglia, and reached Oria in order to induce R. Shephatyah to come to Constantinople to dispute with him. The king asked R. Shephatyah to tell him on which building most money was spent, on the Temple of Jerusalem or on St. Sophia, and here the healing of the princess is related. Twenty-five years his persecution lasted, until his son, Leo, abolished the hard decrees of his father.

At that time, the chronicler continues, the Arabs began to invade the country, which we omit here. Abou Ahron, already mentioned above, went to Bari, where he was received by the Saracen prince.

Next comes a narrative of what happened at Oria (אירי), when R. Hananel, brother of Shephatyah, was summoned before the *Hegemon* for a disputation concerning the calculation of the new moon, which threatened to endanger Hananel's life. אירי is also mentioned in connection with a Pentateuch with superlinear vowel-points. In *Cod. de Rossi* 12 (now 2004) MS., at Parma, we read the following colophon:² — תרגום זה בנקודו נערק מספר אשר

¹ This name occurs in the epitaphs of Venosa. See Ascoli, p. 316.

² See Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, V., p. 552, where מנחם and מנחם is wrong. Nathan ben Machir mentioned here is not identical with his homonym of Mayence. See also Merx, *Chrestomathia Targumica*, p. 55.

חזם מארץ בבל והיה מנוקד למעלה בנקוד ארץ אשור והפכו
 ר' תן בר מכיר בר מנחם מאנקונא בר שמואל בר מכיר
 ממדינת איירי בר שלמה הוא אשר גרע קרן המתלוצץ בארץ
 חממצא בשם המבורך בר אנתום¹ בר צדוק הנקדן והגיהו
 ונסדו לנקוד מברני² :

The date when the codex was brought from Babylonia to Oria³ is not known, but most likely early, perhaps in the time of Shephatyah. Nor do we know the meaning of the allusion made here that Nathan or Salomon broke the horn of the mocker in the land Romaza (Romayna?)

Shephatyah is, perhaps, identical with the Rabbi who, it is said, composed a part of the prayer which is recited on Mondays and Thursdays, beginning with the words והוא רחום רחום. We read in the commentary on the prayers, contained on the margin of the MS. No. 1102 (fol. 23) of the Bodleian Library, the following statement; after mentioning that והוא רחום is recited on Monday and Thursday, because the *Beth Din* was sitting on these days, the commentator continues thus:—ויש אומרים שוהוא רחום שלשה באוני עולם—'סדורו • ר' אמיתי ור' שפטיה ור' יוספיה אשר הגלם מיטום חרשע עם שאר הגולה אשר הגלתה מירושלים והאריכו ימים ושנים אחר חורבן ולאחר ימים נפגרי מיטום חרשע בתחלואים רעים ולא עמד לרומי מלך עד לאחר כמה שנים כמו שנמצא בספר יוסיפון בשנת עשרין ושמונת לחורבן חבית קם עלמא בלי מלכא • וכיון שפסקה יראת מלכות עמדו צרים וחדשו גזירת רעות ומשונות על ישראל ועמדו אילו שלשה עמודי עולם ויסדו והוא רחום • אחד מהם יסד עד אנה מלך • והשיני יסד מאנה עד אין כמוך • והשלישי יסד מאין כמוך עד סופו • וכתבו ושלחו כתבים ושלחו בכל הגולה לאומרו בכוונת הלב ביום קריאת התורה באסיפת עם • לכך נהגו לכותבו בגוילין וגלגלים כעניין מגילת אסתר : ע"א כשחרב מיטום חרשע את חבית מילא שלשה ספינות אנשים ונשים בלא רב החובל ושלח תק' רוח סערה והשליכם ליבשה בשלוש מלכויות • ספינת

¹ Perhaps to read אנתום, Ἀναθός = טוביה.

² Compare for the singular style the document quoted above, p. 614.

³ Perhaps the enigmatic word אירוי (see the Catal. of the Hebrew MSS. in the Bodleian Library, col. 421), is a corruption of איירי.

אחת באתה בארץ שנויא וחשיני בארץ אנציליאי וחשלישי
בארץ אפריקאי וחיו ביניהם שלשת חכמים וצדיקים וזקנים ועל
שלשתם מירכתי ספינה לחלות המלך אפריקאי שיתן להם
רשות לשבת בארצו • ואמר להם המלך מאין אתם ומאיזה
אומה אתם • אמרו לו יהודים אנחנו ומזרעו של אברהם אבינו
אמר להם אם מזרעו של אברהם אתם יבחנו דבריכם אם
תוצאו להנצל מן האור כמו שנוצל אברהם מאור כשדים קחו
אחד מכם אם יבחן באור אם ינצל אמלא כל משאלותיכם ואתנו
תשבו והארץ תסחרו • וכיון ששמעו כך נשתנו זיו פניהם
ושאלו ממנו זמן שלשת ימים נתן להם זמן וצוה לאוסרם בבית
המשמר עמדו בתפילה ובתחנונים ויסד אחד מהם והוא רחום
עד אטא מלך • וביום השני יסד חשיני מאטא עד אין כמוך •
וביום השלישי יסד חשלישי מאין כמוך עד סופו • וכיון שהגיע
יום שלישי חיו שואלים זה את זה מה חלמת באילו ג' לילות
ענת אחד מהם ואמר בכל אותן ג' לילות חללו הייתי קורא
בחלומי כי תלך במו אש לא תכוח • כיון ששמעו כך שמחו
שמחה גדולה ואמרו זה לזה אתה תנצל מן האש ובשורה
חיה לך שלא יגע בך האור להזיקך חזור לפני המלך והשליך
בעל חלום באור והצילו הק' ית שמו ויצא שלם וחושבים
המלך במיטב ארצו וישבו וירבו מאד מאד :

“Some say that the prayer וחיו רחום was composed by the three great men, R. Amithai,¹ R. Shephatyah, and R. Yosiphiah, who were amongst the exiles of Jerusalem in the time of the wicked Titus. They lived a long time after the destruction of the Temple. When Titus died of grievous sickness there was no king in Rome for many years, as is found in the book *Yosipon* (the pseudo-Josephus). In the twenty-eighth year of the destruction of the Temple, the world stood without a king. When thus the fear of the king ceased, enemies arose, and divers calamities came upon Israel. At that time these three pillars of the world rose, and composed the prayer mentioned above—the one as far as the words אטא מלך; the second the continuation to אין כמוך; and the third continued to the end of the prayer. They wrote letters, and

¹ He is also mentioned in the *Toledo Chronicle*.

ובנימין ובן דודם היה ביניהם ושמואל שמו רחם היו בעצמם
 סגשי ירושלים • ויצעקו אל יי' בצר להם וממצוקותיהם הוציאם
 וישבו בצומות ובתעניות ולבשו שקים על בשרם ושיחרו לאל
 ויסדו והוא רחום שלשתן • יוסף יסד והוא רחום עד כי אל מלך
 חטן ורחום אתה • ובנימן אחיו יסד מן אמא מלך רחום וחטן
 עד אין כמוד • ושמואל בן דודם יסד מאין כמוד עד שמע
 ישראל יי' אלהינו יי' אחד לאחר שהושיעם ונאלם גואל ישראל
 מחמת המצור שלהם במיתה מרה וקשה כתבוהו בכתב ועל
 די המעשה שלחו בכל מקומות ישראל לקבל עליהם לומר
 והוא רחום בשיני ובחמישי :

"We find in the words of the Geonim that the prayer
 יהוה רחום, which is recited on Mondays and Thursdays
 standing, was instituted by celebrated men, exiled from
 Jerusalem after the destruction of the Temple by Ves-
 pasian. He ordered that they should be put into ships,
 without captain or seamen, so that the wind drove them on
 shore, each ship into a different quarter. The one reached
 Lyon(?), the second Arles, and the third Bordeaux.¹
 The exiles left the ships, and settled there on land given
 them by the prefects of the towns. They lived quietly
 until a new king arose, who subjected them to many
 vexations. There were amongst them two brothers, Joseph
 and Benjamin, and a son of their friend (or uncle) named
 Samuel, all of them men of Jerusalem. They cried to
 God, prayed fasting and in sackcloth, and instituted the
 prayer יהוה רחום, according to the same division as above.
 When God delivered them from their anxiety and hard
 trouble, they sent to all Israel, asking them to take
 upon them to recite the יהוה רחום on Mondays and
 Thursdays."

After the death of Shephatyah, his grandson Paltiel

¹ See Dr. H. Gross' article in the *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, vol. xxvii (1878), p. 64, note 1. Zunz, *Die Literaturgeschichte d. Syn. Poesie*, p. 16. Edelmann, להגיון (p. 89) and S. Baer עבודת ישראל (p. 112). Edelmann's identification of the first two towns by Lepante and Portugal is out of question, even in a legend. The three towns are evidently meant to be in France.

became the favourite of the Saracenic prince, to whom he predicted that he would reign over Sicily, Africa, and Bologna. Paltiel received the envoy of the Byzantine emperor, and his son Hananel obtained the release of Jewish prisoners made at Bari and Otranto. The chronicle relates the marriage of Paltiel, and his adventures when he went to Africa and accompanied the Moorish king to Egypt. Paltiel was followed by his son Samuel. At the end we learn that the compiler's family settled at Oria, and, on being exiled, settled at Capua. The compiler's name seemed to be Menahem ben Benjamin, as far as we could understand the colophon; but possibly he was only the copyist.

Thus Bari and Otranto possessed learned rabbis, certainly as early as 870, and most likely before that time. The saying of R. Jacob Tam is thus justified. Many of these rabbis might have been the ancestors of those killed by the Arabs at Oria,¹ in the Province of Otranto, in 925, as there is no doubt that the one named ר' חסדיה בר הנחל is identical with the same name in the above-mentioned genealogy, when the famous physician, Sabbethai Donnolo, was released by ransom at the age of twelve. His parents and relatives, he says, went to Palermo and Africa whilst he remained in the lands under the Roman (Byzantine) Dominion. He studied medicine astronomy, and astrology. His chief work is the commentary on the book *Yetsirah* (of the Creation), which was very ably edited, with a learned preface in Italian by Professor David Castelli, of Florence, in 1880.² Sabbethai visited many countries to gain instruction, but it is not certain that he went so far as Bagdad, as Professor Graetz thought.³ Sabbethai says in his preface that he found a wise man of Bagdad, but not at Bagdad. The date of Donnolo's death, as given by Prof. Graetz, about 970, is not

¹ Not "Averso," as M. Derenbourg writes by inadvertence.

² *Il Commento di Sabbatai Donnolo sul libro della Creazione.*

³ *Geschichte der Juden* (2nd ed.), v., p. 316.

admissible.¹ In the first instance, Donnolo says in his medical notes that he studied medicine more than forty years; born in 913, he should have begun at the age of seventeen, which is rather early.² Besides, we find in a newly-discovered document that Donnolo was still alive in 982, and he mentions that at that time learning was at a very low ebb in his country.³

And that is the epoch when, according to Zunz, Graetz and Güdemann,⁴ the *Pirge de R. Elieser*, the *Tana de be Eliyahu*, the *Josipon*, and some minor Midrashic treatises were composed in Southern Italy. Were they composed after 924 C.E., or did the authors of them not write in Italy? All this is still a matter of hypothesis. We ought perhaps to have mentioned the famous liturgist, Eleazar Kalir, whom M. J. Derenbourg⁵ places at Porto, near Rome, about 720 C.E. We rather agree with Dr. Harkavy's opinion,⁶ for reasons which would take up too much space here, that Kalir wrote in Palestine, and at a much earlier date. This will be the subject of a special notice.

The settlement of a great number of Jews at Taranto, Otranto and other cities of the province of Puglia, even at Carthago (?) and Sevilla,⁷ is mentioned in the following legendary passage, which possibly contains some truth, derived from an early tradition known at Kairowan. For to judge from the discovery of the trace of an early Synagogue at Hammam-Lif, in Tunisia, probably of the fourth century, by M. Charles Tissot,⁸ it is certain that Jews were settled here about that time or, most likely, earlier. At

¹ Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden* (2nd ed.), t. v., p. 316.

² Steinschneider, *Donnolo*, p. 8, (*Archiv für path. Anatomie*, ed. by Virchow, xxxviii., p. 22).

³ *Revue des Etudes Juives*, t. xxii., p. 214.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 41 to 55.

⁵ See *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes*, fasc. 63, p. 437.

⁶ See *Leben und Wirken des Saadjah Gaon* (JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, t. iv. 490), p. 110.

⁷ Perhaps Carthagena. About the early settlement of the Jews in Spain, see Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, t. v., p. 396.

⁸ See his *Exploration Scientifique de la Tunisie*, ably edited by M. Salomon Reinach, t. ii., p. 127.

Kairowan, indeed, there was a very flourishing Jewish community already in the ninth century, to judge from the visit of Eldad there.¹

At the end of the last chapter of the *Josipon*, which contains the description of the Jewish war under Titus (MS. of the Bodleian Library, No. 793, 2 of the Catalogue, fol. 244, and at the end of the first edition) we read the following passage:²—ויתן מיטום פקידים על הערים³ אשר השלימו עמו ויעזבם בארץ יהודה ויהי מספר חשבי אשר הוליד מיטום תשעים אלף • ויהי מספר חנופלים בירושלים בחרב וברעב וכל הבאים בירוש' מרחוק ומקרוב וחנלויים⁴ והנופלים כולם כאיש אחד אלף אלפים ומאה (ואלף) ושמונת אלפים *ואשר חושיב⁵ ברומה *ואשר נתן⁶ לאביו אלף וחמש מאות ויעזוב⁷ במעבר אשר יצא משם *מן הים⁸ חמשת אלפים [במראנטו ובאודרנטו] ובשאר המדינות אשר בפוליה⁹ • ויתן אכפסיינוס למיטום בנו ארץ אפריקה¹⁰ וכל ארץ ספרד ויתן [בקריתן מן היהודים שלשים אלף ו] *באשפיליא עיר¹¹ ממלכתו היושב על נהר *בוטי ושאר היהודים אשר לכד¹² נתן במקומות אחרות.¹³

The MS. of the Bodleian Library, No. Hebrew d. 11, fol. 197, has at the end of the *Josipon* a similar passage, but much shorter; some geographical names are there given in a more correct form. It reads as follows:—ויתן מיטום פקידים על חנשארים ויגלם עמו כתשעים אלף איש ויהי מספר חנופלים בירושלים אלף אלפים ומאה ושמונת אלפים • אותם שהושיב ברומי החת אביו היו אלף וחמש מאות אשר חושיב במראנטו ובאודרנטו ובשאר מדינות אשר בפויילא כחמשת אלפים • ויתן אכפסיינוס למיטום בנו את ארץ אפריקא

¹ See JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, i., p. 108. See also Dr. Harkavy's *Leben und Werke des Saadjah Gaon*, etc., p. 209.

² For the principal variations, MS. means the Bodleian MS.; E. means the first edition; [] only in MS.; () only in E.

³ E., 'ההגרי'. ⁴ MS., 'והלויים'. ⁵ E., 'והשיב'. ⁶ E., 'ונתן'.

⁷ E., 'ויעבר'. ⁸ E., 'הימה'. ⁹ MS., 'באנפולא'.

¹⁰ E., 'ארמיניא אפריקא'.

¹¹ MS., 'באנפוליא עד'.

¹² E., 'בט שלשת אלפים'. ¹³ E., 'אחרים'.

יֵשֶׁב בְּקֶרְטָנוֹ (קֶרְטָנוֹ read) שְׁלֹשִׁים אֶלֶף יְהוּדִים לְבַד מֵאִשָּׁר
נָתַן בְּשָׂאֵר מְקוֹמוֹת.

"Titus placed governors in the towns which made peace with him, and left them in the land of Judah. The number of prisoners which Titus carried away was 90,000; of those who fell in Jerusalem by sword and hunger, together with those who were spared and returned, was 108,000; of those given to his father and settled at Rome was 1,500; those who settled at Taranto, Otranto and other towns in Puglia, was 5,000. Vespasian gave to his son Titus Africa and Spain, where 30,000 Jews settled in Carthage(?) and in his capital Sevilla on the river Baetis."

Thus we reach the eleventh century, where we find, if not a great school, at least learned men in Sicily,¹ Siponte,² probably also at Salerno, Trani,³ and more especially at Rome, where the Talmudic Lexicon by Nathan, still in use, was finished about 1100.⁴ The following document, although partly published, may perhaps find its place here, being copied from the MS. T. Paris, p. 646, fol. 606, and will confirm our assertion. Dr. Berliner will, no doubt, complete our notice in his monograph on the history of the Jews at Rome. Here we find Mar Jacob Gaon (beginning of the eleventh century) as president of the school at Rome.

מֵתִי יֵשׁ לְמוֹל בֶּר"ה אִמֵּר אֲבֵא מֵרִי רַבִּי יְהוּדָה בֶּן קִלוּיִמוֹס
זָקֵן בְּשֵׁם מֵרְטָא וּרְבֵנָא ר' יְהוּדָה הַחֲסִיד בְּשֵׁם אֲבִיו רַבִּי ה'
שְׁמוּאֵל הַחֲסִיד שְׁאִמֵּר בְּשֵׁם רַבִּינוּ קִלוּיִמוֹס הִזְקֵן בֶּן רַבִּינוּ
יִצְחָק בֶּן רַבֵּנָא אֶלְעָזָר הַגָּדוֹל שְׁאִירֵעַ בְּמִגְנָצָא מִילָה בֶּר"ה וְשִׁאֲלוּ
לְקוֹדְשִׁים רַבִּינוּ גֵּרְשׁוֹם בֶּר' יְהוּדָה מֵאוּר הַגָּלוּלָה וּרְבִי שְׁמוּאֵל
הַגָּדוֹל בֶּר' יִצְחָק וּרַבִּינוּ יְהוּדָה חֲכֵהֵן שְׁעִשָּׂה סֵפֶר חֲדִינִין
וּרַבִּינוּ יְהוּדָה הַגָּדוֹל שְׁחִיתָ רֹאשׁ לְנִהְרֵגִים וְשִׂאֵר יֹשִׁיבָה הַקְּדוּשָׁה

¹ Owing to the numerous variations, an exact translation is impossible to give, but that there was a settlement of Jews in South Italy under Titus is clear in both texts.

² Güdemann, *op. cit.*, *Ham-maggid*, XVIII., p. 41a.

³ See Mr. Schechter's article in the JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, t. iv., p. 90 *seq.*

⁴ *Arukh*, ed. Kohut, I., p. x.

ותורו כולם למול את הנער לאחר קריאת התורה..... ואני
הקטן מצאתי סמך לדבריהם בתשובת הנאונים רבינו אלעזר בן
רבי יהודה זצ"ל ורבנא קלונימוס חזקן איש רומי בן רבנא
משה בבא למדינת גרמיישא לאחר פטירת רבינו יעקב בר יקר
זצ"ל ושאלו ממנו דבר וחוציא חורם עדות קודש וחראת
מכתבו שכבר נשאלה שאילה זו במתא וכתוב כן שאל מר
שלמת היצחקי מן מרנא ורבנא רב נתן גאון שחיבר ספר
הנהגה צרף ומן מר דניאל אחיו ומן מר אברהם אחיו וחשיבו
גם הם שכבר נשאלה בבית מדרשו של אביהם מר יחיאל גאון
יחשיב בשם מר יעקב גאון ריש מתיבתא דמתא רומי דמנהג
כשר הוא לחיות מילת סמך לקריאת התורה והקיעת שופר :

A. NEUBAUER.

NOTES ON HEBREW MSS. IN THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY OF CAMBRIDGE.

III.

MS. Add. 426, small quarto. Paper and parchment. The MS., which must have once consisted of at least 155 leaves, is now greatly injured in many places, whilst the leaves after the Nos. 26, 34, 59, 62, 63, 73, 84, 92, 97, 114, 122, 140, 150, are wanting. Each leaf has from 29 to 30 lines, written in Spanish-Rabbinic characters, probably not later than the middle of the 15th century. The MS. contains:—

פ' חכמי טרבוטא (as given on the fly-leaf), or שמה לחכמי טרבוטא (as marked on the margin of the leaves 2a, 59a, 77a), forming a Commentary and glosses to the Tractate *Moed Katon* of the Babylonian Talmud. It begins with the words משקין בית השלחין בנמרא מוכה כי שלחין הוא שרה נדל כבר והיה רניל לצאת and finishes in the middle of a sentence with

The MS. is unique. It is probably the fullest and the most important commentary we possess to this Tractate, and its style and diction remind one very much of that of R. Nissim Gerondi in his *Chidushim*. The name of the author is not given in the MS., but we find him mentioning as his teachers R. Jechiel¹ (25a, 50b, 78a), R. Meir² (155a), and R. Samuel b. Shneur,³ whom he quotes with the words ומשמתי שניאור (154b). Our author must then have flourished in the first decade after the middle of the 13th century. Apart from these authorities he quotes,

¹ Probably R. Jechiel of Paria. He mentions him so often that we must accept that R. Jechiel wrote Tossaphot to this Tractate. In p. 155a: וה' היא שיטת מורי הר' יחיאל.

² R. Meir of Rothenburg?

³ See Michael, *Or Hachayim*, No. 1212. Zunz, in his *Zur Geschichte und Literatur*, mentions only his brother R. Moses b. Schneor (p. 78).

among others, very frequently R. Isaac b. Mordechai, who wrote Tossaphot to this Tractate by the initials of ריב"ם, or וכתב רבי יב"ם (4b, 77a, 121a, and elsewhere), once ריב"ם ור' יבם כתב בשם ר' אליקים (119a), another time, בשם ריב"א (97a).¹ R. Joseph b. Moshe is also quoted as וכן פירש הר' יוסף (40a) and וכן פסק הר' יוסף בר' משה בשם ר' שמואל (51b), or משה (40a). Probably the writer knew his Tossaphot to this Tractate.² Mention is also made of רבינו נתנאל הקדוש מקינון (151a), and רבי' שמעון בר' שמעון (136b). Of authorities belonging to the Spanish school he quotes Maimonides (81a). The Commentary of R. Abraham b. David of Pasquières to *Moed Katon* he cites very often (24a, 36b, 121a, and elsewhere). Indeed, the main importance of the MS. seems to consist in the fact that it gives us so many fragments of the Novellæ and Commentaries by the "Earlier Authorities" whose works are no longer extant. The author has also some translations of certain difficult words, as p. 47b, לקסכוני קריעי וקורין לו אנפייר בלע, or 50b, מחלצין כלי של ברול וקוראין לו טרואלא בלעז.

S. SCHECHTER.

¹ See Zunz, *ibid.*, p. 33, Michael, *ibid.*, No. 1082, and Kohn's *Mordechai* b. *Hillel*, p. 122.

² See Zunz, *ibid.*, p. 38; Michael, No. 1052; Cp. Brüll, *Jahrb.* VIII. 157.

NOTES ON THE JEWS OF ENGLAND UNDER THE ANGEVIN KINGS.¹

No other country possesses such rich historical materials for the early middle ages as England. The early centralisation of the Government, and the comparative absence of civil war account for this. It is not surprising, therefore, that the history of the Jews in England during the twelfth century is much more full than that of the Jews of France, Germany, Italy, or Spain, which did not practically exist as historic entities at so early a period. The English records are not only remarkably rich, but they enable us to see the rise of the peculiar position of the Jews, whereas, in other countries, the mists first dissolve when the status of the Jews had been definitely and permanently degraded by the action of Innocent III. In England, on the other hand, we start with comparative equality, and the more rigid restrictions of the thirteenth century are not to be found, or only in slight measure, till the reign of John, and are not, therefore, to be found in the following notes. It was the Church, and the Church alone, that produced the peculiar position of the Jews in Angevin England.

THE CHURCH AND THE JEWS.—The position of the Jews in mediæval Europe, and therefore in Angevin England, was entirely determined by the attitude of the Church towards them. State and Church were one, and none could belong to the State who did not belong to the State Church. The Jews, as the arch-heretics, the natural enemies of the Church, the Anti-Christ incarnate, were regarded as naturally incapable of forming part of a com-

¹ Up to 1206; I adopt this *terminus ad quem* with Miss Norgate in her *England under the Angevin Kings*. The loss of Normandy in 1206 was even more eventful for English Jews than for Englishmen in general.

munity which was a Christian brotherhood as well as a political organisation.

The means adopted by the Church to ensure the sacrosanctity of the body politic was to connect every public office with religious ceremonials of some kind or another. No office could be entered upon without an oath, and the simplest form of initiative ceremony involved the formula, "In nomini Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti," which no Jew could accept and remain a Jew.¹ In this way every part of the national life was at least formally Christianised. Even such a simple thing as taking a farm involved, in feudal England, paying homage, which was again connected with the religious formula. Besides this, the whole economic life of England was bound up with the institution of guilds, and these were as much religious confraternities as trade unions. Owing to the close connection of the Church with the national life, the Jew could find no career in agriculture, trade, public or municipal office.

At the same time the Church had some reason to fear a rival, or at least a disturbing element, in the Jew. After all, the Christianity of early England was but a thin veneer over a thick crust of underlying paganism, much of which still survives in the form of folk-lore. The position of the Jews was crucial to her claims. As she had to recognise them as the people of God, their non-acceptance of her claims was doubly damaging. Hence the eagerness with which she urged their conversion; hence, too, the increasing bitterness with which she regarded them as her attempts at conversion failed. There is a marked increase of acrimony between the controversy of Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of Westminster, with R. Simeon Chasid, from Treves, at the beginning of the twelfth century, and the treatise of Peter of Blois, *Against the Perfidy of the Jews*, at the end of the century. This may have been accentuated by the public derision

¹ A survival still exists in the reception ceremony of Bachelors of Art at Oxford and Cambridge. I had to apply for special permission to have the words omitted on taking my degree at Cambridge.

cast by the Jews on the more assailable sides of Catholicism—the worship of images and the creation of miracles. The Jews of England were painfully interested in miracle-mongering, as the myth of the “blood-accusation”—the alleged murder of Christian children at Passover for ritual purposes—first arose in England in connection with the case of William of Norwich, boy and martyr, 1144, and was undoubtedly encouraged by the Church, as it brought more custom to the shrines involved. Besides all this, there are signs that Judaism had begun to attract converts in England, and thus threatened to be a rival. Altogether, the Church made its anti-Jewish enactments more oppressive towards the end of the twelfth century in England, and especially attempted to keep the Jews more isolated from their fellow-citizens, and to drive them out of every department of public life.

THE CHURCH AND USURY.—There was, however, one sphere of activity which the Church left open to the Jew by closing it to the Christian. To a certain extent she made practicable the socialism of the early Church. Through misinterpretation of Luke vi. 35, translated by the Vulgate, “Mutuum date, nihil inde sperantes” (but really meaning, “Lend, never despairing,” R.V.), all addition on the repayment of a loan was regarded as strictly forbidden. It was also interpreted to mean (by St. Augustine, or Pope Julius, for example), that no addition was to be expected on the price of goods bought. In other words, the Church declared against capitalism of any kind, branding it as usury. It became impossible in Angevin England to obtain the capital for any large scheme of building or organisation unless the projectors had the capital themselves.

Here was the function which the Jew could perform in the England of the twelfth century, which was just passing economically out of the stage of barter. Capital was wanted in particular for the change of architecture from wood to stone with the better classes, and especially for the

erection of castles and monasteries. The Jews were indeed the first in England to possess dwelling-houses built with stone, probably for purposes of protection as well as of comfort. And as a specimen of their influence on monastic architecture, we have it on record that no less than nine Cistercian monasteries of the North Country were built by money lent by the great Aaron of Lincoln, who also boasted that he had built the shrine of St. Alban. It was chiefly, then, the smaller barons and the monasteries that needed the capital of the Jews, and it is characteristic enough that their chief persecutors came from precisely these two classes.

The Church prohibition of "usury" would have been ineffective if the State had not followed suit. If the usurer had merely to fear the spiritual terrors of the Church the practice might not have been very greatly checked. But the State followed suit by confiscating the chattels of a usurer who died in his sin, and applied the provision quite impartially to Jew or Christian. This provision brought about a curious result when there came to exist a class of men like the Jews of Angevin England, whose whole function was to be usurers or capitalists. The State as represented by the king became the universal legatee of the whole Jewry, and he was thus brought into immediate connection, a sort of sleeping partnership, with Jewish usury.

THE KING AND THE JEWS.—The result of the Church's attitude towards Jews and towards usury was to put the king into a peculiar relation towards his Jewish subjects. The Church kept them out of all other pursuits but that of usury, which it branded as infamous; the State followed suit, and confiscated the estates of all usurers dying as such. Hence, as a Jew could only be a usurer, his estate was always potentially the king's, and could be dealt with by the king as if it were his own. Yet, strange to say, it was not to the king's interest to keep the Jew's wealth in his own hands for he, the king, as a good Christian,

could not get usury for it, while the Jew could very soon double and treble it, since the absence of competition enabled him to fix the rate of interest very high, rarely less than forty per cent., often as much as eighty. As the Jew might die before the debt was due and the king be then content to take a much smaller sum as a composition for the debt, it was often the debtor's interest to keep the debt standing. The usury was in the nature of a bet against the Jew's life. The only useful function the Jew could perform towards both king and people was to be as rich as possible, just as the larger the capital of a bank, the more valuable the part it plays in the world of commerce. No wonder the expression "rich as a Jew" passed into a proverb; as applied to the English Jew of the twelfth century, it was as tautologous as saying, "rich as a bank."

The king reaped the benefit of these riches in several ways. One of his main functions and main sources of income was selling justice, and Jews were among his best customers. Then he claimed from them, as from his other subjects, fines and amerciements for all the events of life. The Pipe Rolls contain entries of fines paid by Jews to marry, not to marry, to become divorced, to go a journey across the sea, to become partners with another Jew,¹ in short, for all the decisive events of life. And above all, the king got frequent windfalls from the heirs of deceased Jews who paid heavy reliefs to have their fathers' charters and debts, of which, as we have seen, they could make more profitable use than the king, to whom the Jew's property escheated not *quâ* Jew, but *quâ* usurer. In the case of the great Aaron of Lincoln the king did not disgorge at all, but kept in his own hands the great treasures, lands, houses and debts of the great financier who appears to have first organised the Jewry, and made the whole of the English Jews his

¹ There was a special reason why the king claimed compensation for a partnership between two Jews. Debts to the firm would not fall into his hand when one of the partners died.

agents throughout the country. Aaron's treasures were lost at sea, but his debts amounted to some £15,000, equal to half the king's income, and required a special branch of the Exchequer, the *Scaccarium Aaronis*, with two treasurers and two clerks to look after them, for many years to come.

This great windfall, which occurred in 1187, must have opened the eyes of the king's officials to the profitable source of income that lay in Jewish usury; three years later they learned the dangers to which this source was liable. The *émeutes* of 1189-90, culminating in the York massacre, had as one of their objects the destruction of the deeds and charters of the Jews; in York they were burnt in the Minster. The loss thus sustained by the king led to the organisation of the Jewry in 1194, when the "Ordinances of the Jewry" were promulgated; these provided for a full record of all Jewish business to be kept in the king's hands, so, that he might know exactly how much each Jew was worth, and how much he could extract from him. The Exchequer of the Jews of the thirteenth century, with its Star Chamber devoted to the *Shetars* of the Hebrew usuries, grew out of the "Ordinances of the Jewry," but lies beyond the limits of our present purview.¹

In addition to these quasi-regular and normal sources of income from his Jews, the king claimed from them—again as from his other subjects—various contributions from time to time under the names of gifts and tallages. And here he certainly seems, on occasion at least, to have exercised an unfavourable discrimination in his demands from the Jews. In 1187, the year of Aaron of Lincoln's death, he took a tenth from the rest of England, which yielded £70,000, and a quarter from the Jews, which gave as much as £60,000. In other words, the Jews were reckoned to have, at that date, one quarter of the movable

¹ See the excellent paper of Dr. C. Gross on the subject in *Papers Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition*, 1888.

wealth of the kingdom (£240,000 against £700,000 held by the rest).

Altogether, in these various ways, I reckon that the English kings in the latter half of the twelfth century drew on an average, a sum of £3,000 per annum from their Jews. As his whole income did not reach much more than £35,000, the Jews contributed one-twelfth of his resources. It was somewhat as if they contributed £7,000,000 to the Budget now-a-days. They acted the part of a sponge for the Royal Treasury, they gathered up all the floating money of the country, to be squeezed from time to time into the king's treasure-chest. I fancy that at one time in Henry II's reign, it was contemplated making them the king's tax-gathers, as they were in Spain and elsewhere. I find several items in the early Pipe Rolls of that monarch which show that the sheriffs of the counties were directed to pay over the cash balances of the ferm of each county—the main source of the king's income—to certain Jews. But this ceases suddenly, owing, as I imagine, to the discovery that Strongbow's mission to Ireland had been financed by the Jews. The king found that Jewish money could be utilised by others for purposes which were not exactly in his own interest.

The king was thus, as we have said, the sleeping-partner in all Jewish usury, and may be regarded as the Arch-usurer of the kingdom. By this means he was enabled to bring pressure on any of his barons who were indebted to the Jews. He could offer to release them of their debt or of the usury accruing on it, and in the case of debts falling into his hand by the death of a Jew, he could commute the debt for a much smaller sum. Thus the Cistercian abbeys referred to above paid Richard I. 1,000 marks instead of the 6,400 which they had owed to Aaron of Lincoln¹. And

¹ It was doubtless owing to this insecurity that such high interest was paid. The debtor, as I have said above, was practically betting against the life of the Jew. If he died before payment was exacted, he might get off for a much smaller sum.

as the king pressed the barons, so these passed on the pressure to their inferior vassals, from whom they demanded grants in aid to free themselves of Jewish indebtedness. It was only in this way that the lower tenantry were affected by Jewish usury, since they conducted their own business mainly by barter, and had no reason to resort to the Jews.

Thus, owing to the attitude of the Church towards the Jews and towards capitalism, the king was made the Arch-usurer of his realm. It must, however, be emphasised, as the point is new, that the king, as king, did not enter into any special relation with his Jews *quâ* Jews. He treated Christian and Jewish usurers alike, and claimed their money at their decease with remarkable impartiality (*Dial. de Scacc.*, lib. II. c.x.). The State knew of no disability of Jews for any position (apart from the initiatory ceremonies involving Christian oaths).² I have even come across evidence of Jews paying knights' fees. This anomalous relation of the king to his Jewish subjects led to some conflict of interest. Thus, as a good Christian he would naturally desire to see them converted, but as king he would lose their services as informal tax-gathers. He therefore claimed as compensation the goods and chattels of a Jew who became converted, and we find the Church complaining of the disabilities thus placed on the convert; nor was she oblivious of the king's sinful participation in Jewish usury.

Yet it was the Church that was ultimately to blame for the state of things which the Church blamed. The whole story is made sordid by the persistent way in which the Church closed every career to the Jew except usury. We may well regret both that Angevin England saw no other means of giving its Jews employment except as thumb-

¹ Curiously enough the whole Parliamentary struggle for the emancipation of the Jews raged round the form of the oath to be taken by Jewish M.P.'s.

screws of the Royal Treasury, and that the Jews had not the manhood to refuse to accept a livelihood, however lucrative, which was only possible by the oppression of their fellow-citizens.

ASSIZE OF JEWRY.—The materials for the history of the English Jews in the twelfth century are so much more extensive than that which is extant for any other European country, that it is possible to draw up an Assize of Jewry, a whole code of laws derived from the canons, charters, or rolls.¹ I have thought it worth while to draw up such a code with continuous enumeration, and descriptive cross-headings to the various sections. As a rule I have arranged the extracts in chronological order.

CHURCH ORDINANCES.

(1.) A Christian must not sell a Christian slave to a Jew (Theodosius, *Lib. Pœn.* xlii. 3).

(2.) Christians must not accept unleavened bread from them (*id.*, xlii. 1).

(3.) Mass must not be celebrated where Jews have been buried (*id.*, xlvii. 1).

(4.) Public offices should not be committed to Jews (Gratian, *Decr.* I., liv. 14).

(5.) Christian slaves in possession of Jews must be liberated (*id.*, 13).

(6.) Jews must not be converted by force, nor must converted Jews be allowed to revert (*id.*, I. xlv 5).

(7.) Jews cannot accuse Christians (*Corp. Jur. Can.*, ed. Friedburg, col. 489).

(8.) Jews about to be converted must be catechumens for eight months (*id.*, col. 1,392).

(9.) If a converted Jew reverts to Judaism, his children and slaves are not to be allowed to accompany him (*id.*, col. 1,392).

(10.) Christians taking up the cross are freed from usury to Jews (Pope Eugenius, ap. *Baroni Annales*, s.a. 1,145).

(11.) Clergy and Jews are not to be placed under secular juris-

¹ Numbers refer to the items from the Pipe Rolls, which I published in the *Archæological Review*, February, 1889. The pages referred to are those of my forthcoming *Jews of England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*.

diction (Decree of Council of Avranches, 1172 ; ap. Benedict, ed. Stubbs, i. 34).

(12.) Jews must not have Christians as servants (*Mansi, Concilia*, xx. 399) or as nurses (Gratian, *Decret.* V., vi. 13).

(13.) Testimony of Jews is not to be preferred to that of Christians (Benedict, Abbot, i. 230).

(14.) Jews may possess Christian churls, but not slaves (*Decr.* V., vi. 2).

(15.) They may restore old synagogues, but not build new ones (*id.*, 3-7).

(16.) On Good Friday they must keep doors and windows shut (*id.* 4).

(17.) Princes who spoil baptised Jews of their goods are to be excommunicated (*id.* 5, cf. No. 35).

(18.) Jew striking priest should be punished by secular power (*id.* 14).

(19.) They must not be condemned without judgment, nor disturbed at their festivals, nor are their cemeteries to be molested, nor their bodies exhumed (*id.* 9).

MAGNA CARTA JUDÆORUM.

[This seems to have been first granted in the reign of Henry I. ; we have confirmations, 1 Ric. I. (Rymer, *Fœdera*, i. 51, *M.C.R.*), and 2 Jo. (*Rotuli Cartarum*, Rec. Com. i. 93, *M.C.J.*). They agree except with regard to § vi.]

(20.) Jews have free residence in England and Normandy, and may hold lands, fiefs, pledges, gifts, and purchases (*M.C.R.*, § i. ; *M.C.J.*, § i.).

(21.) In a trial between Christian and Jew, each shall have two witnesses—one Jew, one Christian ; a writ shall serve the Jew instead of a witness (*M.C.R.*, § ii. ; *M.C.J.*, § ii.).

(22.) A Christian suing a Jew must appear before the "peers of the Jew" (*M.C.R.*, § ii. ; *M.C.J.*, § ii.).

(23.) A Jew's son shall succeed to his father's debts and money, but shall do right for same (*M.C.R.*, § iii. ; *M.C.J.*, § iii.).

(24.) Jews may receive and buy anything except church vestments or bloodstained garments (*M.C.R.*, § iii. ; *M.C.J.*, § iii.).

(25.) They are quits of appeal on oath *more judaico* (*M.C.R.*, § iv. ; *M.C.J.*, § iv.).

(26.) In debt cases Jew proves capital ; Christian, the interest (*M.C.R.*, § iv. ; *M.C.J.*, § iv.).

(27.) They can sell pledges after a year and a day¹ (*M.C.R.*, § v. ; *M.C.J.*, § v.).

(28.) They can only be called upon to plead before King's justices or wardens of king's castles (*M.C.R.*, § v. ; *M.C.J.*, § v.).

(29.) During the minority of the heir of a debtor, a Jew is not to be disturbed of his debt (*M.C.R.*, § vi.).

(30.) They may go with their chattels just as if they were the King's property (*M.C.R.*, § vi. ; *M.C.J.*, § vi.).

(31.) They are free of all Customs and Tolls (*M.C.R.*, § vii. ; *M.C.J.*, § vii.).

(32.) Criminal cases between Jews, except for the greater felonies, as homicide, mayhem, etc., may be decided among themselves by their own law (Confirmation by John, *l.c.*, probably first given by Henry II.; cf. Robertson, *Mat. Hist. of Thom. Becket*, iv. 148).

THE KING AND THE JEWS.

(33.) Jews [query, of different towns] have to get king's license to marry (Pipe Roll, items 15, 33, 58, 182), or not to marry in the case of a Jewess (10), or to give bill of divorce (38).

(34.) King is the guardian of orphans (25, 40).

(35.) Property of converted Jews reverts to king on baptism (Benedict, i. 230 ; cf. *supra*, No. 17).

(36.) "Jews and all theirs belong to the king" (*Laws of Edw. Confessor*, XXV.²).

(37.) Debts of a deceased Jew fall into the king's hands (70, 95, 101, 116, 170).

(38.) King claims one-fourth of Jews' chattels when tallaging the rest of England one-tenth for the Saladin Crusade (71, 82. Cf. Gervase of Canterbury, I. 422).

(39.) Christian debtors to Jews may become sureties for the latter's debts to the king (111).

(40.) King claims half of dowry settled on a Jewess (118).

(41.) One Jew may pay king for debts of another Jew to the king (144).

(42.) A Christian's land in the king's hand for a debt to a Jew

¹ Query, Is this the origin of the present custom with pawnbrokers' pledges?

² This is recognised to be an interpolation *temp.* Hen. II., and is inconsistent with the statement *supra* § 30 ; 'just as if' implies that they were *not* the king's property.

deceased is released when the rent reaches the amount of the pledge (164; because king cannot claim usury).

(43.) The king could quitclaim a subject of a debt to Jews (186, and pp. 205, 209, 229, 230, 231, 237, 238).

(44.) Jew's property may be distrained for debt not paid to the king (p. 222).

(45.) King may grant Jew's land, held on mortgage, to a Christian other than the original debtor, if he pays the same rent as latter till the said debtor pays off the debt and thereby comes into possession of his own land again (p. 230).

(46.) Usury to Jew lapses while debtor is on the king's service (p. 238).

(47.) King has a right to one besant (2s.) for every pound claimed by a Jew through his courts (the Royal Ten per Cent., pp. 239-41).

(48.) King has right to compensation for partnership between Jews (22, 83).

PRIVILEGES AND DISABILITIES.

(49.) Jews could only be buried in London up to 1177, afterwards wherever they dwelt (*Benedict*, i. 182).

(50.) Jews may not take arms or armour in pledge (Assize of Arms, 1181).

(51.) Jews hold land by rent in lieu of service (p. 94).

(52.) Jews could pay knights' fees (*Liber Rubens*).

(53.) Jews could not be "men" of an abbey (Joce de Brakeboud, 33).

(54.) Burgesses must make hue and cry for a slain Jew (115).

(55.) Burgesses must pay fine for assaults on Jews (98, 102, 113, 117, 142), and must give hostages for same (138).

(56.) Jews could hold land or quit-rent granted by Chapter of St. Paul's (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* ix. 14, 22, 50, 68).

(57.) They could not sell tin unless stamped, nor keep tin of first smelting more than three months without its being re-smelted, nor remove it from Cornwall or Devon without license of the Warden of the Stannaries (*Liber Rubens*).

(58.) Jews could have seisin of a mortgage (27, 69, *Rot. Car. Reg.*).

(59.) There was an Archpresbyter of all the Jews of England, who was appointed for life, and could only be called upon to plead before the king or the chief justice, and should have safe conduct wherever he might go (*Rot. Cart.* i. 77).

(60.) Jews could sell manors (p. 204).

(61.) Jews had to have passports to pass from England to Normandy, and *vice versa*.

(62.) Jew could hold land at peppercorn rent (Brit. Mus. Add. MS., 4542).

LEGAL.

(63.) The "manbote" of a slain Jew was 20s. [as for a slave] (6).

(64.) Jews must not lend to men under king's displeasure (16), or on sacred vestments (17. Cf. *M.C.R.*, § iii. *supra*, No. 24).

(65.) Jews must not "cambire" [? mint or exchange money] without king's licence (41).

(66.) They must not sell chattels to other Jews without permit (44).

(67.) Jewish sureties take over property of bailee (67).

(68.) Jurnet, the Jew, is very heavily fined (6,000 marks) for marrying a Christian heiress (67).

(69.) An apostate Jew is liable to heavy punishment (p. 106).

(70.) A Jew must not buy treasure trove without consent of Justice (93).

(71.) Jews must not be in the society of outlaws (145).

(72.) Jews could settle pleas between themselves by duel (pp. 176, 233).

(73.) Disputed charters could be adjudicated by a jury of twelve Jews and twelve Christians (184 ; p. 201).

(74.) Trials for mayhem against a Jew could be held before the ordinary jury of a hundred (Tovey, *Ang. Jud.*, 66).

(75.) Clipped money found in the hands of Jews to be perforated, and the Jews put in custody (*Pat. Roll*).

(76.) Jews may use old depreciated money to buy food or clothing, but not to pay king or buy merchandise (*Assize of Money*, 1205).

(77.) A Jew can be convicted as a forger by the oath of another Jew (183).

(78.) A Jew who evades arrest may have his chattels seized, but on surrendering and finding bail recovers them (p. 232).

JEWS IN RELATION TO DEBTORS.

(79.) Jews must not keep back acquitted charters (62).

(80.) One Jew may pay another for a Christian (143).

(81.) Debtors not paying up could be distrained through king's court for capital and interest (181).

(82.) A Christian could make a Jew or Jewess his attorney to receive rents till his debt was paid off.

(83.) A Christian may take another Christian's lands for acquitting him of debt to Jews (188).

(84.) Charters were returned to Jews when debt was cleared off, or King quitclaimed the debtor (p. 222).

"THE ORDINANCES OF THE JEWRY," 1194.

[Regulating the registration of Jewish debts, and paving the way for the Exchequer of the Jews of the thirteenth century.—R. Howden, ed. Stubbs, iii. 266.]

(85.) All debts, pledges, mortgages, lands, houses, rents and possessions shall be registered.

(86.) Any Jew concealing aught of his possessions shall be imprisoned and lose all.

(87.) All contracts between Jews and Christians shall be made in six or seven places, and before six officials, of whom two shall be lawyers that are Jews.

(88.) All charters are to be made in duplicate, and one copy to be kept by the Jew.

(89.) The other copy is to be kept in a common chest locked with three keys, and sealed with three seals (one key and one seal being kept by the two Jews.)

(90.) A roll shall be kept of transcripts of all charters.

(91.) There shall be two scribes and one keeper of the roll, each to receive one penny for each deed.

(92.) No contracts shall be valid except before a quorum of the six, and there shall be three transcripts of all payments to Jews, one to be kept by the Jew, one by the scribes, and one by the keeper of the roll.

(93.) Every Jew shall swear not to conceal aught.

(94.) Two Proctors shall be appointed to decide cases between Jew and Christian (addition of John of Brompton. Otherwise called Bailiffs, Wardens, Justiciars of the Jews.)

JEWISH REGULATIONS.

[Occurring in the scanty references to English Jews in the *Tosaphoth*, etc.]

(95.) Relatives must not judge among Jews in a case where a relative is concerned (*Sepher Hajashar*, 71a).

(96.) A Jew betrothed to one of three sisters not specified must divorce all three.

(97.) If a Gentile pays too much, and cannot be found, the extra money goes to the original lender, and not to any agent.

(98.) Seven elders decide on any disputed questions (p. 49).

(99.) Informers, and those using Gentile courts against fellow-Jews, are excommunicated (p. 49).

(100.) Milk drawn by a Gentile is unclean ¹ (Mord. Ab. Sar. ii. 826).

(101.) Barnacle geese may be eaten by Jews¹ (Meir of Rothenburg Resp. No. 160).

(102.) Fires may be kept alight by Gentiles for Jews on Sabbath (p. 111).

(103.) Unclean meal does not defile if only one-sixtieth of the whole parcel bought ¹ (p. 146).

(104.) Jews must not eat what a Gentile has boiled ¹ (p. 178).

(105.) English Jews may use *Kannabos* (? hemp) on their woollen garments (*Shibole Halleket* MS.).

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.—From incidental notices and remarks of the chroniclers and even in the rolls we can gather some information, scanty enough it is true, as to the *Culturgeschichte* of the English Jews in the twelfth century. And first with regard to their relations to their fellow-citizens. Up to the *émeutes* of 1189-90 these were exceptionally friendly. The dispute between R. Simeon Chasid and Abbot Crispin is of a most amicable description. "He used often to come to me as a friend both on business and to see me," the genial Abbot writes (S. Anselm *Opera*, ii. 255). Moses of Wallingford was highly respected at Oxford (*Acta Sanct.*, October 19th, St. Frideswide). At Lynn, during the riots, one of the victims "was a distinguished physician friendly with and honoured by the Christians," as William of Newbury puts it (i. 310). And the chroniclers seem anxious in their accounts to attribute the riots to the ill-will of foreigners so far as they can.

With the clergy we find equally good relations. The Jews entered churches freely, even to seek their debtors, and took refuge in the Abbey of St. Edmonds in times of

¹ It is curious and characteristic that most of the Anglo-Jewish enactments relate to the customary dietary laws.

commotion. The monks of Canterbury had the sympathy and succour of the Jews, who "prayed for the continuance of the convent in their synagogues" when the archbishop had put them under excommunication. "A wonderful contrast indeed!" says Gervase of Canterbury (i. 405). They mourned the death of the good bishop Hugh of Lincoln as much as any of their fellow citizens (*Vita*, ed. Dymock, p. 373). There is an interesting account of a witty Jew travelling to Shrewsbury with Archdeacon Peche and Deacon Dayville and making puns on a country whose archdeacon is sin (Peche) and dean the devil (Gerald Cambr., *Opera*, vi. 146). This shows that the ordinary talk of the Jews was French, as is also clear from the glosses in the English Tosaphists and from the fact that Richard of Devises makes a French Jew recommend a lad not to go northward in England, because he will find none speaking Romance (ed. Howlett, p. 438). This implies that they only came in contact with the upper classes, and indeed, as we have seen, their business was only with them.

On the other hand the Jews did not scruple to express their views freely about the prevailing religion. One of them openly ridiculed at Oxford the miracles attributed to St. Frideswide. R. Simeon Chasid complains of the worship of images and pictures of the crucified God. "They swelled insolently against Christ," says the chronicler in explaining their persecutions. Peter of Blois complains of the pertinacity with which the Jews disputed about the faith: they laid stress upon the literal interpretation of Scripture. On one occasion a fine was paid for knocking off a priest's cap (72), presumably during service or in church. It is obvious that they used their powers of ridicule against Christianity, and helped thereby to increase the feeling of animosity against them.

In another way they acted unwisely and inconsiderately. Their ostentation in the display of their riches struck the chroniclers when explaining the causes of the riots. The late Professor Freeman was never tired of quoting Aaron

of Lincoln's boast that it was he who had really built the Abbey of St. Alban's. They were the first to build stone houses, partly for protection no doubt, but it was the great sign of luxury. The houses of Joce and Benedict, the leading Jews at York, were like royal palaces, and William of Newbury refers to those in London in similar terms. All this could not have failed to irritate the minor nobles who saw themselves growing poorer and poorer every day and the Jews richer and richer. They wore weapons and used them freely. The riot at Lynn began with their pursuing a converted Jew into a church with drawn weapons. Two cases are on record of trial by duel, one of them between two Jews, while a Jew is mentioned named Benedictus Miles, *i.e.*, the Knight.

Conversions to Christianity do not seem to be at all frequent. Out of a list of some 750, only six converts occur, one of them that of a Jewess. During the massacres of 1189-90, there were doubtless many forcible baptisms, but Richard I. wisely laid no stress on such cases, and allowed Benedict of York, christened William during the London *émeute*, to return to his own religion without suffering the penalties attaching to such apostasy. On the other hand, there is on record the conversion of two Cistercian monks to Judaism, whereupon the witty Walter Mapes remarked that he wondered they had not been converted to Christianity. Ephraim of Bonn declares that a whole congregation of twenty-two proselytes was put to death during the outburst of Easter, 1190.

As before explained, their occupation was almost exclusively that of money-lending. A couple of physicians are however mentioned, the one at Lynn, and Isaac Medicus, of London. They dealt also in jewels and precious stones; a carbuncle of Mossey, the rich Jew of Gloucester, is mentioned as the subject of litigation, and King John had a jewel that had belonged to Simon the Jew; his goldsmith was Leo the Jew. There is a coin of Henry II. with the

name of the moneyer Isac, of Everwic (York), but it is doubtful whether he was a Jew. A Jew is mentioned as keeping an inn (Robertson, *Materials*, ii. 7), and various scribes occur, as well as a master of the boys (*magister puerorum*). The scribes were probably *sopherim* or calligraphers, as Zunz mentions that Machsorim from England were brought over to France in the twelfth century (*Die Ritus*), and Ephraim of Bonn reports that many beautiful books were seized at York and sold in Cologne after the massacre of 1190. Libraries were formed; in two cases large sums were paid to retain the books of a deceased parent (Pipe Roll 119, Sir Morell's), or to recover those of the person fined (216).

As regards their customs among themselves we have but little knowledge. They used to betroth their daughters while still minors, excusing the practice on account of the frequent persecutions, which made it doubtful when they could pay the dowry (*Tos. Kidd.* 41a). The few religious problems discussed by them related mainly to the dietary laws (See Assize *supra*, Nos. 100—104). They did not smell sweet savours at the end of the Sabbath when a festival followed (*Hamanlig*, 83b). They adjudicated on partnerships and agreements among themselves (86), and a chapter of Jews were once called upon to decide the question whether a Jew could take usury from a Jew (128). On another occasion a daughter applied to have an inquest whether her father had died a Christian (161). The lower minds among the Jews excused themselves for taking usury from the Christians, against Deut. xxiii. 20, because the Edomites are called strangers (Obad. ver. 11. *Rev. Et. Juives*, iv. 8).

The Jews do not seem to have rendered themselves liable to the criminal law to any great extent. The worst charges recorded are one of rape (189), one of forcible entry (126; the accused was replevied, or admitted to bail), for clipping the coin (p. 233; the accuser was also a Jew), for mayhem ("ementulation" Tovey 66; the accused was acquitted). The

chief charges are rather connected with their business; keeping back acquitted charters (62); being a party to an illegal contract (44); giving false witness (48, 113, 133 *ter*); buying treasure trove (93); concealing charters after death of father (123, 146); suborning evidence (189*a*). These, with a charge of waste and purpresture (30, encroachment), and of having 'cambired'—whatever that may mean—(41, probably minted without license) are all the charges ever mentioned in the records, and, on the whole, form a tolerably clean bill of moral health. It is noteworthy in the case of mayhem or mutilation, the Jew was acquitted by the ordinary jury of the hundred before whom he was tried; I fancy it was a case of circumcision of a convert.

We may conclude this section with a few items dealing rather with folk-lore. The myth of the blood accusation must have helped to make the Jews appear uncanny in the minds of the people, and the (French) ballad of the Jew-boy who was murdered by his father for being converted, and sang hymns to the Virgin after death, occurs in many English MSS. Both Matthew Paris and Ephraim of Bonn agree in stating that the Jews were kept away from the coronation of Richard I., lest they should cast some magic spell on the ceremony. The Jews of England believed in the curious myth of the barnacle geese which grow on trees. They applied to Rabbi Tam to know if they might eat them, and he replied that they should be slaughtered after Jewish fashion, and were then edible by pious Jews. We do not hear of Jewesses exercising their supposed function of witches and enchantresses. On the contrary, we hear of a Christian woman who was accustomed to charm the foot of a Jewish woman, and was only taught by a miracle of St. Thomas Becket how wicked her conduct was, not, as it would seem, in using spells, but rather for exercising them for the benefit of a Jewess.

EDUCATION.—The remarkable code of Jewish education given at the end of Dr. Güdemann's *Culturgeschichte*, Bnd. I., was drawn up, I am strongly of opinion, in England; at

least, as regards the first of the three sections of which it is composed. The seventh clause of this speaks of the French Jews as foreigners, and the eleventh refers to the long winter nights, while the whole basis of the scheme is the contrast between the small schools of the provinces and the great school for the separated in the capital; this would only apply to England, if France is to be left out, as is implied by Clause 7. Besides, I have found the provisions of the code exactly followed in England. Blomfield, *Norfolk*, iv. 225, declares that the school was at the south end of the synagogue at Norwich; here we have the small school of the provinces. And there is a record of the *Magna schola Judeorum* of London, belonging to Abraham fil Rabi, in Ironmonger Lane (Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 4,542); there we have the great school of the capital. Also R. Yomtob of Joigny, who was martyred at York, mentions that his father was one of the *Perushim*, or Separated. The general education of the Jews of the time is shown by their literary activity, the visit of Abraham ibn Ezra in 1158, and the fact that even Jewesses were able to draw up deeds in Hebrew (Harl. ch. 43, A. 54). Altogether there is sufficient probability for my contention for me to include a translation of the code in my forthcoming book, and the following summary of it here. The letters and figures following in brackets refer to the sections of the three different codes included in the document. I have attempted to unify them.

JEWISH CODE OF EDUCATION.

(i.) Every first-born male is to be set apart (separated) for the study of the law from the eighth day after circumcision (A 1, B 5).

(ii.) At five years old every Jewish boy is to be brought in the month Nisan to the small school of the provinces, and taught to read; then put to Leviticus, then to read the weekly portion in Hebrew, then in the vernacular, and then in the Targum (A 7, 8; B 6, C 1).

(iii.) At ten years he studies the Mishna, beginning with the tractate *Beracoth* of the Talmud, and going through the smaller tractates of the order *Moed* in the next three years (B 6, C 2).

(iv.) At thirteen years the education of the ordinary boy finishes; that of the separated continues in the same school till the lad is sixteen, when he decides for himself whether he will devote his life to the law, and, if so, goes up to the great school of the separated in the capital for another seven years (A 2, 3; C 3).

(v.) The small school of the provinces is to be held in a two-storied house, capable of holding 100 scholars, ten teachers, and one rector to supervise. No teaching is to be done at home, and the rector must not reside at the school with his family, but go home every Sabbath (B 6, A 5, B 3).

(vi.) The rector gives two lectures, one in the morning, one in the afternoon. The teachers go over each lesson twice with their class.¹ At the end of each week there is repetition of the week's work; so at the end of the month, and at the end of the summer and the winter session. No teacher must take more than ten pupils, nor have any other calling but teaching (B 7, A 10, 6, 12).

(vii.) The lads are encouraged to examine one another every evening in the day's lessons. Dull scholars are to be sent away, so as not to keep back the more forward. Teaching is to be by book, not by heart. In winter the evening lessons are to be short, on account of the light (A 9, 5, 7, 11).

(viii.) Every member of the community pays twopence yearly as school-fees, instead of the half-shekel of old. The great school is to be bought, and then let out to the separated. The separated pay for their lodging, and a share of the teachers' salaries. The rector gets 20 marks yearly, a teacher 8 (A 4, B 1, 6).

NAMES.—From the abundant materials at my disposal I have drawn up a list of some 750 names of English Jews and Jewesses of the twelfth century, in most cases with their towns of residence. Such a long list contains much information, apart from the names themselves. But these have their points of interest and instruction in themselves. As with most early mediæval names—Jewish or Gentile—they are mainly “Christian,” or first names, with an explanatory addition, derived from birthplace, office, or personal peculiarity. The favourite ones were Scriptural, as may be clearly shown by the following list of the most frequent:—Isaac (59); Josce, *i.e.*, Joseph (55); Abraham

¹ This probably refers to the great school of the capital.

(49); Benedict, or Bendit, the Latinised form of Berachyah (49); Jacob (40); Moses, Moss, or Mosse (38); Samuel (37); Vives, Vivard, Vivelot, various forms for the Hebrew *Chaim*, "Life" (23); Elias (19); Aaron (18); Deulacres, (Heb. *Gedaliah*) (17); Manesser (17); Samson (16); Solomon (15); besides Aser (Asher), Benjamin, David, Juda, Jeremias, Naemia, Simon. Other Biblical forms occur in somewhat strange disguise, as Deulesalt, *i.e.*, Dieu-le-sant, for Isaiah; Serfdeu for Obadiah; Dieudone, or Deodonatus for Elchanan; Hakelin, a diminutive for Isaac; Kersun, probably equivalent to Gershon, Cok and Coket, probably both diminutives of Isaac in its Hebrew form. The women's names are less distinctively Biblical, Anna or Henna; Avigay (Abigail); Biket (diminutive of Rebecca); Cipora (Zippora); Ester; Lia (Leah), Miriam, and Sara, forming but a short list, contrasted with Alemandina, Alfeld, Antera, Belia (Belle), Beleasez, Chere, Clarice, Comitissa, Deucosa, Dona, Drua, Duzelina, Fleur de Liz, Fluria or Floria, Gentil, Joie, Julette, Margaret, Maria, Mirabilla, Muriel, Precieuse, Pulcelle, Rana (Reine), Regina, Riche, Slema. These names of Jewesses indicate the main source whence the list of Anglo-Jewish names was derived, Anglo-Norman French. Thus, among the men we find such first names as Amiot, Bonefei (Bonfoi), Bonevie, Bonenfaund (*bon enfant*), Hospitard, Justelin, Morel, Peitivin, Piers, Seignuret (dim. of *seigneur*), Ursel, Yvo, and Yvelin, not to mention the French translations of Hebrew names, like Deulebenie, Dieulacresse, Deusaie, Serfdeu, etc. English is indeed conspicuous by its absence in the list, except for Alfeld, among the ladies, and Jurnet (Jornet), among the men, if the latter be, as has been suggested, derived from "jornet," a jerkin or jacket, and so an appropriate *Kinnui* (vernacular form) of Jacob. Peter occurs in several cases, but this may be due to the Latin as well as to the English. One name is from the Greek, Kanonimos, evidently a mistake for Kalonymos (Hebrew, *Shemtob*), but this was probably derived from Germany, where it

was introduced by the well-known family of that name from Magna Græcia. Three of the first-names imply foreign origin, Flaming, Lombard, Peitevin (Poitou). I may conclude what I have to say on the "Christian" names of the English Jews by drawing up a list of those about which I know not what to say for their peculiarity, Benleveng, Calamod, Cassi, Chermin, Eligai, Eudon, Hanechin, Janem, Jagunce, Mahy, Makar, Marteri, Melin, Meus, Pipili, Potelin, Santo. Brun is almost the only descriptive first name, though one would have thought most Jews of that date were "brun."

More information is to be gained or conjectured from the surnames. The majority of these, indeed, give rather the place of domicile of their bearers; Abraham de Bungay, Dieulacresse de Wallingford, and so on. Some, again, are merely distinguishing epithets, as Isaac Senex of Cambridge, as distinguished from Isaac Juvenis of the same town. Other descriptive titles read strangely in their Latin forms: Mosse cum Naso (probably "Nosey Moses"), Deudone cum pedibus tortis (? "Bandy Deudone"), Manasser Grassus ("Fat Manasser," cf. "Isaac le Gros"), Benedict Lengus ("Long Benedict"). Some surnames refer to office; several have the title Bishop, two that of Presbyter, the exact meaning of which will concern us later. One, Isaac of London, is called Medicus, two at Bristol are called Furmager, probably a corruption of "fermager," or ferm agent, a collector of taxes. Hebrew officials are also in evidence; there is an Abraham and a Benedict Pernas (Warden) of Lincoln, an Abraham Gabbai (Treasurer of Congregations) at Bristol. Two men have the addition of Puncteur, or Pointur, which I identify with Nakdan. One of these I identify with Berachyah Nakdan, the other with Samuel Nakdan, the author of an important grammatical treatise now at Berlin. Several Scriptors occur, probably *Sopherim*. There still remain several true surnames; Barlibrod, Carini, Blund, Bressus, Crespin, Curj, Gaudi, Kiterel, Levi, Malmerri, Merdenhostel, Multrun, Quatre-

buches, of which Barlibrod and Kiterel, and perhaps some of the others, are English.

THE JEWISH BISHOPS.—There are ten persons in the list who have the curious title of Bishop, four in London (Deodatus, 1168-78, Abraham, Deulesalt, Vives, 1194), three in Lincoln (Josce, Samson and Judas), one at Exeter (Deulecresse), one at Nottingham (Samuel), one at Bristol (Isaac), and one at Winchester (Solomon), and to these we may add a Samuel le Prester at Norwich, and Jacob, Presbyter of London and of all England. What exactly were these Bishops and Priests of the Jews? The clue, I think, is given by the fact that there are three of them in the two most important centres of the English Jewry, London and Lincoln.¹ We know from John's Confirmation of the Jewish Charters (*supra* Assize, § 32), that the English Jews had right to jurisdiction among themselves, a right which was granted them, I conjecture, by Henry II. (Robertson, *Mat. Thom. Becket*, iv. 148). On one occasion it is mentioned that a question whether a Jew might take usury from a Jew, was to be decided by a chapter of the Jews (*capitulum Judæorum*.) Such jurisdiction would be administered by the three *Dayanim* or judges, who, even to this day are the ecclesiastical assessors in all Jewish courts. It is only natural to connect the three *Episcopi* with the three *Dayanim* and interpret *Episcopus* as ecclesiastical supervisor. These were the "peers of the Jews," before whom trials were held (*supra* Assize § 22.) I can guess whence the title came. There was clearly intimate relation between the English Jews of the early twelfth century and the Jews of the Rhine Provinces. There we find the title "*Episcopus Judæorum*," especially at Cologne (Honiger, *Judenschreins-Buch* (1888), Nos. 83, 232, 234, and *pass*). There, however, it was used mostly to express the *Parnas*, or president of the congregation, and only one *Episcopus* occurs at the time. Now

¹ There were only three at London 1220, 1227 and at Lincoln in 1240. See my "London Jewry" in *Papere Anglo-Jewish Exhibition*, p. 48.

in England we find three simultaneous *Episcopi*, who could not all be wardens, while both at Bristol and Lincoln we find Jews with the title *Pernaz*, or warden, who were not "*Episcopi*." The constitution of the congregation seems to have been a warden (*Pernaz*); a treasurer (*Gabbar*)—these for synagogue and financial matters; three *Dayanim*, for ecclesiastical jurisdiction, forming a chapter of the Jews (*capitulum Judæorum*); a rector of the High School, with teachers under him (*magister puerorum*); and scribes (*Scriptores*) or cyrographers, for writing deeds; while the "*Ordinances of the Jewry*" mention two "*lawyers that are Jews*," to supervise contracts between Jews and Christians. The presbyter, or prestre, would then be the *Ab-beth-din*, or head of the assembly.

That the title, "*Bishop*," was familiar among the ordinary Englishmen of the time, is shown as early as 1168, when a bishop of the Jews entered St. Paul's, while some bishops of the Christians were deciding ecclesiastical cases. "*Receive also this bishop among you*," called out a wit among the crowd; "*he alone of all the bishops has not betrayed the archbishop*," i.e., Thomas Becket (*Robertson Materials*).

To sum up. The title "*Bishop*" comes from Germany, where it meant "*warden*," and was applied in England, about 1164, to represent the three *Dayanim*, who had the right by English law to adjudicate on cases between Jews.

ANGLO-JEWISH LITERATURE IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY.
—The English Jewry was the child of the French Jewry, and followed it at first in its literary pursuits. Yet after a time an independent school, I conjecture, arose in England, which towards the end of the twelfth century eclipsed all the schools of North Europe in importance. This supremacy was due, in my opinion, to the predominant position taken by England at the head of the Angevin Empire, which included all the West of France, as well as to the expulsion of the Jews from France between the

years 1182 and 1198. With the loss of Normandy in 1206, this hegemony of the English Jewry ceased. In making this assertion I am relying on several identifications I have made of Rabbis mentioned in the *Tosaphoth*, etc., with those named in the English records. Much depends here on the answer to a question which I have discussed elsewhere ("Was Sir Leon ever in London?" *Jew. Chron.*, Jan. 25th, 1889), but I have seen no cause to doubt the cogency of the reasons which led me to find an English domicile for Abraham ben Joseph, Elchanan ben Isaac, Joseph Bechor Shor, and Sir Leon of Paris. Still less have I seen reason to doubt my identification of Berachyah Nakdan with Benedict le Puncteur of Oxford, especially after Dr. Neubauer's discovery of references to England in the original preface of the *Mishle Shualim*.

I may draw up the following list of Jews writing in England in the twelfth century, placing after their names the record names of those whom I have identified with the various writers:—

- (1.) Aaron of Canterbury (*Minhat Jehuda*, Deut. xxvi. 2), exegete.
- (2.) Abraham ben Jehuda (Abraham fil Jude de Parisiis), a Tosaphist (Zunz, *Zur Gesch.*, 48).
- (3.) Abraham ben Joseph of Orleans (Abraham fil Rabi Joce), a Tosaphist, and father-in-law of Sir Leon (12).
- (4.) Abraham ibn Ezra wrote his *Yesod Moreh* and *Sabbath Epistle* while in England in 1158.
- (5.) B-njamin of Canterbury (Magister Benjamin of Cambridge), author of some glosses on Joseph Kimchi's *Sepher Hagaluy* (ed. Matthews *pass*).
- (6.) Berachyah Nakdan (Benedict le Puncteur de Oxon), author of *Mishle Shualim* (a book of fables), a treatise on mineralogy, a translation of Adelard of Bath's *Questiones Naturales*, and a commentary on Job, nephew of R. B-njamin (5). One of the most important figures in mediæval Jewish literature.
- (7.) Chaim of Paris (Vives de Paris), a Tosaphist mentioned in Mordecai *Baba Kama* viii. 87, according to Kohn, *Mord.* 104.
- (8.) Elchanan ben Isaac (Deodatus Episcopus Judæorum), son-in-law of Sir Morell of England, and teacher of Sir Leon of Paris,

author of *Sad ha-Ibbur*, an astronomical work (*Minhat Jehuda*, Gen. xxi. 2), and of liturgical poetry (Zunz, *Syn. Poesie*, 249).

(9.) Elia the martyred of York, Tosaphist, pupil of Sir Morell (Zunz, *Zur Geschichte*, 49).

(10.) Isaac ben Yomtob of Joigny (Ysaac de Juueignj) Tosaphist (Zunz, *l. c.* 52; *Litges.* 286).

(11.) Jacob of Orleans, Tosaphist, exegete, murdered at London, 1189 (Ephraim of Bonn, *Martyrology*).

(12.) Jehuda ben Isaac of Paris "Sir Leon" (Leo le Blund) pupil of Elchanan (8), son-in-law of Abraham (3), the most distinguished Tosaphist between R. Tam and R. Meir of Rothenburg; he was trained in England, according to my hypothesis, 1182-98, when Jews were excluded from France.

(13.) Joseph ben Isaac (Josce fil Ysaac), a Tosaphist.

(14.) Joseph ben Jacob of Morel, for whom Abraham ibn Ezra (4) wrote his *Yesod Moreh*.

(15.) Joseph of Orleans (Rubigotsce, 31 Henry I., 1130) an important exegete and Tosaphist, also known as Joseph Bechor Shor. His commentary on the Pentateuch, was partly published by Jelinek. He was father of Abraham ben Joseph (3). He seems to have left England in Stephen's reign, and settled at Rouen (*Rot. Cart.*, 105b).

(16.) Menachem of London, also known as Elia Menachem, quoted by R. Moses ben Isaac (17) as having written a book with an anagrammatic title like his own, probably an exegetical work (Cf. Halberstamm, *Catalog*, p. 66).

(17.) Moses ben Isaac, author of *Leshon Lemudim* (in his youth) and the *Sepher Shoham*, both grammatical works. Part of the latter has been edited by Mr. Collins.

(18.) Moses ben Jacob (Mosse fil Jacob) referred to bringing a question before R. Menachem (16) *Hagahoth Ascheri*, Sanh. c. 5.

(19.) Moses ben Yomtob, Nakdan author of the *Darke Nikud* or Massoretic rules attached to most of the Rabbinic Bibles, and published separately by Friendsdorf. The attribution to Moses ben Yomtob rather than to Moses ben Isaac, I deduce from the colophon of the Berlin Codex. Besides Moses ben Isaac quotes Moses ben Yomtob as his master (ed. Collins, p. 37).

(20.) Samuel Nakdan (Samuel le Pointur de Bristowe), author of an important grammatical treatise in MS. at Berlin (Steinsch. *Cat.*, p. 100). He is quoted by Moses ben Isaac (16), and Benjamin of Cambridge (5) in his glosses.

(21.) Samuel ben Solomon, "Sir Morell of England" (Morell, Norwich), father-in-law of Elchanan (8) (Zunz, *Litges.*, 273), and teacher of Elia of York (Zunz, *Zur Gesch.*, 49), an important Tosaphist.

(22.) Samuel ben Elchanan (Samuel fil Deudone), a Tosaphist Zunz, *l.c.* 55).

(23.) Yomtob ben Isaac of Joigny, the inspirer of the heroic episode at York (Ephraim of Bonn, *Martyrology*), an important Tosaphist, and author of a hymn still recited on the Day of Atonement, with the refrain *סלחתי*.

(24.) Yomtob ben Moses of Bristol, author of a legal work, *Sepher Tanaim* (*supra* JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, III., 778).

Some of these¹ were merely visitors (4, 10, 11), others of no particular importance (1, 2, 3, 7, 9, 13, 14, 18, 22). But a dozen remain who would do credit to any period of Jewish literature. In particular the school of Massorites and Grammarians, formed by Benjamin of Cambridge, Moses ben Isaac, Moses ben Yomtob, and Samuel Nakdan, form quite a rival school to that of the Kimchi's, and Benjamin's glosses to Kimchi's *Sepher Galuy* show that the English grammarians could hold their own with the Provençals. Joseph Bechor Shor ("Rubigotsce" of the Pipe Roll, 31 Hen. I., *i.e.*, Rabbi Josce) only ranks second to Rashbam among the exegetes of his day, and Sir Leon of Paris ("Leo Blund" of the English records, 1186-98) was the most important Tosaphist of his day. Yomtob of York's artificial yet brilliant Atonement hymn is still the most familiar portion of the service of the day, while in the versatile productions of Berachyah Nakdan, or, as I would prefer to call him, Benedict le Puncteur, of Oxford, the English Jews of the twelfth century possessed a wit, an exegete, a translator, and Hebrew stylist, only equalled in the history of New Hebrew literature by the name of Alcharisi. My researches into Anglo-Jewish history would be amply rewarded if I have succeeded in reclaiming Berachyah Nakdan for his native land.

JOSEPH JACOBS.

¹ Before my researches only 4, 5, 9, 11, 23, were known to have been in England in the twelfth century.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Two Recent Introductions to the Old Testament.

"An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament," by S. R. Driver, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. *"Einleitung in das Alte Testament,"* by Carl Heinrich Cornill, Professor of Theology at the University of Königsberg.

I.

ALMOST simultaneously in England and Germany have appeared two important introductions to the Old Testament. It is a sign of the times that both these books should be members of a series. Dr. Driver's work is the first volume of a projected "International Theological Library," edited by Drs. Salmond of Aberdeen and Briggs of New York; Dr. Cornill's belongs to a "Grundriss der Theologischen Wissenschaften," undertaken by a number of German scholars including, among others, Drs. Harnack, Jülicher, and Stade. If the series fulfil the promise of these two volumes, they will prove valuable contributions to the science of Theology.

I would emphasize the word 'Science,' because, as these two works clearly indicate, the literary material, at least, with which theology has to do, is being rapidly systematised, and made to yield very definite results. For a long time it has been easy for Apology to oppose its united traditionalism to the temporary disagreement of rational inquiry, and to say somewhat scornfully, "How these critics of the Bible differ!" But the appearance at once of these two books, one from the hand of a Canon of Oxford, the other of a professor at Königsberg, (expressing entire concurrence as to nearly all the main points of Old Testament criticism,) both supported by the approval and co-operation of a large and eminent editorial staff, marks the beginning of a new era in the study of the Bible. How close their agreement is will appear in the following pages, and I need only mention now that it extends to such points as the composite nature of the Pentateuch, the histories (Joshua—Kings), and the books of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Micah, and Zechariah; the exilic authorship of Isaiah xl.-lxvi.; the exilic or post-exilic dates of the priestly narrative in the Pentateuch, and of Joel; the un-Davidic and mainly post-exilic

character of the Psalms ; the un-Solomonic authorship of the Proverbs, the Song, and Ecclesiastes ; the post-Jeremian date of Lamentations ; a late date for Job ; the romantic and "tendenz" character of Ruth, Jonah, Esther, and Daniel ; and the "Greek" date of the Chronicler.

As we might expect, the critical acumen predominates in the German, the literary appreciation in the Englishman. England did not discover nor solve the greater problems of the Old Testament, nor has she yet in her scholarship the atmosphere favourable for the solution of the many minor problems that remain (such for instance as the relative work of the Jahvist and the Elohist in Joshua—Kings). It is the fault of his nationality if Dr. Driver cannot claim to be an original critic.

Nor has he entirely escaped the spirit of Apology. He indeed says, in brave words that ought to be printed in gold, "*We must weigh the alternatives, and ask which is the more probable*" (p. 20) ; but he feels it necessary to add in his preface, "It is not the case that critical conclusions, such as those expressed in the present volume, are in conflict either with the Christian creeds, or with the articles of the Christian faith." Presuming that Dr. Driver means the creeds and articles of the Church of England Prayer Book, I not only cannot follow him, but am tempted to ask whether if they had, in his opinion, "conflicted" with "the creeds and articles" of his Church, he would have arrived at these "conclusions" ? Partly on account of his traditions, mainly on account of the public for which he writes, the air of the apologist still clings to a fine scholar, and shows itself repeatedly in an anxiety to satisfy the fears of orthodoxy ; as when, for instance, he makes the astonishing confession respecting the Book of Jonah (p. 308), "no doubt the outlines of the narrative are historical, and Jonah's preaching was actually successful at Nineveh" ! Surely Dr. Driver is laughing up his sleeve.

But this tenderness towards orthodoxy will only add to the profound impression Dr. Driver's book must make in this and other English speaking countries. *It cannot be answered.* And it means inevitably the beginning of the end of what has for so long passed as Scriptural knowledge in our colleges and schools.

Moreover, not only is there a peculiar and novel pleasure in reading in pure and simple English what we have had hitherto to spell out of crabbed German, but Dr. Driver's "Introduction" has for us a special beauty of its own. Criticism has not made him love his Bible less, but more. His work is full of loving touches of true literary appreciation. He says, for example, of the Jahvist (Wellhausen's "*Beste Erzähler in der ganzen Bibel*"), that "he excels in the power of delineating life and character. With a few strokes he paints a

scene which, before he has finished, is impressed indelibly upon his reader's memory. In ease and grace his narratives are unsurpassed. His dialogues especially are remarkable for the delicacy and truthfulness with which character and emotions find expression in them : who can ever forget the pathos and supreme beauty of Judah's intercession?" (p. 112). Comparing the style of Isaiah with that of the writer of Is. xl.-lxvi. he says, "Force is the predominant feature of Isaiah's oratory ; persuasion sits upon the lips of the prophet who here speaks : the music of his eloquence, as it rolls magnificently along, thrills and captivates the soul of its hearer." So, again, "if the most conspicuous characteristic of Isaiah's imagination be grandeur, that of the prophet to whom we are here listening is pathos" (p. 227). He says of Jeremiah : "The tragic pathos of Jeremiah's life is reflected in his book. And as the thoughts of an emotional spirit resent all artificial restraint, so Jeremiah's style is essentially artless. His prophecies have neither the artistic finish of those of Amos or Isaiah, nor the laboured completeness of Ezekiel's" (p. 256). He remarks justly of Ezekiel : "He has imagination, but not poetical talent" (p. 278) ; and of Nahum : "Nahum's poetry is fine. Of all the prophets he is the one who in dignity and force approaches most nearly to Isaiah : there is no trace of that prolixity of style which becomes soon afterwards a characteristic of the prophets of the Chaldean period" (p. 315).

Dr. Driver begins with a sketch of the growth of the Old Testament canon according to the Jews. He says : "The Jews possess no *tradition* worthy of real credence or regard, but only vague and uncertain reminiscences, intermingled often with idle speculations." The threefold division of the Scriptures into Law, Prophets, and "Hagiographa," is mentioned in the preface of "Jesus of Sirach," c. B.C. 130, and may have existed earlier. The letters in the opening of 2 Maccabees, purporting to be written B.C. 144, stating that Nehemiah "founded a library, and gathered together the things concerning the kings and prophets, and the writings of David and letters of kings," are both "spurious and untrustworthy." Similarly, "The Fourth Book of Ezra," c. A.D. 100, which states that Ezra rewrote the twenty-four books of the Bible, after they were burnt, by a divine material revelation, is "a legend unworthy of credit." The famous passage in the Talmud, Bâba Bâthra, 14*b*, as to the authorship of the different books, "is manifestly destitute of historical value." "The age and authorship," he says, "of the books of the Old Testament can be determined (so far as this is possible) only upon the basis of the internal evidence supplied by the books themselves, by methods such as those followed in the present volume : no external evidence worthy of credit exists."

Dr. Cornill treats this subject more concisely, with similar conclusions, at the end of his book. He approves of Buhl's opinion that the Scriptures, as a whole, were first used as canonical, in the technical sense of a sufficient and right rule of faith and conduct, by the Christian Fathers in the fourth century. The earliest appearance of anything like canonicity is in connection with the proclamation of Deuteronomy (2 Kings xxiii. 1—7). The Law, as a whole, was the first to become canonical (B.C. 621—444). The statement in 2 Maccabees ii. 13 has this amount of truth in it, that, after Ezra and Nehemiah, no book was taken up into the Scriptures which did not bear an earlier name. After the Law, the Prophets as a whole (B.C. 275—250), and then the Hagiographa as a whole (c. B.C. 100) gained canonicity, though single books were questioned. As late as A.D. 90 The Song, Ecclesiastes, Esther, Proverbs, Ruth, and even Ezekiel were considered by many doubtful. The names and orders of the different books varied greatly. The Book of Numbers was known by three several titles; Lamentations by two. The Talmud gave the number of books as twenty-four; Josephus and the Fathers reduced them to twenty-two, to bring them to the number of the letters in the Hebrew alphabet. Jerome, by splitting Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, and Ezra each into two, and separating Lamentations from Jeremiah, increased the number to twenty-seven, to include also the final letters, ך ם ן ף and ץ !

Dr. Cornill adds, what is a serious omission from Dr. Driver's book, an outline of the history of the text. Earlier, in § 4, he discusses the age of writing among the Hebrews, and says, "on the ground of documentary evidence in the papyrus of Anastasis III., that an active and regular official correspondence existed between Egypt and Palestine and Phœnicia in the time of Pharaoh Merenptah, the evermore probable Pharaoh of the Exodus, it would be rash to deny to Moses a knowledge of writing." David had his recorder and scribe (2 Sam. xx. 24 f.) and could write himself (2 Sam. xi. 14 f.). That reading and writing were general at a comparatively early date appears from Jud. viii. 14; and the cursive character of the inscription on the Mesha stone, erected about 125 years after David's death, implies an already advanced development of the art of writing. The Hebrew tradition, says Dr. Cornill, that the present "Quadrat" style is not the ancient Hebrew or Semitic writing is correct, but not that it was introduced by Ezra from Babylonia. Later, the Samaritan Pentateuch is still written in old Hebraic character. The "Quadrat," which is closely akin to the "Palmyrenic Egyptian-Aramaic cursive writing, was certainly, however, in use in the time of Jesus (Matt. v. 18) and can be traced as far back as the Persian period. The two styles are

mixed in the inscription of Arak el Emir of B.C. 176; and the writing is almost quite "Quadrat" on the so-called "Grave of Jacob" in Jerusalem, c. B.C. 100. The ancient Hebrew writing on the Shiloah and Mesha inscriptions is an old Semitic cursive style akin to the Phœnician, without stops or vowels. The "matres lectionis" partly supplied the defect of the latter, but were scantily used, becoming, however, more general as the language ceased to live, though still forbidden in the Talmud as untraditional. Jerome complains of the varied meanings of Hebrew words in a way which clearly proves that the present vowels were not in use in writing in his day. But in the oldest Hebrew MS., A.D. 916 the vowels are included, and must have come into use during the 7th, 8th, and 9th centuries of our era. The agreement among all existing MSS. of the Hebrew texts is so remarkable that they must have all come from a single copy or archetype. The wide divergences of the Septuagint and Targumim from the Hebrew, and the very close agreement with it on the other hand, of the later Greek translations of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus, and Jerome's Latin translation, together point to the turn of the first and second centuries as the date of this archetype—a date confirmed by the history of the Jews after the destruction of Jerusalem, and by the old Arabian tradition that all codicēs of the Old Testament were copies of one saved from Bithter, where Rabbi Akiba was martyred. The consonant text therefore of this "received" or "Massoretic" Hebrew may have come from Hadrian's reign, and with it the *vocalisation* afterwards adopted in *writing*.

What, now, is the relation of this "received" or "Massoretic" text to the original Hebrew? In the centuries before Hadrian the text was not preserved with the same "aklavischen Treue" (would it had been!) as after, as a study of parallel passages in the Old Testament abundantly proves, but underwent modifications partly accidental, such as omissions, mis-readings, and errors necessarily consequent in a change of writing, and partly intentional on literary and theological grounds. Hence, for getting nearer the original text the value of comparison of the "Massoretic" with the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Septuagint versions, which are both independent of the "Massoretic"; the one, in ancient Hebrew writing, from the time of the adoption of the Pentateuch by the Samaritans in the fourth century B.C.; the other a Greek translation made in Alexandria. The former alone differs from the "Massoretic" in about 6,000 instances; whilst the wide divergence from it of the latter, in use among the early Christians, led to controversy between the churches and the synagogues, and to new translations in Greek of the "Massoretic" by Aquila (c. A.D. 133-166, very literal),

Theodotion (somewhat later, an attempt to bring the Septuagint into agreement with the "Massoretic"), and Symmachus (comparatively unknown in Origen's time: a free rendering). Also independent of the "Massoretic" are the Aramaic translations of the Hebrew, or Targumim, made for use in the synagogues as Hebrew became a dead tongue. Less valuable, and of Christian origin, but perhaps independent of the "Massoretic," is the Peshito, or old Syrian version. The old Latin, Coptic, Æthiopian, Gothic, and Armenian versions, of dates varying from the second to the fifth centuries, are translations of the Septuagint, whilst Jerome's Latin translation is of the "Massoretic" (A.D. 392-405).

This chapter is one of the most valuable in Dr. Cornill's book, and it is to be regretted that Dr. Driver has not found space to deal, even briefly, with the same important subject. Perhaps in a future edition, unless the subject is to receive special treatment in the *International Theological Library*, he might do so. It would strongly fortify his main critical position. It should, however, be remembered that Dr. Driver has ably discussed a great part of this subject in the introduction to his edition of Samuel. Dr. Cornill also gives, what are less inexcusably absent from Dr. Driver's book, sketches of the history of Old Testament criticism and of the history of the Pentateuchal analysis. Both are excellent, but hardly wanted in an introduction of this kind.

By the way, it is melancholy to note that in the long list of scholars mentioned in these historical surveys the names of only two Englishmen appear—Hobbes and Geddes! But surely Colenso's work might have been recognised.

In their conclusions as to the Pentateuch our authors are practically at one, differing only in detail. They agree that it is composed of a Prophetic History Book, JE (compiled about B.C. 650, Cornill; Driver less correctly, "approximately in the eighth century B.C."), of "Deuteronomy," D (written immediately before B.C. 621, Cornill; Driver, less correctly, in the reign of Manasseh," therefore before B.C. 639), of a Book of Holiness, H (immediately after Ezekiel, Cornill; less correctly, immediately prior to him, Driver), and of a Priestly History Book, P (c. B.C. 500, in Babylonia, Cornill; Driver, less correctly, "in the period of the Babylonian captivity," therefore before B.C. 538). They also agree that the Prophetic History is made up of fragments of a Jahvistic narrative, J (of Judean authorship, before B.C. 750), and of an Elohistic narrative, E (of Ephraimite authorship, c. B.C. 750); that Deuteronomy (Hilkiah's Law-Book, originally consisting of xii.—xxvi., Cornill; of iv. 44.—xxvi., Driver) and the Priestly History Book have undergone expansion in successive editions.

Both authors give careful analyses (Cornill's are more minute) of these component documents, and whilst they necessarily differ as to J and E, there is little or no difference between them as to the limits of D, H, and P. Dr. Driver supplements his analyses with carefully compiled lists of linguistic peculiarities, and treats admirably of the style and spirit of each narrative.

An important point, however, is not touched upon by either author. While they minutely distinguish the different narratives and determine their respective dates, they never address themselves to the question, "How came three such parallel writings as J and E and P to be written?" Such a fact is a unique phenomenon in literature, and demands explanation. The literary dependence of E on J, and of P on J + E + D is proved. The same thread runs through them: Creation, antediluvians, Flood, list of nations, patriarchs, Moses, Exodus, legislation, arrival in Canaan. Gen. xx.—xxi., E, is dependent on Gen. xxvi., J; xxvii. 21—24, E, on xxvii. 25—27; xxviii. 11^b, 12, E, on xxviii. 13, J; xxx. 8^b, E, on xxx. 8^a, J; xxx. 18^a on xxx. 16^b; Ex. i. 15, 16, E, on Ex. i. 22; Ex. iii. 9, E, on Ex. iii. 7, etc., etc. And "Adam," Gen. v. 1 ff., P, is dependent on "Ha-adam," ii. 4^b—iv., J; the corrupt earth, vi. 11, P, after the perfect work, i.—ii. 4^a; and the blameless pedigree, v., om. 29, implies a knowledge of Jahveh's displeasure in ii. 4^b—iv., J; the ten-membered list in v., P, is made up of the seven-membered list in iv. 16—24, and a second list, of which iv. 25 f., v. 29, are fragments, J; the 777 of v. 31 shows acquaintance with iv. 23; in xix. 29, P, the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah is expressly assumed; xxxiv. 8—10, P, is dependent on xxxiv. 11—12; Ex. vi. 2—5, P, on Ex. iii. 14—15, E; Num. xx. 2—13, P, on Ex. xvii. 1^b, 2^a, 5, 6, 7^b, E, etc., etc.

But the dependence is of such a kind that I think it is unmistakeable that P was written to supersede J E, and E to supersede J. E and P differ from J in being written "uno tenore" throughout, each the work of a single hand; J is rather a compilation, a stringing together of very different elements, such as the Eden story on the one hand, and the story of Rebekah at the well on the other; such as the "Blessing of Jacob," wherein Judah is supreme, and the Joseph story, where Ephraim is supreme. E and P, moreover, are alike in their religious unity, each showing an interest in the use of the Divine names, and, more or less in E, very strongly and markedly in P, in religious institutions. I believe that E is a *re-writing* of J from a higher religious and slightly different political point of view, with the intent to supersede it, leaving out much that in J is crude and anthropomorphic. And that P was intended to supersede J E is obvious. In the Eden story, for instance—and we need not go further—child-bearing, industry, knowledge, civilisation are a *curse*;

in the story of the Six Days' Creation they are a *blessing*: "Elohim blessed man and said, Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it" (i. 28). In the former it is robbery for man to strive to be like God (iii. 5, 22—24; xi. 6—9); whereas in the latter it is his natural duty and privilege: "Elohim created man in his own image, in the image of Elohim created he him" (i. 27). Such contrast, here and elsewhere, is not accidental, but intentional. E, therefore, was written by a prophet to supersede J, but failed to take its place in the affections of the people. P was written to supersede J E, by a priest, and more miserably failed. J E and J E D P are both the results of compromise.

Coming now to detail, I venture to join issue with Dr. Cornill in his treatment of the opening sections of the Jahvistic narrative. That the Eden story is independent of the story of the Flood is generally recognised. Also that it contains Hebrew elements, such as iv. 2^b—16^a (Cain and Abel), iv. 23, 24 (Lamech's sword-song), and ix. 25—27 (Noah's curse on Canaan). But to speak of it as an "echt hebräische Ueberlieferung" is surely incorrect. The Eden story is unmistakably of Chaldean origin. The sacred garden and divine abode, iii. 8; the trees of knowledge and immortality, the sacred river, the serpent or dragon, the cherubim, the flaming sword, the plain of Shinar and its brick, Babel and its tower—the centre of man's dispersion—are not Hebrew, but Chaldean elements. Conclusive is the *pessimistic* view of civilisation, without a parallel in early Hebrew thought: knowledge the root of all evil—(1) the loss of innocence, iii. 7; (2) the need of clothes, 7, 21; (3) family life and population, 16; (4) the necessity of labour, (a) agriculture 17 ff.; (b) habitation, iv. 16 f.; (c) cattle-breeding, 20; then (5) pastoral music, 21; (6) arts and crafts and weapons, 22; (7) brick-burning, architecture, great cities, and foreign tongues, xi. 1—9; (8) vine-planting, drunkenness, and the dishonour of parents, ix. 20—22. The peculiar phenomena of the opening sections of the Jahvistic narrative seem best explained by supposing that the Jahvistic author had before him Hebrew and Monotheistic versions of *two* ancient and independent polytheistic (the old polytheism still peeps through, iii. 1, 5, 22; vi. 2; xi. 7) myths—one of the first beginnings of humanity; the other of the world's destruction by a flood, which he largely re-wrote (cf. vi. 5—7 with iii. 22—24; vii. 22, with ii. 7; viii. 21, with iii. 8 ff., 22 f.; vi. 3; xi. 5 ff.; and note "rain," ii. 5; vii. 4; "face of the ground," ii. 6, 9; 19 ff.; iii. 17, 19; iv. 14; vi. 7; vii. 4, 23; viii. 8; "make," ii. 4^b, 18; vi. 6 f.), and wove into a single narrative by means of a Hebrew story of Cain and Abel, and a second and pious list of Noah's ancestors, iv. 25 f. . . . v. 29, . . . made up from the list in iv. 16^b—

24; and concluded with another Hebrew fragment, ix. 25—27. The discovery of the Chaldean original of the Eden story in the Assyrian tablets is probably only a question of time. See already the cylinder picture of Adam and Eve (?) in the British Museum. The hypothesis of different editions of J (J¹ J² J³ etc.) seems to me to rest on very slender evidence. The Iahvistic narrative is *not*, in its very nature, the work of one hand, like E or P, but a compilation: a stringing together of old materials of very different date and authorship into a connected story. The Eden and Flood stories point to early contact with Chaldea, probably through the Canaanites. Lamech's sword-song and Noah's curse on Canaan also probably date from the Canaanite period. The patriarchal stories grew into their Iahvistic shape during the Ephraimitic supremacy between Jeroboam I. and Jeroboam II. (the evident pride of the Iahvistic narrator in his beautiful version of the Joseph story, by the bye, seems to me to prove conclusively that the Iahvist was an Ephraimite: against both Dr. Cornill and Dr. Driver). And the Blessing of Jacob (omitting the interpolation xlix. 24^b—26: see my note in last number of Stade's *Zeitschrift für Alt. Test. Wissenschaft*, pp. 262 ff., where I have tried to show that these verses have been interpolated into the Judean poem from the Ephraimitic "Blessing of Moses," Deut. xxxiii., thereby destroying its *unity*: against Drs. Cornill and Driver, who adopt the old opinion that the "Blessing of Jacob" is a collection of different local verses) belongs to the reign of David. Such editorial matter as Gen. iv. 11—14; vi. 4; xii. 9; xiii. 1, 3, 4; xviii. 17, 22^b—33^a (and the concealing of Iahveh behind "three angels" in this and following chapter: see article in current number of Stade's *Zeitschr.*), xxii. 2, "Moriah," instead of "Amorite," 20—24; xxv. 1—6; xxvi. 2—5, etc., do not require an earlier hand than J E.

I venture to differ from both our authors respecting Genesis xv. and xxxviii. There seems to me to be no place for either of these chapters in J. Chap. xv. is certainly composite, but is not made up of material from J or E. Rather it is an editorial, R¹, story, worked over by the priestly redactor R². Chap. xxxviii. is *not* Iahvistic. It differs from the Iahvist's work like calico from silk. It is akin in didactic purpose to the priestly narrative, but is excluded from it on linguistic grounds. It deals, like the story of Ruth (which contains a reference to this chapter in iv. 12), but in a very different spirit, with the Levirate law, as Jud. xix. (with which for its isolated and offensive character it may be compared) deals with the subject of concubinage; and for this end Er and Onan are conveniently and summarily disposed of, 7, 10. As Jud. xix. is more or less based on Gen. xviii., xix., so Gen. xxxviii. is dependent on Gen. xxv. 24—26. Hence the

Iahvistic expressions ("Iahveh," 7, 10; "conceived and bare, and called his name," 3, 4, 5, cf. iv. 1, 25, xxix. 32ff). Cf. the priestly expressions in Gen. xiv. Tamar is a recollection of Absalom's sister, 2 Sam. xiii. Gen. xlv. 12, cf. Num. xxvi. 19-22, is editorial.

Dr. Cornill gives penetrating analyses of Gen. xxvii. (unanalysed by Dr. Driver), and xxxvii. (less carefully by Dr. Driver). Concerning the former, how can Dr. Cornill split the beautiful verses 27^b, 28? Cf. the conjunction in Iahvistic poetry of "Iahveh" and "Elohim" in Gen. ix. 25ff. With regard to the latter: surely 15-17^a are editorial to explain Joseph's presence both at Shechem, 13^a, 14^b, J, and Dothan, 17^b, E. Our authors are almost entirely at one in their analysis of the difficult chapter xxxiv. Dr. Driver, I think, is more correct in dividing it between J and P, than Dr. Cornill, who divides it between J and E: note, "which she bare unto Jacob," 1, cf. xvi. 15, 16, xxv. 12; "prince," 2, cf. xvii. 20; xxv. 16; "get possessions," 10, cf. xvii. 8 etc.; "every male," 15, 22, 24, 25, cf. xvii. 10, 12; "substance," 23, cf. xxxi. 18, etc.; cf. 8-10, 14-18 with xxiii. 7-9, 13-15; 20, 24 with xxiii. 10, 18; מִן, 10, cf. xxiii. 4, 9, 20; סָדַר, 10, cf. xxiii. 16. There is no evidence that Shechem in the P story did more than fall in love with Dinah; 13^b, 27^b are editorial.

Our authors differ somewhat in their analysis of Exodus ix. 13-35. Dr. Driver assigns ix. 13-21, 23^b-34, to J; ix. 22, 23^a, 24^a, 35 to E. Dr. Cornill, ix. 13-21, 23^b, 24 (in part) 25^a, 26, 27 (in part) 28-30, 33 to J; ix. 22-23^a, 24^b, 31, 32, 35 to E. I venture to restore J thus: "13^a And Iahveh said unto Mosheh, 'Rise up early in the morning, and stand before Pharaoh, and say unto him, Thus saith Iahveh, the God of the Hebrews, Let my people go, that they may serve me. 13^b Behold, tomorrow about this time I will cause it to rain a very grievous hail, such as hath not been in Mizraim since the day it was founded even until now.' 13^c And Iahveh rained hail upon the land of Mizraim; 14 and the hail was very grievous, such as had not been in all the land of Mizraim since it became a nation. 15 Only in the land of Goshen, where were the sons of Israel, was there no hail. 16 And Pharaoh sent and called for Mosheh and said unto him, 17 'Intreat Iahveh; for there hath been enough hail; and I will let you go, and ye shall stay no longer.' 18 And Mosheh said unto him, 'As soon as I am gone out of the city, I will spread abroad my hands unto Iahveh.' 19 And Mosheh went out of the city from Pharaoh, and spread abroad his hands unto Iahveh; and the hail ceased. 20 But when Pharaoh saw that the hail was ceased, he made his heart stubborn, 21 and did not let the sons of Israel go." And the following I would give to P: "22 And Iahveh said unto Mosheh, 'Stretch forth thine hand toward the heavens, that there may be hail in all the land of Mizraim, upon man and upon beast, and upon every herb of the field, throughout the

land of Mizraim.' ^{23a} And Mosheh stretched forth his rod towards the heavens; and Iahveh sent thunders and hail, and fire ran down unto the earth. ²³ And the hail smote throughout all the land of Mizraim all that was in the field, both man and beast; and the hail smote every herb of the field, and brake every tree of the field. ^{23ac} But the heart of Pharaoh was stiffened [and he hearkened not unto them], as Jahveh had spoken." The remainder is editorial. This latter narrative is P, not E. Cf. ix. 22, with 8: "toward the heavens;" and note that *Mosheh* acts similarly in 10. Observe, "upon man and upon beast," 22, 25, cf. 9, 10, viii. 17, 18; "throughout the land of Mizraim," 22, 25, cf. 9, viii. 16, 17: "stiffened," 35^a, cf. 12.

Again. Dr. Driver assigns x. 13^b, 14^b—13, 28, 29; xi. 4—8; xii. 29, 30, to J: x. 12—13^a, 14^a, 20—27; xi. 1—3, 9, 10, to E. Dr. Cornill, x. 12—13^a, 14^a, 15^b, 20—27; xi. 1—3, to E: the rest of x., xi. 4—8; xii. 29, 30, to J: and xi. 9, 10, to P. I would restore J as follows: x. ^{13b} "And Iahveh brought an east wind upon the land all that day, and all the night; and when it was morning, the east wind brought the locusts. ^{14b} And they rested in all the borders of Mizraim; very grievous were they; before them there were no such locusts as they, neither after them shall be such. ^{15a} And they covered the face of the whole land, so that the land was darkened. ¹⁶ And Pharaoh made haste to call for Mosheh, and he said, ^{17b} 'Entreat Iahveh, your God, that he may take away from me this death only.' ¹⁸ And he went out from Pharaoh and entreated Iahveh. ¹⁹ And Iahveh turned an exceeding strong west wind which took up the locusts, and drove them into the sea of Rushes; there remained not one locust in all the border of Mizraim. [But Pharaoh made stubborn his heart], ^{20b} and did not let the sons of Israel go. ^{21. 1} And Iahveh said unto Mosheh, 'Yet one plague more will I bring upon Pharaoh, and upon Mizraim; afterwards he will let you go hence. [And] when he shall let you go, he shall surely thrust you out hence altogether. [Go in unto Pharaoh, and say unto him], 'Thus saith Iahveh, About midnight will I go out into the midst of Mizraim; ² and all the firstborn in the land of Mizraim shall die, from the firstborn of Pharaoh that sitteth upon his throne, even unto the firstborn of the slave-girl that is behind the mill; and all the firstborn of cattle. ³ And there shall be a great cry throughout all the land of Mizraim, such as there hath not been like it, nor shall be any more.' ⁴ And Pharaoh [spake] unto Mosheh, and said, 'Go ye, serve Iahveh; only let your flocks and your herds be stayed; let your little ones also go with you.' ⁵ And Mosheh said, 'Our cattle also shall go with us; there shall not an hoof be left behind; for thereof must we take to serve Iahveh our God.' ⁶ ^{21. 2b} Now the man Mosheh was very great in the land of Mizraim in the eyes of Pharaoh's servants, and in the

eyes of the people; and Pharaoh said unto him, 'Get thee from me, take heed to thyself, see my face no more; for in the day thou seest my face thou shalt die.' ²⁰ And Mosheh said, 'Thou hast spoken well; I will see thy face again no more.' ^{21.} ^{2b} And he went out from Pharaoh in hot anger. ²² And it came to pass at midnight that Iahveh smote all the firstborn in the land of Mizraim."

And I would give to P: "^x ^{12a} And Iahveh said unto Mosheh, 'Stretch out thine hand over the land of Mizraim for the locusts, that they may come up upon the land of Mizraim, and eat every herb of the land, even all that the hail hath left.' ^{13a} And Mosheh stretched forth his rod over the land of Mizraim, ^{14a} and the locusts went up over all the land of Mizraim, ^{15b} and they did eat every herb of the land, and all the fruit of the trees which the hail had left; and there remained not any green thing, either tree or herb of the field through all the land of Mizraim. ^{20a} But Iahveh stiffened the heart of Pharaoh, . . . ²¹ And Iahveh said unto Mosheh, Stretch out thine hand towards the heavens, that there may be darkness over the land of Mizraim, even darkness which may be touched. ²² And Mosheh stretched forth his hand towards the heavens; and there was a thick darkness in all the land of Mizraim for three days; ²³ they saw not one another, neither rose any from his place for three days; but all the sons of Israel had light in their dwellings. ²⁷ But Iahveh stiffened Pharaoh's heart . . . ^{21.} ⁹ And Jahveh said unto Mosheh, 'Pharaoh will not hearken unto you; that my wonders may be multiplied in the land of Mizraim. And Mosheh and Aharon did all these wonders before Pharaoh; but Iahveh stiffened Pharaoh's heart, and he did not let the sons of Israel go out of his land.'" The remainder is editorial.

If the above passages are correctly given to P, there is no real evidence that the Elohist, except in iii. 15, and xx. 1, uses the name "Iahveh" in the Pentateuch. Distinct instances to the contrary are, iv. 20^b; xiii. 17—19; xix. 2^b, 19; xx. 18—21; xx. 1; xxiv. 13^b; xxi. 6, 13; xxii. 7, 8; xxxii. 16; xviii. 5, 12, 15, 16, 19, 21, 23. It is hardly reasonable that a writer who is so careful in the use of the divine name, "Elohim," before iii. 15, should use it after that *indiscriminately* with "Iahveh." I would, therefore, assign xv. 20 (om. "the sister of Aharon"), 24^a; xvii. 3, 2^b, 7^{ac} (place named "Massah," "tempting," 2^b, 7^{ac}, not "Meribah," "striving," 2^a, 7^b), and Num. x. 29 (om. "Chobab, the son of") 30, 33, 35, 36, 34 (the parallel to Ex. xviii.), and other passages often assigned to E, to J. Dr. Cornill is surely right in giving "das Bundesbuch," Ex. xxi.—xxiv. (which, I think, originally consisted of only xxi. 1—13^a . . . 15 . . . 17, 16, 18—23^a . . . 26—xxii. 16, 18; xxiv. 18^b: notice the formula, "If a man . . . then . . .", which restore in xxi. 2, and xxii. 18; and read "Elohim" in

xxii. 10, with LXX. ; insert xxiv. 12, 13^a, 14, 13^b, between xx. 17^a and xxi. 1, reading "Elohim" in xxiv. 12) to E; but is he correct in adopting Kuenen's suggestion that it originally was given to Moses, not at Mount Sinai, but at the point of entrance into Canaan, like Deuteronomy, and, therefore, stood later in the narrative? One fact seems fatal to this otherwise plausible conjecture; namely, that the scene of xviii., which must have *followed* the "Bundesbuch" (16, "I make them know the statutes of Elohim, and his laws"; 20, "Thou shalt teach them the statutes and the laws") is laid still in the wilderness. xviii. 1^b ("how that Jahveh had brought Israel out of Mizraim"), 2^b ("after he had sent her away"), 8—11 is editorial.

Driver contributes nothing to the analysis of the difficult chaps. Num. xxii. 2—xxiv., but Cornill assigns xxii. 3^a, 4, 5 (in pt.), 11 (in pt.), 22—34, 39, xxiv. (in the main) to J. I would suggest that xxii. 3^a, 4 (om. "elders of Midian"), 5 (ex. "to Pethor, which is by the River," possibly a fragment of E; read "Ammon" with LXX. ; "cover the eye of the land," cf. Ex. x. 5, 15 J), 6, 7 (om. "and the elders of Midian"), 11 (cf. 5), 17 (om. "for"), 18 (the answer to 11, 17), 22 (directly contradicts 20), 23—27^a, 31—34 (Balaam returns home), 37 (Balak goes in person after him, cf. 17), 39 (continues 37), xxiv. 2 (continues xxii. 39), 5—7, 8^b, 10 (om. "these three times"), 11 (cf. xxii. 17, 37), 12, 13 (cf. xxii. 18), 14, 17—19; and xxii. 2, 3^b, 8 ("princes" not "elders," 7; read "Elohim"), 9 (cf. Gen. xx. 3, xxxi. 24, E), 10, 12 (answer to 10), 13 ("princes;" read "Elohim" with LXX.), 14—16 ("princes"), 19 (cf. 8), 20, 21 (cf. Gen. xxii. 3), 36, 38, 41, xxiii. 1—3 (read "Elohim" with LXX.), 4, 5 (read "Elohim" with LXX.), 6—10, 11, 12 (read "Elohim" with LXX.), 13—17 ("princes," read "Elohim" with the LXX.), 18, 19, 20 ("men," cf. 10), 21, 22 (*God*, not *David*, the king in Israel, cf. xxiv. 17, ff.), 24, 25, 26 (read "Elohim" with the LXX.), make two parallel Balaam stories from J and E respectively. Editorial, therefore, are 28—30 (I cannot believe the Jahvist wrote anything so silly: the mythological serpent in Gen. iii. is no parallel), 35, 40 ("sent" fits ill with 36 or 37), xxiii. 23 (interrupts 22, 24), 27—xxiv. 1, 3, 4 ("El Shaddai" very suspicious), 8^a (cf. xxiii. 22), 9^a (cf. Gen. xlix. 9), 9^b (cf. Gen. xxvii. 29), 15, 16 (cf. 3, 4), 20—24, and probably the "angel" in xxii. 22—27, 31—34. Cornill surely rightly follows Budde in tracing J and E in the historical books, Judges—Kings; but how far Budde's analysis is trustworthy is another matter. The question is too large to deal with here, but that the Prophetic sources of the Hexateuch are also among the sources of these histories is not only *a priori* most probable, but incontestably proved by such passages, among many others, as Jud. vi. 36—40 (E: note "Elohim;" "rose up early in the morning"), vii. 13—15^a (E: "Elo-

him ;" "the dream" and its interpretation, cf. Gen. xxxvii. 5, 9; xl. 5 ff.; xli.), 1 Sam. iii. 4—10 (E: "Samuel... Here am I," cf. Gen. xxii. 7, 11; xxvii. 1^b, xxxvii. 13, xlvi. 2 f.; Ex. iii. 4); 1 Sam. xxv. (J: "find favour in the eyes of," 8; with 2 cf. Gen. xiii. 2, 5; with 18 cf. Gen. xliii. 11; with 23 cf. xxiv. 64; with 32 cf. Gen. xxiv. 27; with 35 cf. Gen. iv. 7, xxxii. 20; and note the fine descriptive power); 2 Sam. xiii. (J: with 12 cf. Gen. xxxiv. 2^b, 7^b; with 18 cf. Gen. xxxvii. 3, 23, 32; with 22 cf. Gen. xxiv. 50; with 36 cf. Gen. xxvii. 38, 1. 11). No treatment of these books can be adequate that disregards such phenomena, and it is to be regretted that Driver should have made no attempt to deal with them. He gives, however, useful lists of peculiar expressions. I cannot, by the by, agree with either of our authors in treating Jud. xix. as containing an ancient narrative. It is only "old in style and representation" by imitation of Gen. xix., and like Gen. xxxviii. is of late and post-exilic authorship.

Coming now to the prophets, the following table will show how Driver and Cornill converge in their analysis of "Isaiah":—

Chapters.	DRIVER.	CORNILL.
i.	Reign of Jotham (B.C. 735), or Hezekiah (701)	i. 1, editorial; 2, 3, Jotham; 4-9, end of Syro-Ephraimite war (734); 10-17, Hezekiah (701); 18-32, end of Syro-Ephraimite war (734).
ii.—v.	Beginning of the reign of Ahaz.	ii. 1, editorial; 2-4, Deutero-Isaianic; 5—v. 24, beginning of the reign of Ahaz; 25, editorial; 26-30, Ahaz: should follow ix. 8-21.
vi.	Uzziah (740?)	Uzziah (735?).
vii. 1—ix. 7. . .	Syro-Ephraimite war	Syro-Ephraimite war.
ix. 8—x. 4 . . .	Syro-Ephraimite war	ix. 8-21, Ahaz; Syro-Ephraimite war: ix. 9, 10, the siege of Samaria (722); x. 1-4 ^a , Ahaz; Syro-Ephraimite war: should follow v. 1-24; 4 ^b , editorial.
x. 5—xii. 6 . . .	Hezekiah and Sennacherib (701).	x. 5-34, Sargon (722-710); xi. 1-9, Ahaz, in the midst of the Syro-Ephraimite war, cf. vii. 1-ix. 6; xi. 10-xii. 6, Deutero-Isaianic.
xiii. 1—xiv. 23 .	Exilic, shortly before 549.	xiii. 1, editorial; xiii. 2—xiv. 23, exilic, c. 538.
xiv. 24-27 . . .	Hezekiah and Sennacherib (701).	Sennacherib? or Sargon? cf. x. 5-34.
28-32 . . .	Shortly after Sargon's death, in 705.	Shortly after Sargon's accession, 722.
xv.—xvi. 12 . .	Pre-Isaianic; Uzziah's reign; defeat of Moab by Jeroboam II.	Pre-Isaianic; Uzziah's reign; defeat of Moab by Jeroboam II.

Chapters.	DRIVER.	CORNILL.
xv.—xvi. 13, 14.	Epilogue by Isaiah, shortly before 711.	Epilogue by Isaiah, in 711.
xvii. 1-11 . . .	Immediately before the outbreak of the Syro-Ephraimite war.	Immediately after the outbreak of the Syro-Ephraimite war.
12-14 . . .	Sennacherib's invasion, 701.	Siege of Samaria, 722.
xviii.	Sennacherib's invasion, 701.	Sennacherib's reign, before 704.
xix.	Battle of Raphia, 720? .	After Sennacherib's retreat, 701.
xx.	711	711.
xxi. 1-10 . . .	710?	Deutero-Isaianic, c. 549.
11-12 . . .	720 or 711?	{ Older prophecies used by Isaiah, c. 720-711; but possibly by a later editor.
13-17 . . .	720 or 711?	
xxii. 1-14 . . .	711 or 701?	701, after Sennacherib's retreat.
15-25 . . .	Before 701	Before 701.
xxiii.	701?	Exilian, c. 580.
xxiv.—xxvii. .	"Early post-exilic period."	c. 330, Greek period.
xxviii.—xxxiii. .	xxviii., prior to 722; xxix.—xxxii., 702; xxxiii., 701.	xxviii.—xxxi. 701; xxxii.—xxxiii., post exilian.
xxxiv.—xxxv. .	Close of the exile . . .	Close of the exile, perhaps by the author of xiii.—xiv. 23.
xxxvi.—xxxix. .	From 2 Kings; xxxvii. 22-32; Isaiah, 701.	From 2 Kings; xxxvii. 6f? 22-32, Isaiah, 701; xxxix. 5-7, before 704.
xl.—lxvi. . . .	Exilian, the work of an author between the years 549—538.	xl.—xlvi., excepting xlii. 1-7, exilian, 546-538; xlix.—lxii., post-exilian, by the same author as xl.—xlvi., excepting lvi. 9—lvii. 13, and perhaps lix. 3-16; lxiii.—lxvi., post-exilian, by a different author.

Driver's conclusions simply represent a less-developed stage of criticism than Cornill's.

Cornill's careful analysis of "Jeremiah" may be summarised thus:—

The "Urrolle" of the fifth year of Jehoiakim, B.C. 604: i., ii., iii. 1—5, 19—iv. 2, iv. 2—v. 19, 23—vi. 30, vii.—viii. 9, 13—ix, x. 17—xi. 6, 9—xii. 6, xiv.? xv.? 1—10, 15—21, xviii.? xxv. 1—3, 8—11, 13, 15—29, xlv. 1—26, xlvii., xlviii.? xlix. 1—33.

Later prophecies, before the death of Jehoiakim, B.C. 597: xii. 7—17, xvi. (om. 14, 15), xvii. 1—4? 5—13? 14—18, and in the biographical passages xix. 1—xx. 6, xxvi., xxxv., xxxvi., xlv.

Later prophecies, in the reign of Jehoiakim, B.C. 597: xiii.

Later prophecies, in the reign of Zedekiah, before B.C. 586: xx 7—18, xxi. 11—xxxiii., xxiv., xxix., xxxii. (om. 17—23), xxxiii. 4—13, xlix. 34—39.

Later prophecies, in the reign of Zedekiah, after the destruction of Jerusalem: xxx. 1—9, 12—14, 16—21, xxxi. 1—34.

Later prophecies, in the reign of Zedekiah, in the biographical passages, xxi. 1—10, xxvii., xxviii., xxxiv., xxxvii.—xliv. 30.

The biographer of Jeremiah and compiler of his writings, in the second half of the exile: xix.—xxi., xxvi.—xxix., xxxiv.—xlv., l. 59—64.

Later additions: iii. 6—18, v. 20—22, viii. 10—12 (repeats vi. 12—15), x. 1—16, xi. 7, 8, xv. 11—14, xvi. 14, 15 (from xxiii. 7 f.), xvii. 19—27 (cf. xxxiii. 14—26, Neh. xiii. 15—22), xxv. 4—7, 12, 13^b, 14, 30—38, xxix. 16—20, xxx. 10 f. (repeated in xlv. 27 f.), 15, 22, 23 f. (from xxiii. 19 f.), xxxi. 35—37, xxxii. 17—23, xxxiii. 1—3, 14—26 (16 f. from xxiii. 5 f.), xxxix. 9—13, xl. 1—6, xlv. 27 f., l.—li. 58, lii. (from 2 Kings).

Driver's treatment is not so complete; but again here and in the case of the "Second Isaiah" and "Ezekiel" he adds valuable tables of characteristic expressions.

Our authors agree as to the unity and genuineness of the Book of Ezekiel. "If anywhere," says Cornill, "a book in the Old Testament bears the mark of authenticity on its forehead, and is preserved in the condition in which it left its author's hand, that book is 'Ezekiel.'"

Of the minor prophets, Driver might have referred to the objections to Hosea ii. 1—3, and to Amos ii. 4 f., iv. 13, v. 8 f., ix. 56 in spite of Kuenen. Driver decides conclusively, against Credner, for the post-exilic date of "Joel"; whilst Cornill dates the book about B.C. 400 and later rather than earlier. He says, "In the book of Joel we have a written compendium of the late Jewish eschatology, at the period when the newer prophecy was passing into Apocalypse." For "Jonah" Driver says "a date in the fifth century B.C. will probably not be far wide of the mark"; Cornill: "towards the end of the Persian, perhaps rather in the Greek period." The following gives our authors' conclusions respectively concerning the book of Micah.

Chapters.	DRIVER.	CORNILL.
i., ii. 1-11, iii.	Before B.C. 722.	Before B.C. 722.
ii. 12-13 . . .	Micah's, but misplaced.	Deutero-Isaianic.
iv., v.	Micah's, but added at different times to i.—iii. Written about 701. iv. 10 ("and shalt come even unto Babylon") is an interpolation. Possibly iv. 11-13 also.	iv. 1-4, 11—v. 4, 7-14, Deutero-Isaianic; iv. 5-10, v. 5, 6, also an interpolation

Chapters.	DRIVER.	CORNILL.
vi. 1—vii. 6 . .	Reign of Manasseh; probably not Micah's.	Reign of Manasseh, not Micah's.
vii. 7-20 . . .	Possibly by author of vi. 1-vii. 6, and exilian.	Deutero-Isaianic; ii. 12, 13, iv. 5-10, v. 5, 6, vii. 7-20, probably by the same hand.

Cornill follows Hitzig in assigning to *Habakkuk* i.—ii. 8; and ii. 9—20 and iii. to later writers. Driver certainly exaggerates when he ranks *Habakkuk* iii. “for sublimity of poetic conception and splendour of diction with the finest (Jud. v.) which Hebrew poetry has produced;” but Cornill is wrong in speaking of the poem as an “ungebührlich überschätzter Psalm,” which “bietet reine Rhetorik”; vv. 17, 18 at least are not “reine Rhetorik.” Driver and Cornill agree that “*Zephaniah*” dates from before the reformation of Josiah and soon after the Scythian invasion, *i. e.*, c. 630: but the latter suspects passages in ii., and especially iii. 14—20, as Deutero-Isaianic. Driver is inclined to separate *Zechariah* ix.—xiv., and to assign ix.—xi., xii. 7—9 to a pre-exilian, the remainder to a post-exilian date; but Cornill follows Stade in maintaining the unity of the whole section and giving it to an author who moved among the ideas of the later Jewish Apocalypse and wrote during the struggles of the “*Diadochi*,” *i. e.*, c. B.C. 280.

Driver introduces his chapter on the Psalms with a sketch of Hebrew poetry, which is an omission from Cornill's book. To his list of purely secular songs, p. 339, Driver, for reasons given above, might have added the poem in Gen. xlix. And Jud. v. is as secular as Num. xxi. 27—30. To the Psalms “incorrectly conjoined,” p. 345, Driver might have added Ps. xxiii.: vv. 5, 6 are unconnected with vv. 1—4; not only do 1—4 make a complete Psalm in themselves, but vv. 5, 6 entirely change and even *reverse* the imagery: “the table,” “the oil,” “the cup,” “the Temple,” have nothing to do with the shepherd life of 1—4, and the divine “goodness and mercy” that “*follow*,” 6, are not the care and guidance that “*lead*,” 1—4. Ps. xxiii. 1—4, then, might be added to Ewald's list of Psalms which on æsthetic grounds could have been David's. Respecting these, Driver's conclusion seems eminently just: “If Deborah, long before David's time had ‘sung unto Jahveh’ (Jud. v. 3), there can be no *à priori* reason why David should not have done the same; and in 2 Sam. xxiii. 1, the expression ‘the sweet singer of Israel’ implies that David was the author of religious songs. On the whole, a *non liquet* must be our verdict: it is possible that Ewald's list is too large, but it is not clear that none of the Psalms contained in it are of David's composition.” At the same time, as Cornill finely says, “David the Psalmist is a post-

exilic creation, a link in the chain of development of Israel's old history into a 'Kirchengeschichte,' after that, through the institutions of Deuteronomy and the natural sequence of events, Israel had passed from a State into a Church, and from a nation into a community. The David who through Messianic prophecy was set in the middle point of religious interest, of whom it was known that he had made poems and taken active part in the cultus, could only have been a religious poet, and all religious 'Lyrik' was assigned to him, as the whole of proverbial wisdom to his son, Solomon."

Cornill insists rightly on the relationship of "Proverbs" to the Apocrypha. The "Königsprüche" in Proverbs, which used to be advanced as the surest proof of a pre-exilic origin, have their counterpart in "Jesus of Sirach," vii. 4-6; viii. 1-3; x. 1-5. Driver apparently accepts the view that Prov. i.-ix. were written as an introduction to the older collection x.-xxii. 16, shortly before the "Exile"; but as Cornill correctly observes the "Wisdom" of these chapters cannot be separated by centuries from the apocryphal "Wisdom." He quotes Reuss with approval that in the personification of "Wisdom" in Prov. viii., "Jewish metaphysics and the philosophy of Alexandria, speak not indeed a last but certainly a first word." "The Hebrew 'Wisdom,'" he says, "affords us a parallel phenomenon to the philosophy of Greece; with this difference, that the 'Hebrew' 'wisdom' is always and everywhere ethically and religiously conceived, Prov. ii. 5-10; iii. 13-26. It is not philosophic but theologic, or if you prefer, theosophic speculation."

The crown of this Hebrew "wisdom-writing," later than Prov. i.-ix. (xv. 7 is directly dependent on Prov. viii. 25, and unintelligible without it), and belonging to the latest period of Hebrew literature (against Driver, who decides for the latter half of the exile) is, according to Cornill, the Book of Job. Into his spirited treatment of the poem it is impossible to enter here; but it is most interesting to find the German critic, though on internal and psychological grounds, *defending* the "Elihu" speeches, which Driver, with the great majority of scholars, rejects. His defence, I think, can only deepen the conviction that "Job" is yet one of the unsolved problems of the Old Testament.

Another still unanswered riddle is the "Song of Songs." Cornill contents himself with Reuss' division of the poem into sixteen love idylls. Driver gives the analysis of Delitzsch and Ewald as representing the traditional and the modern view respectively, according as Solomon or a shepherd is taken as the hero of the piece. He accepts the latter, and therefore dismisses the opinion that Solomon was the author, but inclines to a north Israelite origin and an early pre-

exilic date. Cornill, however, is surely more correct in assigning it, on linguistic grounds, at the earliest, to the Persian period: "If," he says, "of any book in the Bible it may be said 'Thy speech bewrayeth thee,' that book is the 'Song of Songs.'" Graetz, whose arguments Driver takes too little into account, is probably right in regarding the Song as contemporary with Greek poetry. Mr. Russell Martineau, in a recent paper before the Society of Historical Theology, Oxford, brings out some interesting parallels between it and verses of Bion and Moschus.

To a Greek date also must be assigned that other "unsolved problem," the book of "Ecclesiastes." "The question whether Koheleth shows immediate acquaintance with and direct dependence on Greek philosophy, is an open one: but this much is certain, that only through the influence at least of Hellenism could the Jewish mind produce such a work." So Cornill, with which Driver agrees.

As to the remaining books of the Old Testament, Lamentations, Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles, there is little or no difference of opinion between our authors. It only remains to say a word of praise for Dr. Cornill's excellent chronological register of the literature at the close of his volume, and to express a hope that Dr. Driver will some day add to his book an index of at least principal passages.

EDGAR INNES FRIPP.

Untersuchungen zur Entstehung und Entwicklung der Hebräischen Accente. I. Theil. Von ADOLPH BÜCHLER. (Wien, 1891.)

THE Talmud recommends appropriate intonation (*neimah*) for the reading of the Bible (Babyl. Talm. Megillah, 32a), but does not give any rules as to the way of intonation; nor is there any mention of musical symbols or notes. The term *taamim* ("accents") occurs several times in the Talmud, but it is doubtful whether it refers to "written symbols," or to "melody," or "accentuation" in general. The plural form of the word (*taamim*) suggests the existence of a number of accents, and great stress seems to have been laid on preserving the exact force of each of the various accents. When it was found that, contrary to the ancient custom, teachers received payment for instruction in the Law, these were excused on the plea that it was only the teaching of the accurate accentuation that was paid for. In a discussion whether *parim* in Exodus xxiv. 5 referred only to *sh'lamim*, or also to *oloth*, the question arose as to the object of the discussion, since it was indifferent to the halachah which of the two interpretations was adopted. The answer was that it was

important to know the correct interpretation, in order to be able to read the passage correctly, with the appropriate pauses, כַּפְנֵי פְסוּק הַתַּעֲטִימִים. Whether such a discussion in the Talmud proves the presence or the absence of a written and recognised system of accents, it certainly implies the existence of a traditional way of reading the Biblical text, by which the division of each sentence into its constituent elements, and the logical relation of these elements to each other, was clearly indicated. The accents (*taamin*), or musical notes, which generally accompany the text in ancient manuscripts, as well as in the ordinary editions of the Bible, serve also this purpose. Many scholars have attempted to explain the principles which guided the authors of the accents in the selection of the special accent for each word, and accordingly to determine the logical value of each individual accent. Heidenheim, Baer, and Wickes are the foremost among them. Excellent as the rules established in the works of these scholars may be, correct as the principle of dichotomy accepted by them may be, these do not suffice to explain the numerous anomalies and exceptions, in spite of the assumed theory of transformation, transposition, and substitution of accents. Dr. Büchler, in the present work, has undertaken to supply the deficiency. He searches for the origin of the accents, and follows in his research the theory adopted by Graetz, that the vowel-points, as well as the accents, were not the product of one man or of one school, but owe their present form to a gradual development from small beginnings. After much painstaking, minute and intelligent searching, examining and comparing of accents and words, he comes to the conclusion that the present system of accents has been built up on the basis of Masoretic diacritical signs. It was deemed necessary occasionally to remind the reader of the right way by some sign, whenever there were two ways before him, and the wrong way was likely to attract him. The elements of such signs are the point, a small circle, a perpendicular or a horizontal line. Dr. Büchler chooses the perpendicular for his starting-point, and shows, almost convincingly, the development of a large number of the accents from the perpendicular.

Two consecutive words may logically be connected the one with the other, or separated the one from the other. Connection is naturally indicated by the horizontal line between the two words, whilst the perpendicular between them indicates their separation from each other. Of the many different degrees of relationship that exist between two words, from the closest connection to complete separation, each one is represented in the fully-developed system of accents by a special sign; but at first it may have been left to the discretion of the reader, and only exceptional cases were pointed out to him

Thus we find that particles and other small words are, as a rule, treated as enclitics, or accentless words; but, under certain circumstances, such enclitics frequently regain their independence, and must be read as separate words. This fact was probably indicated by a perpendicular line, the object of which is to prevent the reader from hurrying too quickly on to the next word. In one instance this purpose of the perpendicular is obvious, viz., the *pasek* or *legarmeh*; we recognise it also in the *metheg*, the meaning of which, "bridle," implies this very purpose. Were it not for the natural force of the horizontal and the vertical lines we might have expected to find points as the first beginnings of the accents. For there is no doubt about the presence of diacritical points in the ancient copies of the Torah; the words and phrases that were provided with dots over the letters are mentioned in the Talmud. It is also possible that dots were employed in the formation of vowel signs, and lines were, therefore, preferred for the construction of accents.

At first the enclitics were probably the only words that were marked by the horizontal line. Whenever an enclitic was endowed with independent existence it was only necessary to omit the horizontal line (*makkef*.) But in order that the omission of the *makkef* should not be considered as a mistake and the result of the scribe's carelessness, it was necessary for the guidance of the reader that the separation of the enclitic from the succeeding word should be marked by some positive sign. Instead of placing the perpendicular after the enclitic it was placed under it, probably in order to distinguish it from the *pasek*, which indicated a higher degree of separation or pause. This perpendicular was the original form of the accent, but we possess it only in its modifications and variations, in all of which Dr. Büchler not only traces the perpendicular, but also the original force of the perpendicular. The first modification consisted of a combination of both lines, the horizontal and the perpendicular; the sign is known by the name of *munach*; it removes the enclitic nature of the word, but at the same time indicates by the horizontal line the close relation of the word to that which follows. The repetition of the *munach* under two consecutive words preserves, according to Dr. Büchler, the original mode of placing a vertical line under each of the words which are exceptionally kept separate; the repetition is to show that the two words have two accents instead of the one, which they would have if they were joined by *makkef*. In most cases the second perpendicular has, in the course of the development of the accents, been changed into a different form.

Merchah is, according to Dr. Büchler, identical with *munach*; it is proved by numerous instances that *merchah* and *munach* interchange:

that the significance of *munach-munach*, *munach-merchah*, and *merchah-munach* is exactly the same. *Mehuppach* "inverted" is merely another way of modifying the perpendicular, by turning the horizontal line to the right instead of the left. *Mehuppach*, *yethib* and *tiph'cha* owe their origin to the same cause. The repetition of the *m'huppach* or *yethib*, or the combination of either with *merchah*, are equal in force to *munach-munach*.

We find, however, in our system of accents also a group of accents superscribed over the letters, and these Dr. Büchler traces to the same origin, and demonstrates that they are nothing else but the perpendicular, and that they originally served as an indication of the absence of the *makkef*. Thus *azla. pashta*, *kadma*, *geresh*, and double *geresh* (*gershayim*) are, according to Dr. Büchler but modified perpendiculars. *Pazer*, *Zakef-gadol* and *shalshelch* are three variations of the perpendicular combined with one, two and three points respectively.

The question naturally arises why should there be two systems of perpendiculars, some written under the letters and some above them, if all of them have the same source and served originally the same purpose? The answer to this question is as follows:—There was no prescribed method of marking the absence of the *makkef*. In public only such copies of the Bible were used as had no marks whatever added to the text except the dots referred to above. But for private use some, especially readers and teachers, had in their private copies—*megillath setharim*—certain signs added to the text for the purpose of facilitating their preparation for the public reading and teaching. These signs were arbitrary, and varied according to the view, taste and convenience of the writer. In this way it came that perpendiculars under the line, perpendiculars over the line, points and circles were employed as accents. When the accents were turned later on into musical notes, the various systems in existence were all made use of as the greatest possible variety of signs was required to express all the various relations of the words to one another, and to the whole of the phrase or sentence. This account of the origin and development of the accents explains also the apparently strange fact of having for twenty one books of the Bible one system of accentuation and another for the three books, Psalms, Proverbs, and Job (חִבְּרִים). The difference, however, is only superficial; if we look to the original value of the signs, we find them equal.

The perpendicular, according to Dr. Büchler, served also another purpose. It appears sometimes, in comparing two parallel passages, that in the one passage something has been omitted by the carelessness of the copyist, or in the other something added superfluously; or that a word in the one passage is erroneously replaced in the other by a different word; or that there is a strange spelling, or a strange con-

struction of the sentence; a confounding of numbers or genders and the like. The reader might consider these as mistakes, and be inclined to correct them. The Masorites, in their endeavour to preserve the Biblical text in its traditional form, marked all such passages by the perpendicular line, and indicated thereby that the deviations were traditional and not the result of carelessness and error. Whilst the selection of the perpendicular line to indicate the absence of *makkef* seems but natural, and is easily understood, the Masoretic perpendicular is beset with many difficulties. Would the Masorites not have preferred the point in imitation of the precedent of the traditional words with dots? And if they intended to distinguish their signs from the more ancient and traditional dots there were the circle and the asterisk at their disposal. Would not the Masorites in trying to prevent confusion just have created a source of confusion by employing one and the same sign in two different meanings?

The work before us is the first instalment of Dr. Büchler's researches; that which is yet in store for us will, no doubt, bring further proofs in support of the new theory. The numerous and striking instances which Dr. Büchler quotes for each of his assertions not only prove the thoroughness of his research and the soundness of his views, but fully justify our hopes that whatever is left uncertain in the first part will be made firm and clear in the second part. Even if the doubts concerning the new theory should not be entirely dispelled, all earnest students of the Bible must welcome the first part of Dr. Büchler's work as a source of interesting and instructive information, and wish the author God-speed for the production of the second part.

M. FRIEDLÄNDER.

The Criminal Jurisprudence of the Ancient Hebrews; Compiled from the Talmud and other Rabbinical Writings, and Compared with Roman and English Penal Jurisprudence. By S. Mendelssohn, LL.D., D.D. Baltimore: M. Curlander, 1891. Pp. viii. and 270.

COMPARATIVE jurisprudence, in the sense in which it is distinguishable from historical jurisprudence, can scarcely be said as yet to have a separate existence. Since Leibnitz very originally, though somewhat superficially, carried out the project of tabulating the universal laws, and presenting striking parallels between the methodical differences of national jurisdiction, nothing has been done for the comparison of

laws except in connection with history. (Comp. *Enycl. Britannica*, Ninth Edition, XIV., p. 366.)

We must therefore consider every endeavour which tends to illumine this branch of historical research, a contribution to the development of civilisation. Our own special branch of study, the ancient Hebrew legislation, unfolds to us a veritable labyrinth of investigation, and tempts us to enter the field of comparative philological discussion, to discover, if possible, new links still missing in our modern legal records. The praiseworthy and efficient labours of scholars like Frankel, Fassel, Graetz, Rabbinowitz, and more recently Bloch,¹ certainly deserve the recognition and grateful consideration of students and historians, as they pave the way for special studies connected with this sphere of scholarship which should be carefully and thoroughly followed up by those possessed of penetration and skill. Of late years a dearth in the analysis of legal forms and criminal legislation is noticeable. The most recent attempts were those made by Dr. M. Bloch, Professor in the Rabbinical Seminary at Budapest (cf. Note 1) who has published various essays on this subject, and exhibits a great amount of originality and erudition. We also, in several volumes of our *Aruch Completum*,² have endeavoured to do justice, whenever occasion offered, to this subject, and have offered parallels which are highly interesting for the study of Talmudic and Rabbinical jurisprudence.

This new departure should be welcomed, for, if we are not mistaken, it is the first regular compendium of ancient Hebrew legislation in the English language, and uses for its basis the best and most reliable authorities, among them being standard authors like Arnold, Beccaria, Blackstone, Fiske, Gibbon, Graetz, Hallam, Montesquieu, Plutarch, Roscoe, Smith, and the somewhat antiquated Vines. We should have been well pleased, however, to have noticed more frequent references to our Jewish authors, besides Graetz, Dr. J. Frankel, for example, whose *Grundlinien des Mosaisch Talmudischen Eherechts*, is occasionally cited, but not his elaborate treatise, not as yet superseded, *Der gerichtliche Beweis nach Mosaisch Talmudischem Rechte*. Dr. Frankel has innumerable important and interesting parallels which, if rendered in a less scientific manner, would be of great service for English readers. Dr. Mendelsohn's book has the merit of being com-

¹ In two annuals of the Rabbinical Seminary at Budapest (1879, 1881—1882.)

² Cf. for instance *Aruch* vii. 53 (Roman law); also our forthcoming supplement to Vol. I., 140. For Persian law, comp. IV., p. 70. In article 17 (III., 91—94) we have collected a large amount of material relative to our theme. Cf. also II., 164 ff.

posed in very entertaining style, all foreign expressions, philological variations, and discussions being excluded, so as not to interfere with the popular diction. The scientific portion is limited to copious notes, which expose to our view some ingenious comments and suggestions, proving conclusively that the author has consulted faithfully the above-quoted references, as well as the primal sources, Ta'mud, Midrash, and later Rabbinical authorities, and, in fact, to quote his own words (p. 6), has "endeavoured to interpret to the letter and spirit of the sages." The book is divided into four chief sections:— I. Crimes and Punishments. II. The Synhedrion. III. The Trial. IV. The Execution.

Under the *first* heading are classified:— 1. As to the number, §§ 11, 12. 2. Provisos, §§ 13—19. 3. Misdemeanours, Crimes, and Penalties, §§ 20—24. 4. Capital Crimes, §§ 25—32. 5. Homicide, §§ 33—37. 6. Murder, §§ 38—44. 7. Persons indictable, §§ 45—50. (Pp. 25—78.)

The *second* chapter is subdivided thus:—1. Organisation and Jurisdiction, §§ 51—56. 2. Qualifications, §§ 57—58. 3. Sessions and Recruitments, §§ 59—64. 4. Honorarium, §§ 65—67. (Pp. 87—102.)

The *third* division treats of the following:—1. The Participants, §§ 68—71. 2. Time of Trial, §§ 72—74. 3. Witnesses, §§ 75—77. 4. Cautioning Witnesses, §§ 78, 79. 5. Examination, §§ 80—91. 6. The Defendant, §§ 92—94. 7. Disproval and Confutation, §§ 95—99. 8. The Deliberations, §§ 100—104. 9. The Verdict, §§ 105—113. 10. Reversal of Judgment, §§ 114, 115. (Pp. 108—150.)

The *fourth* division comprises:—1. Between Life and Death, §§ 116—120. 2. The Executioners, § 121. 3. The Consummation, §§ 122—127. 4. Posthumous Ignominies, §§ 128—133. 5. Minor Punishments, §§ 134—139. 6. Rehabilitation, §§ 140—141. (Pp. 153—173.)

The author gives us, furthermore (pp. 175—184), some ingenious maxims and rules culled from various sources, as a sort of guide for the conduct of judges and the dispensation of judgment. An essay on the Talmud published some years ago is annexed to this valuable handbook, in order to give a general insight into the composite character of that stupendous work, an essay which is somewhat monotonous it is true when treating of the biographies of the Talmudists, but is instructive on the whole. At the end of the volume may be found a comprehensive index to all subjects contained therein, which is of great assistance and convenience to the reader.

While treating at length upon all topics relative to actual Jurisprudence, we still find several important parallels between Roman and Hebrew jurisdiction omitted, which would have been interesting for

English readers. We are surprised to find, for instance, only two or three items on presumptive evidence¹ (pp. 124, 125, Notes 286, 287), which is in itself a profound study, and should have been handled with greater reflection. Nevertheless, this much we may safely state, that Dr. Mendelsohn's work has been compiled with great care and ability, and contains exhaustive accounts of the salient points in Talmudic Jurisdiction. We heartily recommend this excellent handbook to all who desire precise information on the subject, all the more so, as it is here presented in language and style at the command of all Semitic students of law.

ALEXANDER KOHUT.

Hebräische Berichte über die Judenverfolgungen während der Kreuzzüge (Hebrew Documents on the Persecution of the Jews during the Crusades), edited by A. Neubauer and Dr. M. Stern, with a critical introduction by Professor H. Bresslau, and a German translation by Dr. S. Baer. Berlin, 1892. 8vo. (Being the second volume of the *Quellen zur Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland*.)

IN the first place we shall give a description of the documents contained in the present book, and mention the division of labour among the contributors to this important publication for the history of the Crusades.

The writer of these lines has contributed the following texts:—
No. 1.—A narrative, composed (before 1146) by a Solomon, son of Simeon, concerning the sufferings of the Jews, chiefly in the Rhine districts during the first Crusade (1096 A.D.). Then follow additional short pieces concerning the sufferings of the Jews in Northern France at a later period. Solomon's writing was completely unknown, and is taken from the unique MS., No. 28, of the Jews' College Library in London (see the Catalogue, p. 11). The MS. having been often, on the one hand tampered with by a censor, and on the other hand incorrectly copied, the edition of the text required a great number of notes. According to Professor Bresslau, Solomon wrote in the year 1140. No. 2.—A narrative by Eliezer, son of Nathan of Mayence, on the same subject, composed about the same date as the previous document. The text is produced according to the printed text published by Dr. Jellinek, and collated with all known MSS., old as

¹ Dr. Frankel (*Gerichtliche Beweis*, &c., pp. 437—474) devotes a large chapter to this interesting topic, and Dr. Freudenthal's able essay (in Frankel's *Monatsschrift* IX. (1860), pp. 162—175, 230—234, 251—271, 298—305) should have been utilised as well. Cf. *Aruch Completum* III., 362, where we have collected various items on presumptive evidence.

well as comparatively modern. We shall say a word concerning the biography of our Eliezer later on. No. 4 describes the calamities which befell the Jews during the second Crusade, by Ephraim, son of Jacob, of Bonn, already edited by the late Dr. M. Wiener, but re-edited here, with the aid of MSS. No. 5.—Finally an unknown account of the same period (1187 and 1188), unfortunately incomplete, by the famous Eleazar de Worms, edited from the unique MS. in the rich library of Baron H. de Günzburg, at St. Petersburg. Of the same Eleazar we possess a few unedited lines on the same subject, which are all to be found in his commentary on the Prayers. As it was too late for inserting them in the present volume, we accept gladly the hospitality accorded to it by THE JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

We read in the MS. of the Bodleian Library, No. 1204, fol. 15b, col. 2, as follows:—*שמחנו כי מות עניחנו כמו מות עניחנו בנלות וכמו ימות שציערתנו כן שמחנו כמו שנות ראינו רעה בנלותינו כמו עתה בתחלמה שנלחמו ישמעאל ואדום יחד על ירושלם ומנזמן אותנו כל הנוים נהרג אתכם תחלה ואנחנו מצפים לעזרת בוראינו להגן עלינו מהרה ואנחנו לא נדע מה לעשות ותפשותינו בכפינו מפני שמסמנים עצמן בתיעוב שלמותם והגענו עד המות מפני זאיבי ערב המתקבצים עד יערה ממרום וישקף בצרת עלבון בניו : 'Make us glad according to the days wherein thou hast afflicted us' (Ps. xc. 15), viz., according to the death which afflicted us, and according to the years of misfortune in exile. So now in the year 4948 A.M. (1188 A.D.), when Ismael (the Arabs) and Edom (the Christians) fight over the possession of Jerusalem, all of them call out to us, 'First we shall kill you.' But we hope for the help of God, for we do not know what to do for the protection of our lives when they put on the garment of the cross."*

On fol. 19b, col. 1, of the same MS., we find the following passage : *כי ידיו יי עמו שידיו דין עמו נקם על הנוים אשר מחרפין אותם (אותנו) כאשר באו עלינו במינצא (במנצא, MS. Paris, No. 772, fol. 26, היום יום ו בכה לחדש שבת בתחלמה לפרט נתקבצו להרוג מותנו ובאו בחרבות בתוך הרחוב של היהודים ובאו לנו עור ממרום והשיענו והצילנו : 'For the Lord will judge his people,' (Ps. cxxxv. 14), that means to say that he will judge his people with vengeance upon the nations who vex it. Thus they came upon us at Mayence, to-day Friday the 28th of Shebat, 4948 A.M. (10th February, 1188); they gathered for slaughtering us with their swords in the Jewish quarter. But help came from heaven and we were saved."* There are still two other passages quoted from the same MS. in the catalogue of the Hebrew MSS. in the Bodleian Library, col. 313 and 314 ; the one concerning the flight of the Jews to Münzburg (Münzenberg). See the transla-

tion of the *Berichte*, p. 216) on the first day of Ve-Adar, 4948 (2nd of March, 1188); the other concerning an accusation there in the same year, to the effect that the Jews had thrown a Christian woman into a well. Dr. Harkavy drew attention (*Magazin*, etc., edited by Dr. Berliner, III., p. 217) to a letter describing the miseries the Jews of Jerusalem had to endure after a conquest of the Holy City by the Arabs, probably by Saladin in 1187 A.D. For completeness sake we mention a spurious roll concerning the favourable treatment of the Caraitic congregation by Balduin (communicated by Dr. Harkavy, *ibidem*, II., p. 76.)

So far for the first contributor.

The third document gives a narrative of the first Crusade by an anonymous writer at Mayence; this text exists in an unique MS. of the Grand Ducal Library at Darmstadt. It has been edited three times by Dr. M. Mannheimer, and it is given in the present publication recollated with the MS. by Dr. M. Stern. The variations, however, are not important.

The translation of the five pieces is due to the celebrated Missoretic scholar and grammarian Dr. S. Baer. It would be superfluous to mention even that his work is done admirably well, and that the notes are always to the point and exhaustive, although concise. He had also the benefit of Dr. Baerwald's great historical knowledge. Dr. Baer we have also to thank for a complete index of the names which occur in the various documents, of persons and localities. According to Professor Bresslau's preface, the first three documents are independent one of the other, but they are probably based upon earlier narratives.

It seems, however, to us that Dr. Baer is too confident in his identification of geographical names. For instance, for the three localities on p. 194, which he places in France, and we agree with him in that point, it is scarcely certain that they are situated in the *departments* given by him. He identifies חם with Ham in the Department of the Somme, סול' (this locality is also mentioned in the catalogue of the Hebrew MSS. of the Bodleian Library, No. 1,151) with Sully in the Department of the Eure (Calvados?), which is possible, but there is also a locality of Ham in the Department of the Moselle, and a Sully in the Department of the Oise, where we know Jewish congregations existed in the thirteenth century. The locality קרנטן Dr. Baer identifies with Carenton in the Department of the Manche; it is, however, not yet ascertained that Jews lived in this last district in the thirteenth century. Why not identify it with Charenton? The letter פ with a stroke above represents in French words the *ch*. Dr. Baer would have done better to leave the departments doubtful, and also to mention divers opinions, which identify קרנטן with Corinthia, חם with the many places bearing the name of Hamm in the Rhine district. Dr.

Baer, we suppose, also supplied the table of errata, which are rather too numerous, in spite of the pains that Dr. M. Stern has taken in carrying the sheets of the Hebrew part through the press, and for which he is solely responsible, according to his own statement in the prefatory words. For this revision alone (surely the edition of No. 3 does not mean much), he had the honour of his name being given on the title page, whilst Professor H. Bresslau and Dr. Baerwald modestly effaced themselves. Dr. Stern's account of the MSS. used for the edition is derived for the chief MSS. from another source, which is not mentioned by him; he had solely to do with the modern MSS., and even there he does not always stand on his own legs.

We have finally to mention, briefly, Professor Bresslau's short, but excellent preface, wherein he shows the historical value of the Hebrew documents. He hints only that many points concerning the first two Crusades will appear in a better light by the help of the Hebrew documents. There is also a short account of the authors of the Hebrew documents, to which Dr. Baer supplies some notes from the Rabbinical points of view. Professor Bresslau rejects Graetz's supposition of the existence of an Eliezer ben Nathan of Cologne, as well as of Mayence, and that the former is the author of the second document. This, if we are not mistaken, has already been rejected by some one else, and is corroborated by Dr. Baer's notes on page xv. The statement that Eliezer of Mayence reached the great age of more than ninety is not based on documents, even had he been an immediate pupil of Rashi (Simon for Salomon on p. xv., note 10, is a slip of the pen), as Dr. Baer says on the authority of Eliezer's Commentary on the Prayers, still in MS.; this commentary is, however, printed, partly at least, according to ben Jacob (אוצר הספרים, p. 663; letter ט, No. 774). We only know that Eliezer of Mayence was in correspondence with Rashi's son-in-law and his two grandsons, Rashbam and R. Tam. In this, the *Eben-ha-Ezer*, Eliezer never says that Rashi was his immediate teacher. The latest date mentioned in this casuistical work (fol. 14) is 4912 A.M. (1152 A.D.). Had Eliezer reached such an advanced age, it would have been mentioned by chroniclers. See also Michael's posthumous work, אור החיים (Frankfurt A.M., 1891), p. 212.

The *Eben-ha-Ezer* has become very rare. It deserves to be re-edited, with historical notes concerning the Rabbis mentioned in it, and more especially for the localities in Germany and in Lorraine. A critical edition of it could be produced with the help of the Wolfenbüttel MS. No. 4. It seems to be comparatively ancient, well written, and contains also some unedited poetical pieces by our Eliezer.

A. NEUBAUER.

NENIDANIA VERSIA ROMANA OF ALEXANDRIE.

An Inedited Version of the Legend of Alexander the Great. By Dr. A. HARKAVY (in Russian). St. Petersburg, 1892.

THERE can be no doubt that the Jews borrowed much from the mythology and folk-lore of other nations, even in the earliest periods. The history of the Creation, of Paradise, of the Deluge, and of the Tower of Babel, bear an Assyro-Babylonian colouring. The history of the Patriarchs has probably an Aramaic origin, and that of Joseph and Moses is not free from Egyptian influence. The Book of Job will have to be taken as an adaptation from an Edomitico-Nabathean ethico-philosophical epos. It is certain that no nation can help borrowing parables and similitudes from neighbours with whom they are in contact; indeed the words in Numbers xxii. 27, "Wherefore they that speak in proverbs (משלים)", means most likely authors of parables and similitudes in general. So much for the earlier literature. Later on arose the various apocryphal books, which contain undeniably Persian and Greek ideas, set in a half-Judaic dress. Indeed, such borrowings are traced by critical writers even in the Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and in Daniel, which are partly, at least, contemporary with the beginning of some of the apocryphal literature. Through foreign ideas, the Hebrew idiom was also greatly influenced, in Job, Ecclesiastes, and much more in the Mishnah, for foreign ideas can only be expressed by foreign words and expressions. The Talmudic and Midrashic literature makes no mystery of the foreign elements which the Rabbis had embodied there in a Rabbinical garment. Later Midrashim, such as a part of the Midrash *Rabbah*, the *Tanhuma-Yelamdenu*, the Midrash on the Megilloth, the Prophets, and Hagiographa, not to speak of the chapters of R. Eliezer and the *Tana debe Eliyahu*, which already touch the borders of the Middle Ages, abound in Greek and other alien words, and consequently also in foreign sayings and folk-lore.

This period is followed by avowed borrowing of books not written by Jews, but translated or adapted from the Greek, Latin, and mostly from Arabic. Such are, to mention only a few of the most important ones, the famous *Yosipon* attributed to Joseph ben Gorion the priest, the fables of Bidpai, better known as *Calila ve Dimnah*, which R. Meir knew, most likely from a Syriac translation, in the second century; the fables of the foxes, translated or adapted by Berechiah Naqdan; the fables of Esop and Loqmân; and the old fables by Isaac ben Sahulah. We shall not take much notice of the translation of philosophical books, and those bearing upon natural science, mathematics, astronomy and astrology of all kinds. The literature of translations will soon be exhaustively known by Dr. Steinschneider's

great life-work, which is very far advanced, and will most likely appear in the course of the year. Perhaps we might just mention the adaptation of Barlaam and Josaphat by Abraham ben Hiadai with the title of *המלך והנזיר*, "Prince and Nazirite"; of the Book of Animals translated by the famous Calonymos ben Meir, with the title of *אגרת בעלי חיים*, treatises which were much read amongst the Jews in the Middle Ages.

We know that many romances were also translated into Hebrew; for instance, the Round Table, which is to be found in the MS. Urbin., No. 48, (fol. 75), of the Vatican Library (Assemani's Catalogue, fol. 442). It is headed as follows: *זה ספר השמך הסבלה העולה של מלך ארטוס* (sic, Assemani reads *ארטוס*) *ואני העתקתיו בשנת מל לפרט מלשון לעז אל לשון עברי*. "This is the profane book, the Round Table of King Arthur, which I have translated into Hebrew from the Laaz (French or Italian) in the year [50]39 = 1279." The translator says that he translated it for the following two reasons: 1. To employ his time when in misery. Books of this kind, he adds, are not only not inferior to the fables called *כובסים* (Bab. Talmud Succah, fol. 28a), but they are much superior (*ואלה הספורים אינם פחותים ממשלי כובסים אדרבא הם מעולים ונכבדים מהם עד מאד*). 2. In order that sinners should learn from them the ways of repentance, to remember the end and therefore repent (*כדי שילמדו החוטאים דרכי התשובה ויזכרו אחרית וישובו*). A German version in Hebrew characters exists in several editions (see Steinschneider's Catalog. Bodl., p. 1540), and a MS. fragment of it is to be found in Dr. Ginsburg's library (see Is. Letterbode, xi. p. 165.)

There is a Hebrew translation of *Amadis de Gaula* from the Spanish, and a considerable number of legends and poems were translated or adapted from the German. We shall mention of the latter the well-known piece beginning *הר נריא* (to be found in the Hagadah, according to the Germano-Polish rite), which is an adaptation of a German poem corresponding to the English one, beginning, "This is the house that Jack built." That romances were the favourite reading of the Jews in Northern France and in the German-speaking countries can be gathered from Dr. Steinschneider's able lecture on what the Jews were reading in the *Archiv für Literaturgeschichte* (edited by the late Professor Gosche), t. II. (1870), pp. 1 to 20.

But the most popular saga amongst the Jews was the famous history of Alexander the Great. His journey to the dark mountains in Africa, where he met Amazons, is mentioned in early Aggadahr. It seems that the Amazons are not quite legendary; the kingdom of Dahomey

has now a considerable regiment of them. Josephus mentions the iron gates by which Alexander enclosed the people of the Alans in Hyrcania. Most of these legends are borrowed from the history of Alexander by Pseudo-Callisthenes. We shall pass by the notices of this history to be found in the *Yosipon*, in the travels of Benjamin of Tudela and the Samaritan Chronicle with the title of "The Book of Joshua." For bibliographical details we refer the reader to Dr. Harkavy's monograph, the use of which, we are afraid, will not be a general one, since it is written in Russian, a language which has not yet got the citizenship amongst Western scholars.

The text of Pseudo-Callisthenes, probably according to the substance given by the Archpresbyter Leo, known as *Historia de Preliis*, was translated into Arabic, and from it into Hebrew, by the well-known Samuel ben Thibbon (better Thabbon), which is to be found in MSS. in the Libraries of Paris, Parma, Turin, and the Jews' College in London (Catal. No. 145.) In the last MS. a colophon states that it was translated about the time when Samuel made the translation of Maimonides' philosophical work, *The Guide of the Perplexed*. (See Dr. M. Friedländer's English translation of this work, vol. iii., p. xi. *seqq.* London, 1885.) The Colophon continues as follows:—"This book was found in the hands of some people, translated by Harizi (Judah ben Solomon al), but in a very confused state, for his translation was made from the [?] language; whilst Thibbon translated from the Arabic." The lacuna must be filled up with the word לטין or 'דפּר, Latin or Spanish, for Harizi could only have translated from the Arabic, Latin (if he knew this language) or Spanish. Dr. Harkavy says, ingeniously, that Harizi's translation does not refer to the text of the history of Alexander, but to that of Maimonides' philosophical book. We know indeed that Harizi made a slavish translation of it; which is nearly unintelligible (this translation is now published), but as Harizi says himself that he translated from the Arabic, the writer of the Colophon must have known it. Thus the statement about Harizi's translation remains for the present unsolved, for it is possible that Harizi made a translation of the *Historia de Preliis*. Moreover, the words וזה הדפּר seem to refer more naturally to the words זה הדפּר at the beginning of the Colophon, than to the words ה'מורה, which follow later.

Out of this MS. and the *Yosipon*, Dr. M. Gaster has supplied an article to M. Vesselowski's treatise, published in the Miscellany of the transactions of the Academy of St. Petersburg, with the title of "New Data Concerning the History of the Romance of Alexander (in Russian)." Dr. Harkavy, on his side, gives observations on Dr. Gaster's notes at the end of his monograph (from pp. 100—109),

some of which seem to be plausible. But besides the variations of the first edition of *Yosipon*, it remains also to take notice of the Arabic text, although it does not contain the history of Alexander.

When we have mentioned another translation of the *Historia de Preliis*, made from the Latin by the well-known astronomer, Immanuel of Tarascon (about 1365; see M. Israel Levi's learned essay with the title of ספר תולדות אלכסנדר, in the *Sammelband* published by the Society מקיצי נרדמים, II., 1886, p. 1, *seqq.*), we have done with the text of Leo. But there is another text of the Alexander saga, which has nothing to do with that of Pseudo-Callisthenes, of which a Hebrew translation is to be found in a MS. at the Estense Library at Modena, and of which the beginning and the end is given by M. Levi (*op. cit.*, p. xv.). Another copy of it (rather incomplete) was discovered, some three years ago, by Dr. Harkavy at Damascus, which he brought home together with some other remarkable MSS. (see *Mediæval Jewish Chronicles*, Oxford, 1887, p. XIV. and XXII.). With the help of this MS. and the Modena text, which M. Levi has put at his disposal, Dr. Harkavy gives a complete description of the new text with references to many other books which bear on the Alexander saga. In this text we find the wizard Bildad, son of Ason, for Necatanabus, of the *Historia de Preliis*, and there is no mention in this text of any kingdom of Macedonia and of the wars in Persia. The author develops these features of the story which have any relation to Biblical subjects, and adds many things in the later Oriental style.

But as Mosconi says in his preface to the *Yosipon* (see *Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, Hebrew, p. II., p. 21, and M. I. Levi *op. cit.*, p. xii.), that he had several texts before him which were more or less abridged, and in some of which many stories are added, the same was most likely the case with the Modena-Damascus text. Indeed, there has lately turned up a third MS. of this text, which abounds in variations. This MS., belonging formerly to the lamented R. Rabinowicz, is now in the Bodleian Library, No. Hebrew d. 11 (see *Mediæval Jewish Chronicles*, Oxford, 1887, p. xix. *seqq.*). On fol. 265 commences the Alexander saga, of which we shall give the beginning and the end. A copy of the entire MS. was made for Dr. M. Gaster; perhaps he will sooner or later give us a critical edition of this text in connection with the MSS. of Damascus and of Modena. The Bodleian text begins as follows:—

אנחיל ספר אלכסנדרון מוקדון:

ויהי בימים ההם ויהי מלך בארץ מצרים ושמו פוליפוס ויהי המלך ההוא רחב לב ורחב ידים ואוהב משפט וצדקה אשר לא קם כמוהו בכל ארץ מצרים וכל עמו אהבו אותו ושם אשתו נולפירא (sic) המלכה והיא הייתה

אשה יפה אשר לא קם כמוה ויהי בארץ ההוא מכשף אחד ושמו בלדרד המכשף אשר לא קם קמוהו בכל ארץ מצרים ויעש בבישופיו כל מה שלבו חפץ ויפול לבו על גולפירא אשת פוליפו המלך וימת לבו בקרבו טרוב אהבה אשר אהבה ויחל כלדרד ג' ימים ויתחזק בלדרד ביום השלישי וישען על מקלו לראות היועיל תוחלתו אם לא ויקטר העשבים ט' ימים רצופים ויפול גורלו על המלכה וישמח בלדרד שמחה גדולה :

It ends on fol. 277b. as follows :—

ויהי ככלותו לצוות ויאסוף רגלו על המטה וימת בתחלואים רעים כי הסם שיבר כל עצמותיו ויבכו עליו חיילותיו שבועים יום ויעברו ימי בכיתו ויקחו את גוף אלכסנדרוס ויחתכוהו חתיכות חתיכות ויבשלו אותם וילקטו העצמות ויתנום בעור צבי להוליכם ארץ מצרים ויערכו כלי מלחמתם וישובו ארצה מצרים ויבואו מוקדונייא אל אמו מקץ שלש שנים למיתת אלכסנדרוס ויביאו אל המלכה גלופטריאה כל שכיות החמדה ואבן יקרה וימליכוה ויתנו עליה כתר מלכות ותמלוך חמש עשרה שנים ככל תאוות לבא ואת מולמייא ואת צביל ואת פוליסיים ואת אנאני השליטה על כל הממלכה ותעש המלכה משפט וצדקה : ואת עצמות אלכסנ' לא קברה המלכה כי נתנם באוצרותיה ואמרה ביום מותי יקברו עצמות בני בקברי ותמת המלכה בת שמונים ותשע שנים ויקברו אותה בקברות המלכים וארץ עצמות אלכסנדרוס נתנו בקברה ואת הממלכה ניתנה לארבעה השרים וישפטו את עם הארץ כל ימי חייהם ויעשו משפט וצדקה בארץ ואת כל שכיות החמדה אשר אצר אלכסנדרוס (sic) בהיכל דינוניא לקחו משם ובנו היכל גדול אש לא נעשה כמוהו בכל ארץ מצרים מיום הוסדה : נשלם הספר של אלכסנדרוס למוקדון אשר מלך בבית שני :

A. NEUBAUER.

NOTES AND DISCUSSION.

TALMUDICAL MISCELLANIES.

IV.

LAKES OF THE HOLY LAND.

BASED upon the verse, "He hath founded it upon the seas, and established it upon the floods,"¹ there are in Talmud and Midrash enumerated certain seas (lakes) and rivers that either border the Holy Land, or are within its limits. We find on our subject six different accounts, all of them, however, agreeing upon the number of the seas (lakes) as being seven. The names differ considerably, and the scholars—Joseph Schwartz,² A. Neubauer,³ N. Brüll—who treated of them, differ greatly in their opinion as to the proper reading of the names and location of the seas—or, to be more exact, the lakes in question.

In our work⁴ we pursued our subject at some length.

In the following research we re-examine the matter. In order to give a survey of the different accounts we array them thus:—

A.⁵ "Seven seas (lakes) surround the Holy Land, viz., the Great Sea, the lake of Tiberias, the lake of Samcho, the Salt Lake, the lake Chultha, the lake Shalitha, the lake Apamea."

B.⁶ has the following order and reading:—"The Great Sea, the lake of Tiberias, the lake of Cob'bo, the Salt Lake, the lake Chiltho, the lake Silhat, the lake Apamea."

C.⁷ R. Dime, in the name of R. Jochanan, counts them thus:—"The lake of Tiberias, the lake of Sodom, the lake of Chilath, the lake of Chiltha, the lake Sibche, the lake of Apamea, and the Great Sea."

D.⁸ "The Holy Land is situated on seven seas—the Great Sea, the lake of Tiberias, the Salt Lake, the lake Sibche, the lake Chiltha, the lake Seryath, the lake Apamea."

¹ Psalm xxiv. 2.

² *Tebuoth Haarey*, p. 27ff.

³ *La Géographie du Talmud*, p. 24ff.

⁴ Frankel's *Monatsschrift*, xvii., 336ff.

⁵ *Aruch Completum*, iv., 134ff.

⁶ *Jerus. Kilayim*, ix., p. 32c.

⁷ *Jerus. Kethuboth*, xii., p. 35b.

⁸ *Babli Baba Bathra*, 74b.

⁹ *Midr. Shocher Tob*, chap. xxiv.

E.¹ has as follows:—"The lake of Sodom, the lake Salito, the lake Damuch, the Salt Lake, the lake Arabah, the lake of Tiberias, and the Great Sea."

F.² (quoting the source C.) reads:—"The lake of Tiberias, the lake Chilath, the lake of Sodom, the lake of Akko, the lake Pameas, the lake Sachbe, and the Great Sea."

After due comparison, sifting and examination of the readings of the several sources, the report contained in A. might be taken as the basis of our investigation.

All reports have all alike—

I. The *Great Sea* (Yam Haggadol, or Yamo Rabba). By this is meant the *Mediterranean* Sea, which, already in the Bible,³ is called the Great Sea, and the eastern coast of which forms the western border of the Holy Land. The Targum Jerushalmi I. renders the verse,⁴ "And for the western border ye shall have the *great sea*" by adding the word Okeanos. The same expression Jamo Rabbo d'Okeanos is to be found in the manuscript Targum to the Psalms.⁵ In the Midrashim, however, Okeanos signifies usually the (Atlantic) ocean.⁶

II. All the reports have, moreover, alike the *lake of Tiberias*. In the Bible⁷ it bears the name Jom Kinnereth, or Jom Kinnroth;⁸ in Targum and Talmud and Midrash¹⁰ Gnesar, Ginesar; in the New Testament¹¹ as in our sources ἡ θάλασσα τῆς Τιβεριάδος, and so still called to-day in Arabic Bahireh Tabrijathon, lake of Tiberias. The Midrash¹², dividing the word Genesar into two Hebrew words, ingeniously remarks, "The entire coast of Tiberias is called Kinnereth, having received the name Gennesareth because it resembles (in beauty) the gardens of princes."¹³ The same is related also by Josephus,¹⁴ "The country also that lies over against this lake hath the same name of Gennesareth; its nature is wonderful, as well as its beauty. Its soil is so fruitful that all sorts of trees can grow upon it. One may

¹ *Midrash Conen* quoted in *Amude Shesh*.

² *Talkut Psalm*, § 697.

³ Num. xxxiv. 6ff; Joshua i. 4; Ezekiel xlvii. 10; by the Romans called Mare Internum, the name Mare Mediterraneum is of a recent date.

⁴ Num. i. c.

⁵ Psalm lxxii. 10.

⁶ See *Aruch Completum*, I, p. 39, 255.

⁷ In Hebrew and Aramaic *Jam*, *Jamo* signifies not only sea, but also lake.

⁸ Num. xxxiv. 11; Joshua xiii. 27.

⁹ Joshua xiii. 3.

¹⁰ See *Aruch Compl.*, II, § 23; see also IV., 13.

¹¹ John xxi. 1.

¹² *Genesis Rabba*, ch. 98.

¹³ כְּנִי שָׂרִים divided in כְּנִי שָׂרִים.

¹⁴ *Wars of the Jews*, III. x. 8.

call this place the ambition of nature, where it forces those plants that are naturally enemies to one another to agree together ; it is a happy contention of the seasons."

There is a wide-spread legend of the Rabbis¹ that the well Mirjam, called after the sister of Moses, followed Israel all over their wandering through the desert, and when they finally took possession of the Holy Land the well has been united with the lake of Tiberias. The reason for this legend might be sought in the circumstance that the waters of this lake were very agreeable, especially when kept in the open air, and so the mythographers could not find a more fitting and worthy place for the Mirjam well which had disappeared than to unite it with the most agreeable waters of the lake of Genesareth or Tiberias. Josephus² says of this lake, "Its waters are sweet and very agreeable for drinking, for they are finer than the thick waters of other fens ; the lake is also pure, and on every side ends directly at the shores and at the sand. It is also of a temperate nature when you draw it up, and of a more gentle nature, than river or fountain water, and yet always cooler than one would expect in so diffuse a place as this is. Now when this water is kept in the open air it is as cold as that snow, which the country people are accustomed to make by night in summer." The Jordan passes through the lake of Tiberias.³ As to the way in which it passes through there are two accounts in the Talmud. The one⁴ says, "The Jordan takes its rise in the cave of Pameas (Panium) and passes through the lake of Sobche (?), and the lake of Tiberias, and runs finally into the Mediterranean Sea." According to the other source⁵ the Jordan passes first through the lake of Sebche and then through the lake of Tiberias and then through the lake of Sodom, and finally disappears in the Mediterranean Sea. This latter is affirmed by Josephus.⁶ He says, "It (the lake of Genesareth) is divided into two parts by the river Jordan. Now Panium is thought to be the fountain of the river, but in reality [it] is carried thither after an occult manner from the place called *Phiala*. This place lies as you go up to Trachonitis, and on the right hand, and, indeed, it has the name of *Phiala* (vial or bowl), very justly from the roundness of its circumference, as being round like a wheel ; its water continues always up to its edges, without either sinking or

¹ *Jerus. Kilayim*, ix, 32c ; see *Shabb.* 35b, according to the reading of the Munich MS. ; *Genes. Rabba*, ch. 5 ; *Levit. Rabba*, ch. 22 ; *Nwm. R.*, ch. 19 ; *Tanh. Chukkhath*, § 21 ; *Kohel. R.* to § V'jithron.

² *Wars*, III. x. 7.

³ *Genes. Rabba*, ch. 4 ; *Tosephtoth B. Bathra* to 74b.

⁴ *B. Bathra*, l.c.

⁵ *Bechor.* 55a.

⁶ *Wars*, l.c.

running over. . . . Now Jordan's visible stream arises from this cavern (of Panium) and divides the marshes and fens of the lake *Semochonitis*; when it hath run another hundred and twenty furlongs, it first passes by the city Julias, and then passes the middle of the lake *Gennesareth*, after which it runs a long way over a desert, and then makes its exit into the lake *Asphaltitis*."

We give this account fully, for we have to come back to this part of *Phiala* a little later. Here we note only that Josephus, in accordance with the second Talmudical passage above mentioned, gives likewise the order in which the Jordan passes through (1) the lake *Semochonitis*, (2) the lake *Gennesareth*, (3) the lake *Asphaltitis*.

The lake *Semochonitis* is, as we will soon show, identical with the lake *Sebche* or *Sobche*, that is to be corrected into *Samcho* (= *Somochonitis*). The lake *Gennesareth* is identical with the lake of *Tiberias*, while the lake *Asphaltitis* of Josephus is the same as the lake *Sodom* of the Talmud.

III. *The Lake Samcho* in the source A.—and that is corrupted as *Cobbo* (source B.), *Damuch* (source E.), *Sibeche* (C., D.), or *Sabche* (F.)—is identical with the before-mentioned *Semachonitis* or *Somochonitis* of Josephus,¹ and is called in the Bible² *Merom*. According to Josephus,³ it is thirty furlongs in breadth and sixty in length. Its marshes reach as far as the region *Daphne*, which in other respects is a delicious place, and has such fountains as supply water to what is called *Little Jordan*, under the temple of the golden calf, where it is sent into *Great Jordan*. This lake was considered as having belonged to the land of *Naphtali*. The words,⁴ "Possess thou the sea and the south," are explained by R. Akiba⁵ thus, "The sea," that is, the lake *Semochonitis*; "the south," that is, the lake of *Tiberias*. The same is repeated in other places,⁶ where our word appears in different forms, as *Subbi*, *Sufne*, which must be read *Sumche*—that is, *Semochonitis*, or *Somochonitis*.

The words,⁷ "These waters issue forth toward the eastern region, and shall go down unto the Arabah: and they shall go toward the sea, unto the sea which was made to issue forth; and the waters shall be healed," find the following illustration: ⁸— "Toward the eastern

¹ Besides the quoted *Wars* III. x. 7; see IV. i. 1; and *Antiquities*, V. iv. 1.

² *Joshua* xi. 5, 6.

³ *Wars*, IV. i. 1.

⁴ *Deuter.* xxxiii. 24.

⁵ *Jerus. B. Bathra* V. 15a.

⁶ *Tossephta B. Kama*, ch. 5; *Sifre, Habracha*, § 355.

⁷ *Ezek.* xlvii. 8.

⁸ *Jerus. Shekalim* VI., 3a; *Jalk. Ezekiel*, § 383, with the false reading *Sobche*.

region" means the lake Semechonitis; "Into the Arabah" means the lake of Tiberias; "They shall go towards the sea," means the Salt Lake; "Which was made to issue forth," means the Mediterranean Sea.

A later Midrash¹ misunderstood this passage as having in view the Great Sea, that is the ocean, which by its creation was made powerless and dead, therefore called Dead Sea, and which at the end of times will be healed, as the prophet suggests.

IV. *The Dead Sea* just mentioned means the lake of Sodom (according to our sources (C, E and F), or the Salt Lake (according to A, B and D), or Salt Sea. The latter name is already to be found in the Bible,² also called Jom Hoarabah, Sea of the Plain,³ or East Sea.⁴ Diodorus Siculus⁵ and Josephus⁶ name it the Asphaltic Sea. The latter also the Sodomitic Lake;⁷ while the older Greek⁸ and Latin⁹ historians call it Dead Sea. This so-called Dead Sea is the final receptacle of the river Jordan, the lowest and largest of the three lakes which interrupt the rush of its downward course.

The name, Dead Sea has become established from the belief in the greatly exaggerated stories of its deadly character and gloomy aspect. Hence, also, the fable that no birds could fly across it alive. That no fish, even carried by the current of the Jordan, can live in this sea, J. Schwartz testifies.¹⁰ From this idea that everything near to the Dead Sea must needs be destroyed, is taken the Talmudical phrase,¹¹ "Carry the use of it to the Salt Sea." That means it cannot be utilised.

Concerning this Salt Sea, or the Sea of Sodom,¹² it is said that it is so thick that no one can sink to its bottom.¹³ The plenty of bitumen

¹ *Exodus Rabba*, ch. 15.

² Genes. xiv. 3; Num. xxxiv. 3, 12; Deut. iii. 17; Joshua iii. 16; xii. 3, and other places.

³ Deut. iii. 17; iv. 49; 2 Kings xiv. 25.

⁴ Ezek. xlvii. 18; Joel ii. 20; Zech. xiv. 8. ⁵ ii. 48; xix. 98.

⁶ *Antiq.* I. ix.; IV. v. 1; IX. x. 1; *Wars*, I. xxxiii. 5; III. x. 7; IV. viii. 2, 4. ⁷ *Ant.*, V. i. 22.

⁸ Pausanias, V. 7; Galen, IV. 9.

⁹ Justin, xxxvi. 3, 6.

¹⁰ *Tebuoth Haarez*, p. 29, cf. *Ranmer Palestina*, p. 55, where other instances are enumerated.

¹¹ *Bech.* 13b., *Ab. Zara*, 53a (Raahi and Munich MS.); see also there 71b.

¹² About Sodom salt, *Eruv.* 17b. and parallel passages, see *Aruch Compl.* VI., 23; see also V. 127.

¹³ *Shabb.* 108b; see also *Tosephta Shabb.*, ch. 12, 13.

to be found in this water has, however, a healing effect on the human body.¹ Due to the preconceived notion of the deadly character of this sea, the Haggadists of recent Midrashim explain the verse in Ezekiel above quoted² as referring to the Dead Sea, indulging, however, in the hope that at the end of times it will be healed. In this sphere of imagination falls also the explanation of another verse,³ in reference to which it is said,⁴ "He who heals the sea will heal also thee."

V. The *Lake of Chilhā* (according to reading of B, C, D) or Chilat or Chultha (according to F, A) has nothing to do with Chol, sand, as Schwartz suggests, but means in Aramaic, *roundness*, and is, in my opinion, that part of the lake Semechonitis from Paneas, that is called by Abulfeda,⁵ Bachrat Banis, and later, Bachrat el *Chule*.⁶ Now we must remember that Josephus⁷ called the fountain-head of the Jordan, Phiala, on account of the roundness of its circumference, as being round, etc., etc. There occurs in the Talmud⁸ also the expression, "He who sees the sea as round as a dish." According to the reading in source E, the Salt Lake corresponds with the Lake of Chultha, Chilhā of the other sources. This source, however, could not have meant by the salt lake the lake of Sodom, for it enumerates it separately, consequently it meant just the same as what is conveyed by the other sources by the lake of Chultha, which was also called a salt place (Bald el Malchi⁹) on account of the salt crusts that covered that region. We must, therefore, render the lake of Chultha by "the lake of roundness," "round lake."

VI. The lake *Saliath*, or better (according to the source D), Sheriath, is probably identical in position with Beth Sherye, near to Tiberias and Scythopolis.¹⁰ Formerly it was a renowned city called Jezreel,¹¹ to-day named Zerin. Near to it is the fountain mentioned 1 Sam. xxix. 1. without name. After this city was lake Sheriath named. Being not far from Akko, the sixth source (F) called it therefore also the lake of Akko, although Akko lay beyond Palestine. It seems they wanted only to make up the number of seven seas (lakes).¹²

¹ Josephus, *Wars*, IV. viii. 4.

² See p. 693 note 7, and p. 694, note 1.

³ Lamentations ii. 13.

⁴ *Echa Rabb.* to this verse.

⁵ *Tabula Syr.* 155.

⁶ Wiener, *Real Wörterbuch*, I. 85.

⁷ *Wars*, III. x. 7. See above, p. 692, note 6.

⁸ *Jer. Ab. Zara*, iii. 42c.

⁹ Schwartz, *l.c.*, p. 28.

¹⁰ See *Aruch Completum* II., 87.

¹¹ See this article in Winer, *R. W.*

¹² The phrase "seven seas" (of Palestine) occurs also in *Gittin*, 57a; *Pirke De R. Eliezer*, ch. xviii.

The same is the case with—

VII. The *lake of Apamea*, although belonging to Syria. The Rabbis, however, have counted parts of Syria in many respects as belonging yet to Palestine.¹

The lake of Apamea is mentioned also by Abulfeda,² and by the Code Augusteus,³ who counts the lakes of Palestine thus: *Lacus Tiberiaden*, *lacus Banayan*,⁴ *lacus Cades seu Emessae*,⁵ *lacus Apameae*.

A. KOHUT.

¹ See *Aruch Compl.* article "Apamea," and *Erech Millin*, of Rapoport, the same article.

² *Tabula Syr.* 152, 157.

³ See *Monatschrift*, xvii. 376.

⁴ *Paneas, Gen. R.*, ch. 63.

⁵ This lake is mentioned also in *Jer. Talmud*; see *Aruch Completum*, III. 431.

LITERARY GLEANINGS.

I.

War between Burgundy and Friburg in 1475.

At the end of the Canon of Avicenna, copied by Hayyim ben Joseph Menahem מוֹיִישׁ מֵנַחֵם, finished the 9th of Tebet 5236-1475, MS. Turin, Codex CV. (Catal. B. Peyron), there is a note which mentions a war between the masters of Burgundy and Friburg, in the same year, which is difficult to read. Wolf (*Bibl. Heb.* IV., p. 931) gives a Latin translation of it, which is not correct.

מדינת וואש אשר היית לאדון דון רומיני ירה נתחרכה יום ו' של מרחשון רל"ו י"א למחזור י"ט כ"ז למחזור כ"ח ונתחרכה ע"י הפריבורניאייש והבארניים מפני שהאדון דון רומון ירה היה מהעוורים אשר לאדון מן בורגוניא ירה. ועוד חור האדון מן בורגוניא לפני דאדם (דוודט or ב' פרסאות קרוב לפרידבורק וצר עליה וחזרו האגודות לצור עליו והוא ברך והפסיד המלחמה לפניהם ביום ראשון של ר"ח תמוז ביום שבת של קרת שנת רל"ו :

II.

A Plague in Italy in 1539.

At the end of a Mahazor for Rosh has-Shanah and Jom Kippur, in the MS. H., v. 8 of the *Biblioteca Casanatense*, at Rome, we read the following passage concerning a plague in Italy in the year 5293-1533 :

שנת רצ"ג היום מ"ז מחדש אלול יום ה' פרשת ולתתך עליו על כל הגוים בערב בשעה שהלכו ג' חזנים כלם מעומפים במליחם עם אשה אחת חכמה בשעברנו? לפני בוניאק כהן לראות בני המלך והמלכה שהיו עומדים ורואים בחלון דונה לבנה הגויה ואמרו שירד לפנייהם עד לב השמים וסמו אונם לשמוע דבריהם והם לונל הקטן יוסף פאריצול ברוך נקים ואשת בוניאק משאושא ואז היו השערים סגורים ויד י' נגעה בנו על ירי השמים והשם ברחמיו עצר המנפה מעמינו ואל יבא עוד המשהית לנגוף בני ישראל עד שיעלה חמור בן שכם :

הכותב צמח בן ידידיה

¹ Not in Wolf's translation.

² Not distinct in the MS. Wolf reads Hamon.

III.

Genealogy of a Family at Augsburg, according to the MS. at Parma.

De Rossi, 764 (now 3049), at the beginning:—

אלה תולדות יצחק אשר העתקתי אני נחן (erased) מכתיבת ידו של מו' זקני הק' שניאור הנהרג באשפורק שנת ה'תק"פ והניח במותו יותר משמוני' נפשות בחיים מיוצאי יריכו והיה בן שמונים וארבע שנים כשקדש שמו של בורא' ולא כהתה עינו ולא נס' ליהו ונהרג על ספרו נ' ימים אחר הגזרות הש' ינקום את נקמתו ואלה שמותם יצחק ב'הקר שניאור בר שלמה הראוי לקרותו ה' כי גדול בתורה רק מרב ענותנותו לא אבה בר יוסף מווירדא אשר ממנו יצאו כל משפח' וווירדער בר שמוא' בר יצחק בר שמוא' בר אפרים בן רבינו אליעזר בר נתן אבי משפחת קורונער בן בתו של רבינו אלעזר ראש ישיבה בן רבינו גרשם מאור הגולה ע"ה ושם אמו של ר' יוסף מווירדא מ' בילא ושם כינויה זוסא בת ר' שמואל הכהן בר משה הכהן הניבור אבי האיגנער והיה אביו של ר' יוסף שלפהרמא בר שמואל הכהן בר שלמה בר אלכסנדר בר יוסף מהלא הוא ר' יוסף החתום על תקנת הקהילות בצד הר' רבינו אליקים שפירש על התלמוד ושם זקנתו של הק' שניאור אשת ר' יוסף מווירא מ' יינמליין בת הר' ר' יוסף בר שמוא' הטרע על ספרו בוורדא ושם אמה בילא בת ר' שמשון בן רבנא אלעזר בר שמשון ואמה של אותה מ' בילא מ' יסכה בת יצחק סגן לוייה ע"ה:

A. N.

IV.

The Lost Letter of Menahem Meiri.

In the article on Abba Mari's (of Lunel) collection of letters in the *Histoire Littéraire de la France* (t. XXVII, p. 563), it is mentioned that, according to two MSS., Menahem Meiri of Perpignan, wrote a letter in defence of philosophical studies. This letter ought to follow, according to these MSS., the famous Apology of Jedaiah Penini, which is partly found in the Oxford MS. The *Histoire Littéraire* says:—"Il est possible qu'elle (Menahem's letter) se trouve dans l'exemplaire manuscrit *Minhath Quenaoth*, qui appartenait au Collège des Néophytes à Rome, d'après Bartolucci. On doit regretter que ce bibliographe ne nous ait pas donné la division de ce manuscrit, devenu maintenant à peu près introuvable." On my last visit to the Vatican Library, I heard that the Eastern MSS., formerly in the College of the Neophytes, are now in the Vatican Library, and the librarians there were kind enough to give me access to them. I found that No. 12 of these MSS. contains the MS. considered lost, i.e., the *מנחת קנאות*,

which is divided into 120 chapters. I found there a passage concerning Meiri's letter with some variations from the Oxford MS. (which I give in the notes), but not reproduced in the *Histoire Littéraire*. The words in (·) are to be found only in the Neophyte MS., whilst those in [] are taken from the Oxford MS. At the end of the MS. (fol. 191b) we read the following words:—

יבא אחר זה כתב ההתנצלות לחכם הנדול ר' ידעיה [הבדרשין] בר' אברהם בדרשי ז"ל המכונה דון בונימי פרפייט ששלח אל הרב הנדול ר' שלמה בן אדרת ע"ה להתנצלות הקהלות הקדושות אשר מארצות פרוֹבֵנְצֵרָה תחלתו לפני מעלת אדונינו גם אחר זה יבא כתב החכם (הנדול השלם בתורה ובחכמה) הר' מנחם בר' שלמה [לבית מאיר זצ"ל] ששלח אל הרב ר' שלמה גם כן להתנצלות לומד ומלמד החכמותי תחלתו השופט כל הארץ וגו' אלה הכתבים שניהם ליחוברו יחדו בספר הזה⁴

It is disappointing that Menahem's letter is not to be found in the MS. at Rome; but bibliographers who thought this MS. lost, will be glad to know that it exists. Moreover, as the *Histoire Littéraire* neglected to give the beginning of Menahem's letter, by which it could be at once recognised if existing anonymously, the notice on the Roman MS. has a special value. En Duran's letter (see Prof. Kaufmann's edition in Zunz, *Jubelschrift*, etc., p. 143), begins with the same words as Meiri's letter. It seems to me, from the variations given from the Oxford MS., which is a copy of a MS. in the library of Baron D. Günzburg at St. Petersburg, that this MS. is not copied from the Neophyte MS., or *vice versa*. Which of the two is the older I could not say at this moment, the Günzburg MS. not being in my reach. A. N.

V.

The Convert Paulus Christianus.

THE *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, t. XXVII., p. 569, states that this converted Jew was probably of Montpellier; he had controversies in Catalonia and Provence in the years 1260 to 1273, and died in 1274. This is partly confirmed by the following passage, found in the Hebrew MS. 8 (53), fol. 21, of the Vittorio Emanuele Library at Rome:—היו שקדו ללמוד תורה וזה שתשיב לאפיקורוס הנה עתה כ"ט—לפרט לאלף ששי בא משומד אחד ממנופיילר מנלה רזי תורה ופוקק על ההגדות של תלמודיו וכבר עשה ויכוח אל הרב ר' משה בר נחמן לפני המלך מארגון בבארצלונא ושאל דף בסנהדרין חמשה תלמידיו היה לישן...

¹ Indistinct in O.² O., שלח, פרופיות³ O., בר מאיר ז"ל שלוחה לרב,⁴ להתנצל לומדי החכמות.

"Be diligent in learning the Law, in order to be able to discuss with controversialists. Just now, in the year 5029 A.M. = 1269, came a convert from Montpellier, who uncovered the mysteries of the Law and disputed about Aggadic passages in the Talmud, after having already had a controversy with Moses ben Nahman, at Barcelona, in the presence of the King of Aragon." (See Steinschneider, *Hebräische Bibliographie*, xxi., p. 88.) A. N.

VI.

Edition of the Babylonian Talmud, Salonica, 1521.

THE late R. N. Rabbinowicz, in his essay on the editions of the Talmud (מאמר על הדפסת התלמוד, *Varia Lectiones*, etc., t. VIII, p. 28), mentioned the Tractate *Erubin*, dated Salonica, 10th of Kislev, 5282 = 1521, observing that its pagination differs from that of the *Editiones receptæ*, and, moreover, that there are variations in the text, and in Rashi's commentary; there are no Tosaphoth. This copy is most likely the same as the one mentioned by Dr. Steinschneider in his *Catalogue of the Hebrew Books in the Bodleian Library*, p. LXXXVI. (addenda to p. 252, No. 1646[b]), on the authority of the *Litteraturblatt des Orients* (X., p. 370), as being in the possession of the late Eliezer Ashkenazi? Dr. Steinschneider writes to me, that one leaf of the Tractate *Yomd* of the same edition, is bound with this copy of the *Erubin*. The Bodleian Library has recently acquired, amongst other fragments, two leaves of the Tractate *Moed Qaton*, which seem to belong to the same Salonica edition. It bears now the Library number Opp. add. fol. III., 561. The second leaf contains the end of the Tractate, beginning with the words יקברוניה (fol. 28b, line 20, of the *Ed. Receptæ*). I learn from a communication of Herr Hirsinger of Munich (who carries on the business of the late Rabbinowicz), that he found, some time ago, eight leaves of the first Salonica edition of the Tractate *Ketuboth* (ff. 73-111 of the *Ed. Receptæ*). These leaves were found in the binding of another volume of the Talmud. I need scarcely mention that the Salonica edition has mostly perished by fire.

A. N.

VII.

Commentary on the Pentateuch Composed in Russia, before 1155 A.D.

THE Vatican MS., No. 300, contains, on fol. 17b, the following documents:—(1) concerning the Flagellants in Italy in the year 1260; (2) the disturbance at Rome in 1261, when Pope Urban IV. was obliged to leave the city; and (3) the birth of a lamb in an extraordinary shape, which occurred at Viterbo, Sunday, the 22nd of Tishri, 5051 A.M.=28th September, 1290, which, however, was on a Thursday (this day consequently does not agree with the Hebrew date).

מצאתי כתוב בשנת ה"כ לב"ע נתעוררו העם היא מלכות אדום לבכות ולספור והיו הולכים ערום ויהף משוטט ומתבטלים ונחבטים בשוטים והתחילו הדבר בפירושא היא עיר קצה תושכנא מבני תובל והלך עד רומי ומרומי נתפור הדבר ליעשות בכל איטליא :

בשנת ה"כ היה חדשה בעולם שלא היה מלך רומי ולא אפיפיור ברומי ימים רבים ותהי עיר רומי בתגר נדול והאיש הישר בעיניו יעשה ולא היה אדם ברומי שראה או שמע כזאת לכן יש להאמין כי נתקרב עת ישועה לישראל בביאת הנואל : וביום א' בכ"ב תשרי שנת ה"נא ז' ימים ליציאת טביט? נולד כבש אחד בביטרכו בצורה הזאת רק לא היה אלא צורת ראש אחד :

Next follows an extract from a commentary on the Pentateuch, composed (according to Assemani's catalogue, fol. 288), in Russia in the year 1094 (we shall discuss later on this date). The Hebrew heading is the following:—**בפי חומש שעשה**:—ברוסיאה בשנת אצ"ד מצאתי כתוב בפרשת בלק * שנינו בסנהדרין פרק אלו הנשרפין הבועל ארמית..... This passage agrees with that found in the Bodleian MS., No. 213 of the new catalogue (fol. 201r, sect. *Balak*), which contains Collectanea on the Pentateuch, by Samuel of Russia; consequently, there can be no doubt that the extract from MS. Vat. 300 was taken from Samuel's Commentary. Assemani (Cat. Vat., No. CCC, 6, on fol. 288) says that the copy of our extract is made from a MS. which was written in the year 4854 A.M. = 1094 A.D., taking the date $\overline{\text{אצ"ד}}$ as the Christian era. This, however, occurs seldom in comparatively old Hebrew MSS., and in later writers the word למנינם , "according to their reckoning," is usually added.¹

¹ See Harkavy's *Die Juden und die slawischen Sprachen*, Vilna, 1867, p. 17.

The date אָצַר (1094) means, according to the Bodleian MS., No. 213, and the Vatican MS., No. 56, the year of the destruction of the Second Temple, viz., 1158 A.D. Indeed, the Vatican MS. 56, which contains Samuel's Collectanea, expresses the date with the same words, excepting a few variations, as the Bodleian MS. 213, but the dates differ in the two MS. We shall give here the passage extracted from the Vatican MS., No. 56, fol. 28a, according to the copy of our learned friend Professor Ignazio Guidi, of the University of Rome, with the variations of the Bodleian MS.:—
עקב סימן] למחשבי חרבן הבית פי'—
כשרב הבית (השני) היה עומד העולם בברייתו ד' אלפימפחות ק' שבועים
על ד' אלפים ויוסף עקב ק' *ושבעים ושנים ובמקום שכלה החשבון שם ינרע
כמה שנים מחרבן הבית * והיום בעונותינו אנו עומדים בשמונה מאות
ושמונים וד' ליצירה הוסיף עקב שהוא *מאה ושבעים ושנים הרי אלה
וחמשים ושש לחרבן הבית וזה היה בעת שחי[ברן] הכפר הזה ברושיא
אבלי אנו עכשו יש [לנו] *אלף ותשעים וארבע לחרבן הבית :

The date 1086 has been taken by Dr. Steinschneider,¹² who saw the MS. hurriedly, as 5086 A.M. = 1326 A.D.; in reality, however, the date 1086 means that of the destruction of the Temple, viz., 1154 A.D., in which year the 26th of Shebat was on a Wednesday, which is not the case for the year 1326. In the Vatican MS. the date from the destruction of the Temple is 1094=1162 A.D., consequently, the extract found in the Vatican MS., No. 300, (see above, p. 701) is derived from the Vatican MS., No. 56, which contains the commentary of Samuel of Russia at a time when the word בְּרוּסְיָא was still legible. However, neither the Bodleian nor the Vatican MSS. are of the twelfth century, but they were respectively copied from MSS. written in the years 1154 A.D. and 1162 A.D.

Speaking of Russia, we may be allowed to rectify a mistake which

¹ [] mark words and letters only in the Vatican MS.; () those only in the Bodleian MS.

² עקב קעב יראה המחשב בכמה שנים הוא בבריתו של עולם, O.

³ O., ק' ועיב. ⁴ O., יודע. ⁵ O., עומדין. ⁶ B., בח'.

⁷ O., פ"ב. ⁸ O., הוסף. ⁹ O., ק' ועיב.

¹⁰ According to O., in Vat. MS., the letters יאה are overtraced and indistinct.

¹¹ O., ושנים ושש ד' בשבת כז לירח שבט שהוא מנין אפו, O.

¹² *Hebr. Bibliographie*, XIII, p. 116.

was made involuntarily by our learned friend Dr. Harkavy.¹ He says, according to Zunz, that in the year 1510 A.D., Polish Jews, who spoke Polish, sojourned at Brescia, for whose use Biblical books were translated into Polish, and these translations are contained in MSS. of the celebrated De Rossian Library at Parma. Dr. Harkavy expresses the wish that some Slavonic scholar should investigate these MSS., and state in which Slavonic dialect they are written, in Polish or in Russian. He is surprised that Cav. Pietro Perreau, the former librarian at Parma, who is a great linguist, should not have given a description of these MSS. in his additions to De Rossi's Catalogue. Through the kindness of our learned friend, Dr. L. Modona, of the Parma Library, we can state that the MSS., headed, in De Rossi's Catalogue (t. II., p. 200, col. 2, Nos. 1 and 2) *Odices Polonici*, contain nothing else but a translation, in *jüdisch Deutsch*, the German jargon of Polish Jews. Dr. Modona gives the following description of them:—

No. 1 contains translations of—*a*, some legends (מעשיות) concerning Solomon and Ashmodeus and others, followed by the Psalms. At the end the following colophon is found:—*ביום א' במרחשון רע"א לפ"ק פה*—*ברישה נאם משה בר מרדכי פרלאן* (the *ן* not being distinct, perhaps *ק* or *ן*) *ל' צ"י*. "On the first day of the month Marheshwan [5]271 A.M.=1420 A.D., at Brescia, says Moses son of Mordecai." Next comes a Judaico-German translation of the Books of Joshua, of Judges, and of the Book of Jonah (הפסדה of י"הכ). At the end the following colophon is to be found:—*י"ג סיון רע"א לפ"ק פה ק"ק מנטובה*—"the 13th of the month of Siwan, 271=1421, at Mantova." The MS. is written in cursive Germanico-Polish characters. De Rossi, in his description of these MSS., has mixed up the characters with the language.

No. 2 contains a similar translation of the four Meguilloth, not Ecclesiastes, followed by פסוקים (MS. אוהמות) and of קינות, the last for the month of Ab. At the end the name of the scribe, Abraham son of Elijah, is given. As specimens of these translations Dr. Modona gives the following:—*a*, of Esther—

אז אחשורש קוניגרייך די ווארהייט שד? שרייב איך אויך זיכר ליבן צו
דער נאולה וואר אונז אסתר בירייט אז אונז דיא גילערנט האבן גיזנט
סליק המגילה: אל היא וויל איך דיר שרייבן דו, גוט ביהוים
הויכט אונז? ליבלך שיר השירים:

Jonah iv. 10, reads as follows:—

ווען ער וואר בישאפין אין איינר נאכט און דער אנדר נאכט זו וואר עס

¹ *Op. cit.* (p. 701, note 1), p. 37.

פֿיר לורן אונ' איך זולט מיך איך ניט דער בארמן אויף נינוה די שטאט וו
 טרש די אינן אישט צוואלף הונדרט ש.....

The MS. in Russian (described by De Rossi as follows: *Liber Pre-cum cum calendario*, memb. 12, Sec. XVI.) is written in Cyrillic characters, and seems to contain a calendar, followed by some magic and astrological formulae. It has nothing to do with Judaic literature.

A. N.

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